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THE WORKS OF TACITUS.

(6.6)

VOLUME I:

CONTAINING

THE ANNALS.

To which are prefixed,

POLITICAL DISCOURSES

Upon that Author.

LONDON:
Printed for THO. WOODWARD, at the Half-Moon over-
againſt St. Dunſtan's Church Fleet-ſtreet; and
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MDCCXXVIII.

G III R
HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE
DIEU ET MON DROIT

G.R III.
BRITISH MUSEUM

TO

The Right Honourable

Sir ROBERT WALPOLE,

Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, Chancellor and Under-Treaſurer of the Exchequer, one of his Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy Council, and Knight of the Moſt Noble Order of the Garter.

SIR,

AS you were the firſt to promote the following Work in a public manner, I take the liberty to preſent it to the Public under your name, and to do an act of acknowledgment for one of generoſity. Be pleaſed to be the Patron of a Book which under your Patronage was compoſed. It is natural and common for men who profeſs Letters, to ſeek the countenance and protection of men of Power; and from ſuch of them as to greatneſs of fortune were happy enough to join greatneſs of mind, they have not ſought in vain.

DEDICATION.

Power without Politeneſs and Complacency, is at beſt diſtaſteful, often hated; amiable when it knows how to condeſcend. It is thus that men in high ſtations avoid envy from ſuch as ſtand below them. He who cannot riſe to their height, finds a ſort of retaliation and amends in their coming down to him. No man is pleaſed with a behaviour which repreſents him as contemptible. To make us think well of ourſelves, by another's ſhewing us that we are well thought of by him, is a generous and artful civility: a leſſon which ſtately and rebuking men want to learn. A mean man of great quality and figure (for ſuch incongruities we often meet) teaches others to ſcorn him, by his ſhewing that he ſcorns them. Affability therefore, accompanied with good ſenſe, which will always guard it from exceeding, is the art of keeping great Splendour from growing offenſive to the reſt of the world.

It muſt be owned that no Affability, even the moſt flowing; no Genius, even the moſt elevated, can eſcape particular diſtaſtes; and from the diſlike of Perſons to that of Actions the tranſition is eaſy and too common. Men do not eaſily diſcern good qualities and intentions in one, to whom they do not wiſh well. All men, even thoſe of the moſt unexceptionable Characters, are apt to form their judgment over-haſtily, when their paſſions are warmed: and from this cauſe it has often proceeded, that the inevitable miſfortunes of times and accidents have been charged upon ſuch, whoſe intereſt and ſtudy it was to prevent them. This is one of the evils and uneaſineſſes inſeparably attending every Adminiſtration. When a State is under heavy burdens and difficulties, the means to relieve and ſupport it, will be almoſt always proportionably heavy: and as whatever proves heavy, however neceſſary, is eaſily called Oppreſſion; ſo the hand, which adminiſters a remedy, may, merely becauſe it is felt, be eaſily ſtiled oppreſſive.

Besides the reaſon which I have already given for this Addreſs, I have another; one taken from the Character of my Author. As he was a man of Affairs, a great Miniſter, I chooſe to preſent him to another; to one who having been long engaged in public Life, having had long experience of men, ſeen far into their bent and foibles, and been converſant with the myſteries and primary operations of Government; can thence readily judge whether TACITUS has refined too much in his Politics, or been over ſevere in his Cenſures upon mankind: or whether this charge has not been chiefly raiſed by men of ſpeculation, who, however furniſhed with Learning, were yet unacquainted with the tranſactions of States, and ignorant of human nature; or perhaps willing to do honour to it, or to themſelves at the expence of Truth. Men are to be known, not by Theories taken up in cloſets, but by Commerce with men; and beſt of all in thoſe great ſcenes of public Life, where you, SIR, have ſuſtained, for ſo many years, a high and important part, and gained eminent experience as well as the juſt opinion of great ſufficiency.

I could here, agreeably to the uſual ſtile and purpoſe of Dedications, ſay a great many advantageous things, without riſquing the uſual cenſure incurred by Dedicators. But ſuch things I would much rather ſay of you, than to you. In this place, I ſhall only profeſs my being with perfect truth and reſpect,

SIR,

Your moſt obliged

and moſt obedient

humble Servant,

T. GORDON.

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N. B. *In Page* 60, 111, *&c. inſtead of* ANNAL II, III, *&c. read* BOOK II, III, *&c.*

ERRATA in the DISCOURSES.

PAGE 16. Line 6. for weakened, read impaired. p. 17. l. 19. for Lal, r. Law. p. 29. l. 46. after are, add two. p. 37. l. 41. for *noxa*, r. *noxæ*. p. 47. l. 2. after *vocabula* put a comma. p. 48. l. 13. for ſeditions, infuſions, r. ſeditious infuſions, p. 56. l. 17. inſtead of confined to rule, r. confined to no rule. p. 58. l. 7. for human, r. humane. p. 66. l. 34. dele right. p. 81. l. 28. for crucified, r. enriched. p. 82. l. 22. before imputations put as. p. 87. l. 33. for feats, r. ſeats. p. 94. l. 14. for a, r. and. p. 103. l. 5. for Galla, r. Galba. ibid. l. 6. for ſmoothed, r. ſoothed. p. 110. l. 46. for prattles, r. prattle. p. 111. l. 6. between moſt and can put that.

In the ANNALS.

PAGE 20. for Cedo, read Cede. p. 21. dele comma after however. p. 29. for ſuch as ſerved, r. ſuch as had ſerved. p. 49. l. 13. inſtead of above, r. about. p. 54. l. 5. for naturally, r. unnaturally. p. 62. l. 9. for then r. thence. p. 70. l. 8. after the word Infantry, add he. p. 73. for bate, r. bait. p. 86. l. 9. for loved, r. lived. ibid. l. penult. for reſerves, read reſerve. p. 94. for human, r. humane. p. 104. for Ceſarian General, r. Ceſars in general. 109. l. 21. for never, r. ever. p. 111. for ſtood ſlowly in, r. ſailed ſlowly in. p. 113. for obſervations, r. obſervances. p. 115. for crowd in r. crowding. p. 141. for corn, r. coin; and for no men, r. no man. p. 143. for muncipal, r. municipal. p. 145. inſtead of motion of, r. motion for. p 149. for ye, r. yea. p. 163. l. penult. for promoted, r. prompted. p. 170. for feaſts, r. feats. p. 175. for hired, r. lured. p. 186. l. 5. for battled, r. baffled. p. 195. for fired, r. fed. p. 209. for battled r. baffled. p. 225. for DACO, r. LACO. p. 233. for RUSO, r. RUFO. p. 236. for ORADES, r. ORODES. p. 243. l. the laſt, r. in his intereſt. p. 245. for VINCINUS, r. VINICIUS. p. 248. for FREGALLANUS, r. FREGELLANUS. p. 252. for aſſignations, r. aſſignation. p. 256. for battled, r. baffled. p. 260. for qualifications, r. gratifications. p. 263. after proſecution, add the. p. 272. for hineous, r. heinous. p. 279. for deed, r. deeds. p. 287. for Proprietors, r. Propretors. p. 290. inſtead of the War aroſe, r. the War which aroſe. ibid. for VIBERIUS, r. IBERIA. p. 296. for deviſor, r. deviſer. p. 299. before great affright, dele a, and for whoever in the next line, r. whatever. p. 300. l. 4. for deſign, r. daign. p. 344. l. the laſt but two, after Province, add and. p. 363. for ingenious, r. ingenuous. p. 374. inſtead of too many, r. ſo many. p. 385. for ſeat, r. ſeats.. p. 391. inſtead of Noblemen, r. Nobleman. p. 402. before earth put the. p. 418. for ceſſion, r. leſſon. p. 419. for acrimony, r. reproach. ibid. for hand, r. hands. p. 462. inſtead of born a manumiſed Slave, r. born of a manumiſed Slave. p. 456. for jeſticulations, r. geſticulations. 462. for name April, r. name of April.

DISCOURSES
UPON
TACITUS.

DISCOURSE I.
Upon the former Engliſh Tranſlations of TACITUS.

Sect. I. *Of the Tranſlation by* GREENWAY *and* SIR H. SAVILL.

I AM going to offer to the publick the Tranſlation of a Work, which for wiſdom and force, is in higher fame and conſideration, than almoſt any other that has yet appeared amongſt men; a Work often tranſlated into many Languages, ſeldom well into any, into ours worſt of all. The firſt was done in Queen ELIZABETH's reign, the Annals by one GREENWAY, and four Books of the Hiſtory by SIR HENRY SAVILL, a man exceeding learned, and eſteemed for his critical notes upon TACITUS, as well as for thoſe upon St. CHRYSOSTOM, of whoſe works he has publiſhed an elaborate edition. But tho' he was an able Grammarian, and underſtood the Antiquities in TACITUS, and his words, his Tranſlation is a mean performance; his ſtile is ſtiff, ſpiritleſs, and obſcure; he drops many of his Author's ideas, preſerves none of his fine turns, and ſtarves his meaning even where he beſt conveys it. 'Tis a mere Tranſlation, that rather of one word into another, than that of a dead tongue into a living, or of ſence into ſence. The Roman idiom is forced and wire-drawn into the Engliſh, a taſk altogether impoſſible; and not adopted and naturalized, a thing poſſible enough; and out of a Book profuſe in eloquence, fine ſpirit and images, he has drawn a work harſh, halting and barren. OGILBY is not more unlike VIRGIL. GREENWAY is ſtill worſe than SAVILL; he had none of his learning, he had all his faults and more: the former has at leaſt performed like a ſchoolmaſter, the latter like a ſchoolboy.

Sect. II. *Of the Engliſh Tranſlation by ſeveral hands.*

ABOUT a hundred years after them another Engliſh Tranſlation was undertaken by ſeveral hands, Mr. DRYDEN and others. DRYDEN has tranſlated the firſt Book; but done it almoſt literally from Mr. AMELOT DE LA HOUSSAYE, with ſo much haſte and little exactneſs, that beſides his many miſtakes, he has introduced ſeveral Galliciſms: he follows the French author ſervilely, and writes French Engliſh, rather than truſt him out of his eye. It is true LA HOUSSAYE is an honeſt Tranſlator, and one of the foremoſt: he has gone as far as the thirteenth Annal incluſive; but his phraſes are often weak and trifling, and he is ſubject to all that faintneſs and circumlocution for which the French tongue is noted. DRYDEN copies his manner as well as his meaning, 'twas pure hurry and want of application; for he was a fine writer, had a copious imagination, a good ear, and a flowing ſtile: ſtrike away all that is bad in his works, enough will remain to ſhew him a great Poet, a man of parts and a maſter of language. Even his many enemies and oppoſers ſhew the conſiderableneſs of the man: but his excellencies in many things excuſe not his faults in others; his Tranſlation of TACITUS is poor and languid, no where derived from the original, generally full of miſtakes; at beſt 'tis only the French Tranſlator ill tranſlated, or ill imitated.

Sect. III. *Of the laſt Tranſlation of the firſt Annal.*

TACITUS talking of the latter end of AUGUSTUS his reign, ſays, *domi res tranquillæ: eadem magiſtratuum vocabula.* Theſe are two ſentences independent of each other; yet Mr. DRYDEN tranſlates, "all things at Rome being in a ſettled peace, the Magiſtrates "ſtill retained their former names;" as if the one was the cauſe of the other. This blunder is owing to LA HOUSSAYE ill underſtood: *tout étoit tranquille à Rome, les Magiſtrats avoient les mêmes noms:* if inſtead of *avoient*, he had ſaid *ayant*, the tranſlation would have come pretty near the French. But the Engliſh Tranſlator does not ſeem to underſtand French, tho' he has no other guide, elſe how could he ſo miſerably miſtake, *pars multo maxima imminentis dominos variis rumoribus differebant;* as to render it, "the greater part employed their "time in various diſcourſes of future matters?" From this 'tis plain he never look'd into the original, or underſtood not a word of it. He was miſled by the French which he as little underſtood; *la plus part ſe plaiſoient à faire divers jugemens de ceux qui aloient devenir leurs Maitres.*

BUT more wretched ſtill is what follows: TACITUS repreſents the Romans diſcourſing, during the decline of AUGUSTUS, concerning the next ſucceſſors in view, AGRIPPA Poſthumus and TIBERIUS, and makes them ſay of LIVIA the Empreſs; *accedere matrem muliebri impotentia: ſerviendum feminæ, &c.* "His mother of a vio- "lent and imperious nature according to the ſex themſelves, ſubjected "to the ſlavery of a woman." This is abſolute jargon and nonſenſe, tho' the author followed the French as well as he could; *qui (Tibere) a une mere imperieuſe & violente, ſelon la coutume du ſexe, à laquelle il ſaudra obéir en eſclaves.* Well may he be ſaid to follow the French blindly; and leſs is the wonder that he adopts his Gallicisms where he happens to underſtand him.

When DRUSUS, the ſon of TIBERIUS, entred the camp of the ſeditious Legions in Pannonia, and the mutinous ſoldiery were gathered round him; TACITUS makes a charming and ſtrong deſcription of their behaviour, with the ſeveral viciſſitudes of their paſſions, which ſhifted ſtrangely according as they dreaded his perſon and authority,

thority, or recalled their grievances and ſurveyed their own numbers and ſtrength; and he concludes the whole according to his cuſtom, with a fine reflection: *Illi, quotiens oculos ad multitudinem retulerant, vocibus truculentis ſtrepere; rurſum, viſo Cæſare, trepidare. Murmur incertum, atrox clamor, & repente quies; diverſis animorum motibus, pavebant, terrebantque.* This is all pretty well tranſlated by LA HOUSSAYE. I ſhall only quote the laſt clauſe or reflection: *par des mouvemens tout differens, ils prenoient l'epouvante, & la donnoient;* and this I quote only to ſhew how impotently the Engliſh Tranſlator hangs by the French phraſe and takes it literally: “by their different “motions, ſays he, they gave and took terror in their turns.”

Is not this pithy and ſounding? There are numbers of ſuch inſtances both as to language and ſtrength; inſomuch that I have been ſometimes tempted to think it not to be DRYDEN's: but I have many aſſurances of its being his. I take it for granted it was a jobb for the Bookſellers careleſsly performed by one, who wanted no capacity, but only pains or encouragement to have done it much better, perhaps very well.

Sect. IV. *Of the laſt Tranſlation of the ſecond Annal.*

THE next Annal is tranſlated by another hand, leſs negligently, but with ſmall taſte and vigour; no reſemblance of the original, where in every ſentence almoſt there occur ſurprizing images and turns, which no where appear in the Tranſlation. 'Tis not the fire of TACITUS, but his embers, quenched with Engliſh words cold and Gothick. Let any one read particularly the two ſpeeches of ARMINIUS and MAROBODUUS to their different armies juſt before they engaged, cap. 45. and 46. and he will find that between TACITUS and his Tranſlator, there is juſt as much difference as between a living ſoul and a cold carcaſe. Yet the lifeleſs Tranſlation of this Annal compared with that of the third by a different hand, is an able performance.

Sect. V. *Of the laſt Tranſlation of the third Annal.*

THE other in truth is wretched beyond belief; 'tis below drollery, and a ſort of a middle between bad ſenſe and good nonſenſe. TACITUS ſays of the arrival of the fleet, which brought AGRIPPINA from Aſia with her huſband's funeral urn, and her children now fatherleſs; *claſſis paulatim ſucceſſit, non alacri ut adſolet remigio, ſed cunctis ad triſtitiam compoſitis, An. 3. c. 1.* “The fleet (ſays the “Tranſlator) came in, not rowing briſkly as they uſed to do, but “ſlowly, and with ſorrow in their countenances.” A tranſlation this worthy of one who could make TACITUS ſay elſewhere, “DRUSUS left the City to enquire his fortune:” Would not one think that he went to ſome remote country to conſult a cunning man? Or meant the Tranſlator to joke upon the religion and ſolemnities of the Romans? The words of TACITUS which he thus perverts, or rather quite drops, are, *Druſus urbe egreſſus repetendis auſpiciis:* “DRUSUS went “without the gates, to repeat the formality of the auſpices.”

TACITUS at the end of his diſcourſe upon laws, ſays, *Cæſar Auguſtus, potentiæ ſecurus, quæ Triumviratu juſſerat abolevit, deditque* *jura, quis pace & Principe uteremur: acriora ex eo vincla, inditi cuſtodes, & lege Papia Poppæa premiis inducti, ut ſi &c. ſed altius penetrabant,* (*cuſtodes,* ſcil.) *Urbemque & Italiam, & quod uſquam civium, corripuerant, multorumque exciſi ſtatus; & terror omnibus intentabatur, niſi Tiberius ſtatuendo remedio, &c.* Now obſerve the force, and elegance, and truth, with which this is rendered by the Tranſlator; "AUGUSTUS CESAR being ſettled in his authority, " he aboliſhed thoſe things he commanded in the Triumvirate, and gave " new laws to be obſerved in time of peace, and under a Monarch. " And that they might be the better kept he appointed ſome to look " after them:" [as if the laws had been a flock of ſheep] " The law " PAPIA POPPEA provided, *&c.* But the informers went farther, " not only in the City, but thro' all Italy, where any citizens were, " ruined many families and frightened all. To remedy which TIBERIUS," *&c.* A little farther TACITUS ſays, *adverſis animis acceptum, quod filio Claudii ſocer Sejanus deſtinaretur: polluiſſe nobilitatem familiæ videbantur, ſuſpectumque jam nimiæ ſpei Sejanum ultro extuliſſe.* " There were (ſays the Tranſlator) great diſcontents " upon CLAUDIUS's ſon's being to marry SEJANUS's daughter as " a diſparagement to him, [to what him? SEJANUS was the laſt " named.] But SEJANUS whoſe ambition was ſuſpected was much " exalted upon it."

TACITUS diſcourſing of the revolt of FLORUS and SACROVIR, and repreſenting the ſentiments of the people upon that and other alarms, ſays, *increpabant Tiberium, quod in tanto rerum motu, libellis accuſatorum inſumeret operam. An Julium Sacrovirum majeſtatis crimine reum in Senatu fore? Extitiſſe tandem viros qui cruentas epiſtolas armis cohiberent: miſeram pacem vel bello bene mutari. Tanto impenſius in ſecuritatem compoſitus, neque loco, neque vultu mutato, ſed ut ſolitum per illos dies egit: altitudine animi, an compererat modica eſſe & vulgatis leviora.* Hear how this is tranſlated. Blaming " TIBERIUS for employing himſelf in reading informers accuſations " where there was ſo great commotions. What, ſaid they, have the " Senate found JULIUS SACROVIR guilty of treaſon? Some have " had the courage to ſuppreſs by arms the bloody libels of a Tyrant; " war is a good change for a miſerable peace. But he neither chang'd " place nor countenance; affecting to ſhew he was not afraid, either thro' courage, or that he knew things to be leſs than " they were reported." Was ever good ſence ſo vilely burleſqued? were one to ſtudy to ridicule TACITUS, what more miſerable ſtuff, void of all ſenſe and ſound, could one make him utter? It puts me in mind of a notable complement in an addreſs from a learned Society to the late King; " We perceive that you are one that is not afraid " that poſterity ſhould make mention of you;" or words of the like force and beauty. Neither have I picked out theſe paſſages invidiouſly, as the worſt: I have read the whole Annal, and I know no part of it better done.

Sect. VI. *Of the laſt Tranſlation of the fourth, fifth, and ſixth Annal.*

THE fourth, fifth, and ſixth Annals are done by another hand, and poorly done. In him you find little of the true meaning

ing of TACITUS; of his ſpirit and manner nothing at all; but frequent deviations from his ſenſe, and even from all ſenſe. TACITUS in the Character of SEJANUS, ſays; *intus ſumma apiſcendi libido, ejuſque cauſa modo largitio & luxus, ſæpius induſtria ac vigilantia, haud minus noxiæ, quotiens parando regno finguntur:* who but the Tranſlator would have diſcovered, that by theſe words TACITUS meant to declare, that "virtues are as dangerous as vices, when they meet with a turbulent ſpirit aſpiring to Empire?" Yet the Tranſlation of this paſſage is as juſt as that of many others. Sometimes he drops whole phraſes and paſſages, ſuch as he knows not what to make of, and oftner loſes out of ſight the meaning of others however plain.

TACITUS ſays, *ut ſeries futuri in Agrippinam exitii inciperet, Claudia Pulchra ſobrina ejus poſtulatur, accuſante Domitio Afro. Is recens prætura, modicus dignationis, & quoquo facinore properus clareſcere, crimen impudicitiæ, adulterum Furnium, veneficia in Principem & devotiones objectabat.* "To begin the ruin of AGRIPPINA, [how inſipid and defective!] DOMITIUS AFER lately Pretor [not a word of *modicus dignationis*] and ready to engage in any thing to gain himſelf credit [obſerve the force!] accuſes CLAUDIA PULCRA of adultery with FURNIUS [the words *ſobrina ejus*, which explain the reſt, and the word *pudicitia*, one of the articles of the charge, are omitted] and to have a deſign on the life of that Prince with her charms and perſon:" What Prince? FURNIUS was none; TIBERIUS has not been mentioned in ſeveral pages: 'tis nonſenſe; and "a deſign on his life with her charms and perſon," multiplies the nonſenſe.

WHAT follows fares not much better: *Agrippina ſemper atrox, tum & periculo propinquæ accenſa, pergit ad Tiberium.* "AGRIPPINA always of a violent temper, but at preſent extremely enraged, runs immediately to TIBERIUS, *&c.*" He drops *periculo propinquæ*, as uſeleſs words.

TACITUS ſays, that amongſt other reaſons aſſigned why TIBERIUS retired from Rome, ſome alledged the authority aſſumed by his mother; who having perſuaded AUGUSTUS, contrary to his inclinations, to poſtpone GERMANICUS and adopt TIBERIUS, did afterwards upbraid TIBERIUS with ſo ſignal a ſervice, and even challenged the Empire as her own: *idque Auguſta exprobrabat, repoſcebat.* "The Empreſs (ſays the Tranſlator) ſeemed to reproach him with that favour, and requeſted it for her ſon." What gibberiſh! ſhe had but one ſon and he had it. She forſooth reproached her ſon TIBERIUS for having given him the Sovereignty, and from the ſame TIBERIUS claimed it for the ſame TIBERIUS. SEJANUS, once when a cave fell in upon TIBERIUS and his company, covered the Emperor with his own body: *major ex eo*, ſays TACITUS. "This admirable and undoubted fidelity," ſays the Tranſlator; which TACITUS never ſaid nor meant. How miſerably too does he tranſlate, *ingentium bellorum cladem æquavit malum improviſum: ejus initium ſimul & finis exſtitit.* "Happened a calamity in which we ſuſtained as great a loſs as in the greateſt defeats, tho' it was all done in an inſtant." I will venture to ſay, that this is as well done as any other part of all the three Books.

Sect. VII. *Of the laſt Tranſlation of the eleventh Annal.*

THE eleventh Annal is tranſlated by another Gentleman; but not with another ſpirit: 'tis like the reſt, full of feebleneſs and miſtakes and low phraſes. I ſhall here give ſome inſtances. The Pleaders, in a ſpeech to the Emperor CLAUDIUS, in defence of taking fees, and in anſwer to SILIUS, who alledged againſt them the example of certain great Orators of the former age who had never taken any; ſay, *facile Aſinium & Meſſalam, inter Antonium & Auguſtum bellorum præmiis refertos, &c. c.* 7. "ASINIUS and MESSALA, who feathered their neſts well in the Civil Wars 'twixt "ANTHONY," *&c.* This is the Language of a chairman, but of a piece with the reſt, ſuch as, a King's [a] *playing the good fellow;* [b] *trumping up* ARMINIUS*'s title;* [c] *being equipped with money;* [d] *his reputation began to exert itſelf far and near;* [e] *ſaw but one poor ſnake;* [f] *more bloody than he ought to be;* Senators [g] *ſquabling in the houſe;* A ſilver mine [h] *which bled but a little;* [i] *It was not come to that yet;* [k] *Advice hurts not the guiltleſs;* [l] *Men had recourſe to impudence when their ill actions came to be diſcovered:* [m] *others were in the ſame predicament with them in that matter;* [n] *Claudius as he was eaſily angry, ſo he was eaſily pleaſed;* [o] *Matrimony the laſt comfort of thoſe who give themſelves to lewdneſs;* [p] *Affidavits of her lewdneſs;* [q] *The vaſt treaſures given to Silius for his drudgery.* Such cant, jargon, and ill-favoured nonſenſe, is called the Tranſlation of TACITUS.

Sect. VIII. *Of the laſt Tranſlation of the twelfth and thirteenth Annals.*

THE two ſucceeding Annals are Engliſhed by another hand, and miſerably Engliſhed they are; rather worſe than the former. 'Tis all wretched tittle tattle, unmeaning and ill-bred; nor could any number of words thrown together at random, without thought or idea, be more ſhallow or vulgar, more deſtitute of ornament or ſound. To paſs by his *top Orators; Knack of ſpeaking; Staving off a war any ways.—He being rectine.—The Emperor himſelf their worthy. Yea Gentlemen and Senators do make no other original to themſelves but from thence;* and the like gibberiſh which occurs in every ſentence: I ſhall here tranſcribe a paſſage where he ſeems to aim at a meaning and to exceed himſelf: "[r] The power his mother had over him (NERO) dwindled away

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[a] Vinolentiam & libidines uſurpans, c. 16.

[b] Fruſtra Arminium præſcribi, c. 16.

[c] Auctum pecunia, c. 16.

[d] Jam longius clareſcere, c. 16.

[e] Unam omnino anguem viſam.

[f] Atrociorem quam novo regno conduceret, c. 9.

[g] Obſtrepentibus his, c. 6.

[h] Unde tenuis fructus, c. 20.

[i] Non eo ventum, c. 26.

[k] Inſontibus innoxia conſilia, ib.

[l] Flagitiis manifeſtis, ſubſidium ab audacia petendum, ib.

[m] Adeſſe conſcios, ib.

[n] Claudium, ut inſidiis incautum, ita iræ properum, ib.

[o] Nomen matrimonii cupivit, ob magnitudinem infamiæ, cujus apud prodigos noviſſima voluptas eſt, ib.

[p] Codicillos libidinum indices, c. 34.

[q] Quicquid habitum Neronibus & Druſis in prætium probri ceſſiſſe, c. 35.

[r] Cæterum infracta paulatim potentia matris, delapſo Nerone in amorem libertæ, cui vocabulum Acte fuit: ſimul adſumptis in conſcientiam Othone & Claudio Senecione adoleſcentulis decoris, quorum Otho familia Conſulari, Senecio liberto Cæſaris patre genitus, ignara matre,

“ by degrees, and NERO fell in love with ACTE, a freedwoman, and made OTHO and CLAUDIUS SENECIO the confidents of his new Amour, one of which (to wit) OTHO was of a conſular family, but SENECIO, a ſon of one of CESAR's freedmen; who at firſt without the mother's knowledge, and ſince in ſpite of all ſhe could do, worked himſelf by degrees into the Prince's affections, by luxury and ſecret ways, that no body knew, which the beſt friends he had indulged him in, and were pleaſed to ſee him take up and content himſelf with that woman, a thing which did no body an injury: for he had the misfortune to diſlike his wiſe OCTAVIA (whether it be that we naturally ſlight what we can have, and eagerly purſue what is forbidden) of an illuſtrious family, and of an unſpotted virtue, and 'twas feared he might fall into a vein of debauching women of quality, if he was checked in that intrigue: but AGRIPPINA could not bear that a freedwoman ſhould noſe her,” *&c.* That “ a freedwoman ſhould beard her,” ſays the old Tranſlation.

HOW clear, how ſtrong, and how juſt! This is in the thirteenth Book: take one or two ſamples more out of the twelfth. “ [f] 'Twas enacted that if they (women) married (to ſlaves) without their maſter's conſent, they ſhould remain ſuch” [who ſhould, the women or the ſlaves? the former were none, and could not remain what they were not; and to ſay it of the latter, is nonſenſe.] “ BAREA SORANUS, Conſul elect, moved that PALLAS (whom CESAR ſaid was the firſt that brought it into the Houſe) ſhould have the Pretorial honours, and fifteen millions of Seſterces, and, that SCIPIO CORNELIUS might have the Thanks of the Houſe, for that being deſcended from the Kings of Arcadia, he forgot his birth and quality to ſerve the publick, and was contented to be one of the Prince's ſervants. CLAUDIUS aſſured them, that PALLAS ſatisfied with the honour the Senate had done him, would live as retiredly as he uſed to do. In ſhort an act was made,” *&c.*

THESE two paſſages are as brightly tranſlated as any in the two Books, indeed beyond moſt paſſages.

I ſhall quote one more; 'tis in the thirteenth Annal, cap. 26. It was importunately urged in the Senate that ſuch freedmen as by abuſing their Lords, had ſhewn themſelves unworthy of their liberty, ſhould remain at the mercy of the ſaid Lords, and be ſubject to their former chains, *nec deerant qui cenſerent*, ſays TACITUS, *ſed Conſules relationem incipere non auſi ignaro principe* (*i. e.*) “ There were Senators too ready to have voted for ſuch a Decree; but the Conſuls durſt not propoſe it to the vote without acquainting the Emperor.” Of all this plain matter the Tranſlator underſtood not one word. He ſays, “ neither

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dein fruſtra obnitente, penitus inrepſerant per luxum & ambigua ſecreta. Ne ſeverioribus quidem Principis amicis adverſantibus, muliercula, nulla cujuſquam injuriâ, cupidines principis explente: quando uxore ab Octavia, nobili quidem & probitatis ſpectatæ, fato quodam, an quia prævalent inlicita, abhorrebat: metuebaturque ne in ſtupra feminarum inluſtrium prorumperet, ſi illa libidine prohiberetur. Sed Agrippina libertam æmulam, &c. *An.* 13. *C.* 12, & 13.

[f] Inter quæ refertur ad patres, de pœna feminarum, quæ ſervis conjungerentur. Statuiturque ut ignaro domino ad id prolapſa, in ſervitutem, ſin conſenſiſſet, pro liberta haberetur. Pallanti, quem repertorem ejus relationis ediderat Cæſar, prætoria inſignia, & centies quinquageſies ſeſtercium cenſuit conſul deſignatus Barea Soranus: additum à Scipione Cornelio, grates publice agendas, quod regibus Arcadiæ ortus, veterrimam nobilitatem uſui publico poſtponeret, ſeque inter miniſtros Principis haberi ſineret. Aſſeveravit Claudius, contentum honore Pallantem, intra priorem paupertatem ſubſiſtere. Et fixum eſt ære publico Senatus Conſultum, &c. *An.* 12. *C.* 53.

“ ther were there thoſe wanting who would cenſure them (*nec deerant qui cenſerent*) “ but the Conſuls durſt not, without the Emperor's “ knowledge, determine the matter.”

I cannot omit one polite phraſe more out of this Book. *Suilius Senecam increpans*, ſays TACITUS. “ He laid it in SENECA's diſh,” ſays the Tranſlator, c. 42. “ laying it in SENECA's diſh,” ſays the old Tranſlation. He indeed has ſtolen all he knew of TACITUS from the old Tranſlation, with all its blunders and ſtupidity, and improved both notably. Behold another ſpecimen. “ At Rome he cheat- “ ed men of their legacies, and wronged the fatherleſs, who were de- “ luded by him[1].” The words of TACITUS are, *Romæ teſtamenta & orbos, velut indagine ejus capi, c.* 42.

Sect. IX. *Of the laſt Tranſlation of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and ſixteenth Annals.*

A Freſh hand has undertaken the three following Annals, and by good fortune ſuch a hand as has preſerved an eminent uniformity with the foregoing; only he is ſomewhat more groſs. TACITUS ſays, it was reported that when AGRIPPINA ſtudied to draw NERO her ſon into an inceſtuous commerce with herſelf, *Senecam contra muliebres inlecebras ſubſidium a femina petiviſſe: immiſſamque Acten libertam.* “ SENECA (ſays the Tranſlator) ſoon “ brought in ACTE, NERO's beloved woman, to expel one whore “ with another.”

When AGRIPPINA had eſcaped the firſt attempt upon her life, ſhe diſſembled, and ſeemed not to think it deſigned, nor to entertain any future apprehenſions: *ſimulata ſecuritate*: “ Under the appearance of ſecurity,” (ſays the Tranſlator.) But as ACERRONIA one of her maids had periſhed in that attempt, ſhe ordered her Will to be ſound, and all her effects to be ſealed up. This ſhe did, ſays TACITUS, without any diſſimulation; *id tantum non per ſimulationem, c. 6.* “ She takes all neceſſary care (ſays the Tranſlator) for the cure “ of her wound; the Teſtament of ACERRONIA to be looked out, “ her coffers to be ſealed up, and all things neceſſary to be done with- “ out the leaſt diſſimulation:” How nicely he underſtands the original, and how grammatical is his Engliſh! Here however there ſeems to be ſome meaning aimed at; in what follows, even that is wanting: “ The image of the villains who were ſtained with the guilt “ of this parricide, ſtill haunted him.” The words of the original are *obſervabanturque maris illius & litorum gravis adſpectus, c.* 10.

IN truth, to expoſe the inſipidneſs and nonſenſe of theſe Annals, were to tranſcribe them. In ſome places he is ſo groſs, that his words will not bear repeating; as particularly where one of OCTAVIA's maids tells TIGELLINUS, *caſtiora eſſe muliebria Octaviæ quam os ejus.* His Tranſlation of this is abominable, as well as ridiculous and falſe; and many ſuch like inſtances there are in him. I beg leave to quote one ſhort paſſage more out of this Annal. When that Lady was by the Tyrant divorced, and baniſhed into Campania under a

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[1] The old Tranſlation has it, *At Rome he coſened men of their legacies ſuch as died without children, as if he had laid a ſnare to entrap them.* This is fooliſh, but wiſer than the other.

Guard; *inde crebri queſtus*, ſays TACITUS, *nec occulti per vulgum, cui minor ſapientia, & ex mediocritate fortunæ, pauciora pericula ſunt*, c. 60. This is a fine reflection; obſerve how execrably it is rendred: “Upon the clamour of the people (who having nothing to loſe, are commonly fearleſs, not out of any love or relenting at his ſeverity) this was remitted.”

THE fifteenth Annal is done juſt like the fourteenth, wretchedly. Here follows a ſpecimen: CORBULO and CESENNIUS PETUS commanded in the Eaſt: *ſed neque Corbulo æmuli patiens* (ſays TACITUS); *& Pætus, cui ſatis ad gloriam erat ſi proximus haberetur, deſpiciebat geſta, nihil cædis aut prædæ, uſurpatas nomine tenus urbium expugnationes, dictitans: ſe tributa ac leges, & pro umbra Regis Romanum jus victis impoſiturum*, c. 6. The misfortune was, (ſays the Tranſlator) “the one was impatient of a rival, and the other could not endure a ſuperior; and PETUS, who ought to have contented himſelf in being ſecond to CORBULO, ever took pleaſure to diminiſh the glory of his actions, upbraiding him that his victory in taking of towns was imaginary, without conqueſt or plunder. That he would impoſe laws and demand contributions, introduce the Roman power in the place of their Knights, and render them a meer ſhadow.”

HE often ſeems to be without the leaſt glimmering of TACITUS's meaning, or any meaning, and puts down a parcel of words at random. How clearly does he Engliſh, *proviſis exemplis Caudinæ ac Numantinæ cladis;* “reſolving to follow the example of Numantian, and the Caudine defeat, which practice they thought they might juſtify, ſince the Parthians were at this time more powerful than the Carthaginians or Samnites: [were they in truth? what a diſcovery is here?] *neque eandem vim Samnitibus Italico populo, aut Pœnis Romani imperii æmulis.* He goes on: *They were now beginning to talk that the Antients were always commended for their addreſs in ſuiting all things to the times, and ſecuring a ſafe retreat when fortune ſhould frown upon them.* This is another diſcovery which he has made from theſe words: *validam quoque & laudatam antiquitatem, quotiens fortuna contra daret, ſaluti conſuluiſſe*, c. 13; that is, “theſe ſame venerable Antients, ſo very ſtubborn and invincible, and ſo much adored, always conſulted ſelf preſervation, as often as preſſed by the aſſaults of a calamitous fortune.”

When PETUS had ſubmitted to ſuch ſhameful conditions from the Parthians, he amongſt the reſt made a Bridge over the river Arſanias, and to hide his diſgrace, pretended 'twas to ſhorten his own march; when in truth, 'twas done in obedience to the commands of the Parthians, as a monument of their ſuperiority and conqueſt: *namque iis uſui fuit; noſtri per diverſum iere*, c. 15. “it being commodious to them, (quoth the Tranſlator) and not in any manner to moleſt us.” Were ever two meanings more remote? He often adds words of his own to thoſe of TACITUS, and often drops many more of the original, ſemetimes whole ſentences. TACITUS ſays, there prevailed then a peſtilent cuſtom of making fraudulent Adoptions, by ſuch Candidates for Offices as had no children of their own; and as ſoon as the Election was over, they inſtantly diſmiſſed ſuch as they had occaſionally adopted. This abuſe raiſed a ſtorm from ſuch as were real parents; who, having applied to the Senate with warm repreſentations againſt ſuch fallacious dealings in others, and ſuch injury done to themſelves, add, *ſibi promiſſa legum diu expectata, in ludibrium verti, quando quis ſine ſolicitudine parens, ſine luctu orbus, longa patrum vota repente adæquaret*, c. 19. All this is dropp'd by the Tranſlator, and the following jargon of his own inſerted: “ They took children to quit them at their fancy in contempt of thoſe laws, while they had a great many privileges, for care or ſorrow, the other with eaſe enjoyed the ſame.”

I am afraid I have tired my reader as I have done my ſelf with ſuch a dull deduction of ſtupidities. I did not at firſt intend to ſay any thing of the former Tranſlations: I took it for granted that every man who had ſeen them, muſt have condemned them, and found them as pitiful and bad as they really are. But when upon publiſhing my Propoſals, I found that ſome, who by their titles and profeſſion ſhould be learned, others who by their high quality, ought to have taſte and elegance, had commended the former Tranſlation, and uttered their deſpair of ſeeing a better; I found it neceſſary to give ſome account of that performance, which I think to be as low, defective, and wretched as any thing in print; neither language, nor ſenſe, nor decency, and as much unlike TACITUS the Hiſtorian, as the meaneſt ſlave of TACITUS the Conſul, was unlike his maſter. It is much worſe than the old Tranſlation, which is exceeding bad. 'Tis in my own defence as well as in defence of TACITUS, that I have cenſured it, and againſt my inclination. It looks indeed as if the Tranſlators themſelves had no opinion of it, ſince they have not, as is uſual, ſaid one word about it by way of Preface. This is what Mr. DRYDEN particularly never uſed to omit doing: why did he omit it now in the Tranſlation of a work of ſuch name and weight? As far as the ſixth Annal there is a Tranſlation too of LA HOUSSAYE's Notes, but done with great ignorance and errors.

DISCOURSE II.

Upon TACITUS and his Writings.

Sect. I. *The Character of* TACITUS.

AS to the Character of TACITUS and his Writings; he was the greateſt Orator, Stateſman, and Hiſtorian of his time; he had long frequented the Bar; he had paſſed through al lthe high offices of State: he was Edile, Pretor, Conſul; and after long acquaintance with buſineſs and men, he applied himſelf to collect obſervations, and to convey the fruits of his knowledge to poſterity, under the agreeable dreſs of a Hiſtory. For this taſk he was excellently qualified: No man had ſeen more, ſcarce any man had ever thought ſo much, or conveyed his thoughts with greater force and vivacity; a mighty genius, for which no conception or deſign was too vaſt; a powerful Orator, who abounds in great ſentiments and deſcription: yet a man of conſummate integrity, who, tho' he frequently agitates the paſſions, never miſleads them: a maſterly Hiſtorian, who draws events from their firſt ſources; and explains them with a redundancy of images, and a frugality of words: a profound Politician who takes off every diſguiſe, and penetrates every artifice: an upright Patriot, zealous for publick Liberty and the welfare of his Country, and a declared enemy to Tyrants and to the inſtruments of Tyranny; a lover of humankind; a man of virtue, who adores Liberty and Truth, and every where adorns and recommends them; who abhors falſhood and iniquity; deſpiſes little arts, expoſes bad ones; and ſhews, upon all occaſions, by the fate and fall of great wicked men, by the anxiety of their ſouls, by the precariouſneſs of their power, by the uncertainty or ſuddenneſs of their fate, what a poor price greatneſs obtained is for goodneſs loſt; and how infinitely perſecuted virtue is preferable to ſmiling and triumphant wickedneſs. GERMANICUS under all his hardſhips and diſfavour, is a happier man than TIBERIUS with all his power and Empire; happier in peace of mind, happier in his fame and memory. TIGELLINUS is a great favourite with NERO, but deteſted by all the reſt of the world, and fearful of all men. SENECA is diſliked by the Emperor, but univerſally beloved and regretted. TACITUS is a fine Gentleman, who ſuffers nothing pedantick or low, nothing that is trifling or indecent to fall from his pen. He is a man of wit; not ſuch a one as is fond of conceits and the quaintneſs of words, but a wit that is grave, majeſtick, and ſublime; one that blends the ſolemnity of truth with the fire of imagination, and touches the heart rather than the fancy; yet, for the better reception of truth, pleaſes and awakens the fancy.

THE telling of truth is dry and unaffecting; but to enliven it with imagery, is deſcribing it: and every one knows the advantages that Deſcription has over bare Narration: hence the force of fine painting; tho', in my opinion, the Orator has the advantage of the Painter, as words can multiply ideas better than the pencil, throw them thicker together, and enflame them more. What piece of APPELLES could have animated the Athenians againſt PHILIP of Macedon, like one of DEMOSTHENES's Orations? What picture of Love can equal the deſcription of that paſſion by LUCRETIUS, the nobleſt wit of all the Latin Poets? It is hardly, I believe, poſſible for colours to carry images higher than they are by MICHAEL ANGELO carried, in his piece of the laſt Day: yet I believe it not only poſſible, but eaſy to make a deſcription of that day more affecting than the ſight of that celebrated piece.

Sect. II. *How much he excells in Deſcription and Force.*

PAINTING in words is the ſtrongeſt painting; and in that art TACITUS excells to amazement. His images are many, but cloſe and thick; his words are few, but pointed and glowing; and even his ſilence is inſtructive and affecting.

HOW juſtly does he repreſent that noble ſullenneſs and diſdain of the wife of ARMINIUS, when brought with other captives before GERMANICUS? *Inerant & feminæ nobiles, inter quas uxor Arminii, eademque filia Segeſtis, mariti magis quam parentis animo, neque victa in lacrymas, neque voce ſupplex, compreſſis intra ſinum manibus gravidum uterum intuens, A.* 1. *c.* 57. A circumſtance of diſtreſs more moving than this laſt, could not be deviſed; and what words, or exclamations or tears could raiſe compaſſion ſo effectually, as the repreſentation of a ſpirit too great to weep or complain; of a grief too mighty to be uttered?

THE March of GERMANICUS and his Army to the Foreſt of Teutburg, to bury the bones of VARUS and his Legions, there maſſacred by the Germans; the deſcription of that Camp, with the revival of the circumſtances of that tragical event; and the ſympathy and reſentments of the Soldiers, are all beautifully diſplayed with great force and brevity, with equal tenderneſs and horror.

PERMOTO *ad miſerationem omni qui aderat exercitu, ob propinquos, amicos, denique ob caſus bellorum, & ſortem hominum. Incedunt mœſtos locos, viſuque ac memoria deformes. Prima Vari caſtra lato ambitu, & dimenſis principiis, trium legionum manus oſtentabant: dein ſemiruto vallo, humili foſſa, acciſæ jam reliquiæ conſediſſe intelligebantur: medio campi albentia oſſa, ut fugerant, ut reſtiterant, disjecta vel aggerata: adjacebant fragmina telorum, equorumque artus, ſimul truncis arborum antefixa ora; lucis propinquis barbaræ aræ, apud quas tribunos ac primorum ordinum centuriones mactaverant. Cladis ejus ſuperſtites pugnam aut vincula elapſi, referebant, hic cecidiſſe legatos, illic raptas aquilas; primum ubi vulnus Varo adactum, ubi infelici dextra, & ſuo ictu mortem invenerit; quo tribunali concionatus Arminius; quot patibula captivis, quæ ſcrobes; utque ſignis & aquilis per ſuperbiam inluſerit. Igitur Romanus qui aderat exercitus, ſextum poſt cladis annum, trium Legionum oſſa, nullo noſcente alienas reliquias an ſuorum humo tegeret, omnes ut conjunctos, ut conſanguineos, auctâ in hoſtem irâ, mæſti ſimul & infenſi condebant, An.* 1. *c.* 61, 62.

HERE is eloquence and deſcription! What can be added, what can be taken away? His ſtile is every where warm and pathetick, and he never informs the underſtanding, or entertains the imagination, but he kindles the affections. You are not only convinced by his ſentiments, but governed by them, charm'd with them, and grow zealous for them. This is a trial of the power and ſkill of a writer: this the drift and glory of perſuaſion and eloquence; and this the talent of TACITUS.

To diſplay Tyrants and Tyranny he chuſes the ſtrongeſt words and figures: *facinora ac flagitia ſua ipſi quoque in ſupplicium verterant. Si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, poſſe adſpici laniatus & ictus; quando ut corpora verberibus, ita ſævitia, libidine, malis conſultis, animus dilaceretur: quippe Tiberium non fortuna, non ſolitudines, protegebant, quin tormenta pectoris ſuaſque ipſe pœnas fateretur, An. 6. c. 6.*

IT was his buſineſs and deſign to lay open the iniquity and horrors of their miſ-rule; *ſæva juſſa, continuas accuſationes, fallaces amicitias, perniciem innocentium.* You ſee the bloody hands of the executioners, Rome ſwimming in the blood of her own Citizens, and all the rage of unrelenting Tyranny; *undantem per domos ſanguinem, aut manus carnificum.* You ſee the bands of accuſers let looſe, nay hired to deſtroy, and breathing death and exile; *ſævitiam oratorum accuſationes minitantium: delatores per præmia eliciebantur.* You ſee the barbarous outrages of an inſolent and mercileſs ſoldiery; *cuncta ſanguine, ferro, flammiſque miſcent.* You ſee madmen bear rule, theſe mad rulers governed and made worſe by ſlaves, villains, and harlots; yet all theſe monſters adored, their perſons, wickedneſs, and even their fury ſanctified; iniquity exalted, virtue trod under foot, laws perverted, righteouſneſs and truth depreſſed and baniſhed; every worthy man doomed to ſcaffolds, rocks, and dungeons; the baſeſt of all men pronouncing that doom, and making a prey or a ſacrifice of the beſt; fear and diſtruſt and treachery prevailing; the deſtroyers themſelves haunted with the perpetual dread of deſtruction, at laſt overtaken by it, yet ſeldom leaving better in their room.

ALL theſe melancholy ſcenes you ſee expoſed in colours ſtrong and moving: the thoughts are great, the phraſe elevated, and the words chaſte and few: 'tis all a picture: whatever he ſays you ſee, and all that you ſee affects you. It puzzles one to give inſtances, becauſe there are ſo many in every page. How many affecting images are there in theſe few words near the beginning of the firſt Annal; *Quotuſquiſque reliquus qui rempublicam vidiſſet?* How mournful too and expreſſive, yet how plain are theſe which immediately follow! *Igitur verſo civitatis ſtatu, nihil uſquam priſci & integri moris;* as well as thoſe a little before; *rebus novis aucti tuta & præſentia, quam vetera & periculoſa mallent?*

WITH what thunder and vehemence does ARMINIUS rouſe the Cheruſcans, his country-men, to arms, when his wife became a captive to the Romans, and his child a ſlave tho' yet unborn? *Egregium patrem! magnanimum imperatorem! fortem exercitum! quorum tot manus unam mulierculam avexerint: ſibi tres Legiones, totidem legatos procubuiſſe: non enim ſe proditione, neque adverſus feminas gravidas, ſed palam adverſus armatos bellum tractare. Cerni adhuc Germanorum in lucis ſigna Romana. Coleret Segeſtes victam ripam, redderet filio ſacerdotium, &c.* In how few words does he compriſe a long and perplexed debate in the council held by GERMANICUS, how to proceed with the mutinous Legions! *Augebat metum gnarus (ſuperior exercitus) Romanæ ſeditionis, & ſi omitteretur ripa, invaſurus hoſtis; ac ſi auxilia & ſocii adverſum abſcedentes Legiones armarentur, civile bellum ſuſcipi: periculoſa ſeveritas, flagitioſa largitio: ſeu nihil militi, ſeu omnia concederentur, in ancipiti Reſpublica. Igitur, &c. An.* I.

Sect. III. *Further inſtances of the juſtneſs of his Genius, and of his great Thoughts.*

HIS account of the perſecutions of GERMANICUS, with his laſt words and amiable Character, makes a fine Tragedy; ſo does the Death of SENECA; ſo does that of the Conſpirators againſt NERO. With what magnanimity and calmneſs does SULPITIUS ASPER the Centurion anſwer the brutal Tyrant, when aſked, why he had conſpired againſt his life? *non aliter tot flagitiis ejus ſubveniri potuiſſe.* With what ſilence and firmneſs did the Conſul VESTINUS die? tho' he was NERO's old companion and friend, and unconcerned in the conſpiracy, and no crime nor accuſer againſt him: *vigens adhuc balneo infertur, calida aqua merſatur, nulla edita voce qua ſe miſeraretur.* How beautiful, how deep, and juſt are his obſervations upon human nature! *Molles in calamitate humani animi: mobiles ad ſuperſtitionem perculſæ ſemel mentes: cupidine ingenii humani lubentius obſcura credi: neque morum ſpernendus, niſi quod paupertatem præcipuum malorum credebat. Vivorum ut magna admiratio, ita cenſura difficilis: eandem virtutem admirantibus cui iraſcebantur: manebat admiratio viri & fama, ſed oderant. Beneficia eo uſque læta ſunt dum videntur exſolvi poſſe; ubi multum anteceſſere, pro gratia odium redditur. Exacto per ſcelera die, noviſſimum malorum fuit lætitia. Rumore populi, qui neminem ſine æmulo ſinit: minore ſpe veniæ, creſcit vinculum ſceleris: populus no-*

varum rerum cupiens paviduſque: vulgus eadem pravitate interfectum inſectatur, qua viventem foverat.

How maſterly and profound are thoſe upon Government! *Primas dominandi ſpes in arduo: ubi ſis ingreſſus adeſſe ſtudia & miniſtros. Arduum eodem loci potentiam & concordiam eſſe. Potentia cautis conſiliis tutius habetur. Major longinquo reverentia. Principibus præcipua rerum ad famam dirigenda. Inſociabile regnum: cupido regni fratre & filia potior. Scaurum cui implacabilius iraſcebatur* (Tiberius) *ſilentio tranſmiſit. Intelligebantur artes, ſed pars obſequii in eo, ne deprehenderentur. In ſumma fortuna æquius quod validius.* Theſe I do not quote as the fineſt Thoughts in TACITUS, but only ſuch as occur to me.

He paints Thoughts and Faculties, Men and Paſſions, Tyranny and Slaves. His imagination is boundleſs, yet never out-runs his judgment; his wiſdom is ſolid and vaſt, yet always enlivened by his imagination. His deſigning is great, his drawing juſt, his colouring beautiful. See the deſcription of a Peſtilence at Rome, *An.* 16. *c.* 13. *Domus corporibus exanimis, itinera funeribus complebantur. Non ſexus, non ætas periculo vacua. Servitia perinde ac ingenua plebes raptim extingui, inter conjugum & liberorum lamenta, qui dum aſſident, dum deflent, ſæpe eodem rogo cremabantur. Equitum Senatorumque interitus quamvis promiſcui, minus flebiles erant, tanquam communi mortalitate ſævitiam Principis prævenirent.* Under a Tyrant, a Plague was a bleſſing.

Who but TACITUS could have ſaid as he does of the antient Germans: *Argentum & aurum propitii an irati Dii negaverint, dubito?* or that afterwards of the ſame people: *mira diverſitate naturæ, cum iidem homines ſic ament inertiam, quietem oderint?* or that of the Sitones, a particular Clan of Germans, who were under the Government of a Woman; *in tantum non modo a libertate, ſed etiam a ſervitute degenerant?* Theſe are ſuch inſtances of diſcernment, ſagacity and happy expreſſion, as few Writings can ſhew. By them and a thouſand more, 'tis manifeſt that TACITUS ſaw every thing in a true and uncommon light: and his reflections are like mirrours where human nature and government are exhibited in their proper ſize and colours.

I cannot help thinking that to be a bold and gallant Saying of BOIOCALUS to the Roman General, who refuſed him a manſion for himſelf and his people in the vacant Lands of Frizia; and thence provoked him to implore the Sun and Stars: *quaſi coram interrogabat, vellentne contueri inane ſolum? potius mare ſuperfunderent adverſus terrarum ereptores. Deeſſe nobis terram in qua vivamus; in qua moriamur non poteſt.* What a ſublime thought is that of his concerning the Fennians? The moſt ſavage and wretched race this of all the wild Germans; their cloathing, ſkins; their bed, the earth; their food, the graſs; deſtitute of horſes, houſes, and arms; the thick branches of trees their only ſhelter againſt tempeſts and the ravening beaſts: Here they find cradles and protection for their babes; here live the old men, and hither reſort the young: yet this miſerable life they prefer to that of ſweating at the plough, and to the pains of rearing houſes: they thirſt not after the fortunes of others; they have no anxiety about preſerving their own; ſo that they hoped for nothing that was not theirs, and having nothing of their own, could fear to loſe nothing: *ſecuri* (ſays TACITUS) *adverſus homines, ſecuri adverſus deos, rem difficillimam adſecuti ſunt, ut illis ne voto quidem opus ſit.*

Sect. IV. *The Morality of* TACITUS, *and his ſpirit virtuous and humane.*

AS obvious too as his other great qualities, is his love of Mankind, of Civil Liberty, and of private and publick Virtue. His Book is a great tablature of the uglineſs and horrors of Tyranny; of the ſcandal and infamy of ſervitude and debaſement; of the lovelineſs of virtue and a free ſpirit; of the odiouſneſs of vice and ſycophancy. Such was his ſympathy for the ſufferings and ſevere lot of the Romans under TIBERIUS, that he is glad of a digreſſion from home, and keeps thence as long as he can, to relieve his ſoul from attending to domeſtick evils: *duabus æſtatibus geſta conjunxi, quo requieſceret animus a domeſticis malis.* He grieves for the ſlaviſh ſpirit, for the ſtupid tameneſs of the Romans under the Tyranny of the deteſtable NERO: So much Roman blood wantonly ſhed by that monſter, is a load upon his ſoul and oppreſſes it with ſorrow: *patientia ſervilis, tantumque ſanguinis domi perditum, fatigant animum, & mæſtitia reſtringunt.*

HE delights in good times, in publick Liberty and virtuous Reigns, and delights to praiſe them; ſuch as thoſe of NERVA and TRAJAN; *rara temporum felicitate, ubi ſentire quæ velis, & quæ ſentias dicere licet.* In what a different ſtrain does he ſpeak of the foregoing Emperors? *Nobilitas, opes, omiſſi geſtique honores pro crimine, & ob virtutes certiſſimum exitium.* He glories however that the worſt and moſt faithleſs times produced many inſtances of friendſhip and generous fidelity: *non tamen adeo virtutum ſterile ſeculum, ut non & bona exempla prodiderit.*

HE is fond of a virtuous Character; as that of LABEO: *Labeo incorrupta libertate & ob id fama celebratior:* ſuch as that of LEPIDUS; *hunc ego Lepidum temporibus illis, gravem & ſapientem virum fuiſſe comperio: nam plæraque ab ſævis adulationibus aliorum, in melius flexit?* and that of L. PISO chief Pontiff; *nullius ſervilis ſententiæ ſponte auctor.* How amiable are the Death and laſt words of L. ARRUNTIUS, like thoſe of a Patriot and a Prophet! But how vile every where, and even miſerable and inſecure, are Tyrants, Flatterers and the Miniſters of Iniquity? What he ſays of the firſt I have quoted above: and againſt the other hear his honeſt indignation: *tempora infecta, & adulatione ſordida fuere. Fœdaque & nimia cenſerent. Adulatio perinde anceps ſi nulla, & ubi nimia eſt. Delatores genus hominum in exitium publicum repertum, perniciem aliis, ac poſtremo ſibi invenere.* What an odious inſect is VATINIUS; what a horrible villain TIGELLINUS; what infamous ſycophants are CAPITO and VITELLIUS; and what a ſhocking parricide is SERENUS, the accuſer of his father and a general accuſer?

Sect. V. *The Stile of* TACITUS, *how pertinent and happy: his Obſcurity, a charge of the moderns only.*

BESIDES the grandeur and dignity of his phraſe, he is remarkable for a ſurpriſing brevity: but let his words be ever ſo few, his thought and matter are always abundant. His expreſſion is like the dreſs of POPPEA SABINA, deſcribed by himſelf; *velata parte oris ne ſatiaret aſpectum, vel quia ſic decebat.* He ſtarts the Idea, and leaves the Imagination to purſue it: the ſample he gives you is ſo fine, that you are preſently curious to ſee the whole piece, and then you have your ſhare in the merit of the diſcovery; a compliment which ſome able Writers have forgot to pay to their Readers. I cannot help thinking Mr. LOCKE a great deal too wordy, and that the plainneſs of his propoſitions, as well as their ſtrength, is often weak'ned by an explanation over-diffuſe. Dr. TILLOTSON's ſtile is much better, indeed very fine, but takes up too much room: 'tis like he choſe it as fit for popular Diſcourſes; ſince 'tis plain from the vivacity of his Parts, and the many fine turns found in his Writings, that he could have been very ſententious. Theſe two great names are by no man reverenced more than I reverence them, and without malignity I mention them, as I do that of the worthy Lord CLARENDON, whoſe language is weighty, and grave, but encumbred and even dark'ned, I might ſay flat'ned, with a multiplication of words.

STILE is a part of Genius, and TACITUS had one peculiar to himſelf, a ſort of a languge of his own, one fit to expreſs the amazing vigour of his ſpirit, and that redundancy of reflections which for force and frequency are to be equalled by no Writer before or ſince. Beſides, the courſe and fluency of his Narration, is almoſt every where broken by perſons whom he introduces ſpeaking and debating; inſomuch that a great part of his Hiſtory comes out of the mouths of other people, and in expreſſions ſuitable to their ſeveral Characters. 'Tis plain too that the older he grew, the more he prun'd and curtailed his Stile; for his Hiſtories are much more copious and flowing than his Annals: and thus what has been by others reckoned a fault, was in him the effect of his judgment. Neither were his Works intended for the populace; but for ſuch as governed States, or ſuch as attended to the conduct of Governors; nor, were the Stile and Latin ever ſo plain, would they ever be underſtood by ſuch as do not. As PLUTARCH came to underſtand the Roman Tongue by underſtanding their Affairs; TACITUS is to be known by knowing human Nature, and the elements and mechaniſm of Government.

IT is madneſs to wiſh for the manner and redundancy of LIVY in the Writings of TACITUS. They wrote at different times, and of Governments differently formed. TACITUS had tranſactions of another ſort to deſcribe, and other ſorts of men; (for by Government men are changed); the crooked arts of policy, the falſe ſmiles of power, the jealouſy, fury and wantonneſs of Princes uncontrolled; the flattery of the Grandees; the havock made by the accuſers, and univerſal debaſement of all men: matter this chiefly for reflection, complaints and rebuke! *Nobis in arto, & inglorius labor: mæſtæ urbis res, &c.* LIVY had another field and more ſcope; the Hiſtory of a Commonwealth riſing, forming, and conquering; perpetual victories and matter of panegyrick; and his pen flowed like the proſperity of the State: *Ingentia bella, expugnationes urbium, fuſos captoſque reges, diſcordias Conſulum adverſus Tribunos, agrarias frumentariaſque leges, plebis & optimatium certamina, libero egreſſu memorabat*, *An.* 4. 32. Doubtleſs he could have adopted another Stile if he would, perhaps the ſtile of LIVY, as I think this very quotation ſhews: but TACITUS had another view and different topicks; nor would another ſtile, the eaſy and numerous ſtile of LIVY, have anſwered his purpoſe. I fancy too that no body who knows TACITUS, would wiſh him to have written in a ſtrain different from what he has done. There are charms in his manner and words, as well as in his Thoughts, and he wears the only dreſs that would become him.

IT is amazing that this obſcurity of his ſhould never be mentioned by any of the Antients who mention him. It is a fault diſcovered by the Moderns, tho', in my opinion, common to him with other Claſſical Writers; nor has he puzzled the Commentators more than HORACE, CICERO, PLINY, SALLUST, *&c.* His Latin is truly pure and claſſical; he has few or no words which had not been uſed by approved writers, nor does he often give new ideas to old words. If his Works were no wiſe obſcure to men of ſenſe when he compoſed them, as we have no reaſon to think; 'tis inſolence and folly in us to reckon his obſcurity a fault. 'Tis a dead language he writes in, and he wrote near ſeventeen hundred years ago. When TACITUS the Emperor directed copies of his Books to be placed in all the Libraries, and for their better preſervation, to be tranſcribed ten times every year, he ordered no Grammarian to explain his abſtruſe places; tho' the Hiſtorian had been then dead near two hundred years. Great Writers are in their manner and phraſe a Lal and Authority to themſelves; and not confined to the Rules that fill the heads or grammars of ſmall wits and pedants. MILTON has a ſtile of his own, and rules for writing of his own; and who that taſtes his genius would wiſh him more faſhionable and exact, or to have writ otherwiſe. I am even pleaſed with the jarrings of MILTON's phraſes. But here I chiefly mean his poetical ſtyle. Of his proſe I ſhall make mention hereafter.

WHEN the ſubject varies ſo ſhould the ſtile: that of TACITUS is marvellouſly ſuited to his ſubject and deſign; had it been more familiar, it had neither been ſo juſt nor ſo beautiful. To me nothing is more ſo than the manner of TACITUS: his words and phraſes are admirably adapted to his matter and conceptions, and make impreſſions ſudden and wonderful upon the mind of man. The doleful condition of the Emperor VITELLIUS, when deſerted by his fortune and all men, is ſtrong and tragical as imagination and words can make it. *Terret ſolitudo & tacentes loci; tentat clauſa; inhorreſcit vacuis; feſſuſque miſero errore, & pudenda latebra ſemet occultans, à Tribuno protrahitur: vinctæ pone tergum manus; laniata veſte, fædum ſpectaculum ducebatur, multis increpantibus:* he adds, *nullo inlachrymante;* and the reaſon he gives for this, is judicious and fine: *deformitas exitus miſericordiam abſtulerat.* What follows is in the ſame affecting ſtrain; as are the firſt ſenſible approaches of his calamity. *Vitellius, capta urbe, Aventinum in domum uxoris cellula defertur, ut ſi diem latebra vitaviſſet terracinam—perfugeret: dein mobilitate ingenii, & quæ natura pavoris eſt, cum omnia metuenti, præſentia maxime diſplicerent, in palatium regreditur, vaſtum deſertumque; dilapſis etiam infimis ſervorum, aut occurſum ejus declinantibus.*

WHO would blame TACITUS for a paucity of words, when he conveys ſo many images in ſo few? *Is habitus animorum fuit, ut peſſimum facinus auderent pauci, plures vellent, omnes paterentur?* Where can there be a happier expreſſion than that concerning GALBA, when the Empire was already rent from him, and he knew it not? *Ignarus interim Galba & ſacris intentus, fatigabat alieni jam imperii deos.* When OTHO, proclaimed Emperor by no more than three and twenty

Soldiers, was advancing to the Camp, *& paucitate ſalutantium trepidus;* the behaviour and acquieſcence of thoſe he met in his way are accounted for with ſurprizing brevity and juſtneſs: *alii conſcientia, plerique miraculo; pars clamore & gladiis, pars ſilentio, animum ex eventu ſumpturi.* There is infinite pathos in what he ſays of the Omens and Phænomena, which were obſerved during the Civil Wars, and the ſtrife of Princes: *cœlo terraque prodigia, & fulminum monitus, & futurorum præſagia læta, triſtia, ambigua, manifeſta.* What can be more ſolemn, ſounding and ſublime, even in LUCRETIUS? When NERO was diſgracing himſelf and the Roman State, by debaſing his perſon to that of a Player upon the publick Stage; how pathetically is the behaviour and ſpirit of BURRUS deſcribed in a few words; *adſtabat Burrus mærens & laudans.*

Sect. VI. *A general Character of his Works.*

THERE is no end of ſpecimens and examples: 'tis all over a wonderful Book, full of wiſdom, full of virtue; of aſtoniſhing ſtrokes of genius and ſuperior ſenſe. Yet he ſeems not to value himſelf upon his great thoughts; the fineſt things fall from him like common things; he ſays them naturally, and never dwells upon one, becauſe he has always more to utter. When he has ſtruck your imagination and you want to ſtand ſtill and ruminate, you have no time; he draws or rather forces you forward, and the next thought ſtrikes you as much; ſo does the third, and all of them; and you go on reading and wondering, yet wiſhing for leiſure to ponder and recollect: But he gives you none; for from firſt to laſt the preſent reflection is always the beſt.

'Tis all of it eternal good ſenſe, and will bear an eternity of time and cenſure. 'Tis no wiſe akin to your pretty trifles of humour and fancy, that juſt tickle the imagination and go no deeper, and pleaſe for a day. His beauties are ſolid, and upon the ſtricteſt examination diſcover no paint or tinſel; his wiſdom and inſtruction are inexhauſtible, and his works conſequently an everlaſting feaſt. I have ſeen ſeveral performances of tolerable length and notable reputation, all derived from ſo many ſhort ſentences of TACITUS, well wiredrawn and paraphraſed: he is indeed a fund for Writers who have diſcretion and ſtile, but want depth.

There is a fine ſhort Character of TACITUS in OWEN's Epigrams;

> *Veracem fecit probitas, natura ſagacem,*
> *Obſcurum brevitas te, gravitaſque brevem.* Epigr. 157.

Sect. VII. TACITUS *vindicated from the imputation of deriving events from counſels too ſubtle and malevolent.*

HE is accuſed too of over much ſubtlety and refining, and of deriving the actions of his Princes, even the moſt innocent and plauſible, from crooked deſigns and a baſe heart; and of imputing to Craft and Politicks what was often no more than the effect of inclination and paſſion. A charge in my opinion intirely groundleſs: TACITUS deſcribes things and men as they are, ſhews Particulars acting agreeably to their characters, their ſituation and views; and repreſents counſels

ſels flowing from ſuch ſources only as were likely to produce them. Let us examine his reign of TIBERIUS for which he is chiefly cenſured.

THE firſt feat of this reign, was the murder of AGRIPPA, the grandſon of AUGUSTUS. TIBERIUS ordered it, and denied it, and threatned the Centurion who was the executioner, that he ſhould anſwer for it to the Senate. This is the account given by TACITUS, and the ſame is given by SUETONIUS; the former adds, that it was done from jealouſy of State, and for the removal of a Rival: and what other reaſon is to be given? for he had ſhewn how improbable it was that the ſame had been ordained by AUGUSTUS, tho' this was pretended, as SUETONIUS too teſtifies. Nor was any thing more natural than his apprehenſions of GERMANICUS, a young Prince popular above all men, and at the head of a great army, who wanted him for their Emperor in the room of TIBERIUS. This is matter of fact and well atteſted: Now where is the extreme refining, to repreſent TIBERIUS as contriving to remove ſuch a dangerous man, one of ſuch good pretences and powerful intereſt, firſt from his faithful Legions, and then from home, for ever; tho' at the ſame time he flattered him, extolled him, and heaped honours upon him? All this is but the common road of ſuch Courts, when they have the ſame deſigns and fears. Is it not uſual in Turkey to load a Baſhaw with Imperial Preſents, to beſtow upon him ſome great Government, and to murder him before he arrive there?

Is not power a jealous and artificial thing, full of fears and wiles; and is not TIBERIUS allowed by all men to have been a Prince of infinite diſtruſt, craft, and cruelty? What meant he by making great men Governors of Provinces, and yet never ſuffering them to go thither for a courſe of years, nor even out of Rome, tho' they ſtill held the name? What meant he by continuing others in the actual poſſeſſion of Provinces for a long tract of years, nay frequently to the end of their life? Was it not his diſtruſt of the former; and that as to the latter, he could not make a ſafer choice, and therefore was afraid to chooſe any? Yet TACITUS far from diving into his Politicks in this matter, or being ſubtle and dogmatical about it, gives you the ſentiments of others: *alii tædio novæ curæ, ſemel placita pro æternis ſervaviſſe: Quidam, invidia, ne plures fruerentur. Sunt qui exiſtimant, ut callidum ejus ingenium, ita anxium judicium; neque enim eminentis virtutes ſectabatur, & rurſum vitia oderat: ex optimis periculum ſibi; a peſſimis dedecus publicum metuebat.* Never was any thing ſaid more impartial, never any thing more juſt and ſolid. From the doubles and even contradictions that poſſeſs the heart of man, the conduct of men will be perplexed and contradictory. It is allowed that *alieni appetens, ſui profuſus,* was a juſt branch in the Character of CATILINE, and is reckoned one of the beauties and ſtrong places in SALLUST. Without peradventure, as beautiful and ſtrong and juſt, is this of TACITUS: *neque eminentis virtutes ſectabatur, & rurſum vitia oderat;* the reaſon too aſſigned for it, is equally juſt and fine: *ex optimis periculum ſibi; a peſſimis dedecus publicum metuebat.* Is not this accounting from the principles of nature and ſelf preſervation for the conduct and politicks of TIBERIUS? Many of his actions and meaſures, recounted by TACITUS, are ſupported by collateral evidence, by SUETONIUS, PLINY, DION CASSIUS, and others: many by them omitted are by him related, with ſuch probability, and ſo perfectly reſemble the reſt of his conduct, that we muſt deny TIBERIUS to have been ſuch a Prince as all men agree he was, or believe the account of him given by TACITUS.

HIS diſſimulation was conſtant and notorious. In the very beginning, while he confidently acted as Emperor, with all the pomp and might of Majeſty, he openly refuſed the Empire: *Principatum* (ſays SUETONIUS) *quamvis neque occupare confeſtim, neque agere dubitaſſet, vi & ſpecie dominationis aſſumpta, diu tamen recuſavit impudentiſſimo animo:* Such ſevere language as this is not given him by TACITUS.

DOES TACITUS repreſent him as hating and fearing the great Romans and illuſtrious Senators? And do not other Hiſtorians; do not the facts themſelves prove it? Was he not continually deſtroying them, till they were almoſt all deſtroyed? Of the twenty Grandees particularly (*principum Civitatis*) whom he deſired of the Senate, for his Confidents and Counſellors, he left not above two or three alive; all the reſt were by treachery and feigned crimes cut off by him; *Horum omnium vix duos aut tres incolumes præſtitit: Cæteros, alium alia de cauſa perculit,* ſays SUETONIUS. Is TACITUS therefore too refined, in diſcovering what facts demonſtrate? Is it not SUETONIUS too who ſays, *Multa ſpecie gravitatis, ac morum corrigendorum, ſed magis naturæ obtemperans, ſæve & atrociter factitavit?* “It was uſual with him, to do actions exceeding barbarous and mercileſs, yet all under ſhew of Juſtice and the reforming of Manners; but in reality from the inſtigation of his own cruel ſpirit.” Is SUETONIUS alſo over ſubtle, the Hiſtorian in the world the moſt plain, and ſeldom aiming at a reflection? For what reaſon did he ſuffer the boundaries of the Empire to be invaded, and Provinces to be ſeized by the Barbarians, but from fear of truſting any great Officer with the conduct of the War?

THAT he affected to derive all power from the Senate, yet left them but the ſhadow of authority, and was even jealous of that ſhadow, is ſacredly true. It was even natural; and wanted no refining, to diſcover it. Did not CROMWELL do the ſame? And are not all men willing to have their power, however lawleſs, legitimated, and the odium of their acts of violence transfer'd upon others? Will any one ſay, that the Senate liked his acts of Sovereignty, his frequent impeachments of their Members, often the beſt and moſt innocent, and his obliging them to condemn, (for he that dares not refuſe is forced to conſent) and his leaving every particular in continual dread of being the next; which was a farther motive in each to hatred and complaiſance? He knew he had earn'd their hate, *reputante ſibi publicum odium.* Is it likely now that he loved them, or that there was or could be ſincerity or confidence on either ſide? What did his retirement in the Iſle of Capreæ, with his perpetual abſence from Rome, infer, but continual diſtruſt of the Senate and People? Juſt before he expired he was haſtening from a ramble upon the Continent, back to his Den, *Non temere quidquam niſi ex tuto auſurus;* to take meaſures of vengeance againſt the Senate, for that he had read in their acts, that they had diſcharged certain perſons accuſed, though he had writ to the Senate, that they were only named by the informer: *Pro contempto ſe habitum fremens, repetere Capreas quoque modo deſtinavit, non* *temere, &c.* This too is related by SUETONIUS. It is certain the Senate were to all theſe Tyrants a conſtant mark of jealouſy and hate, and ſome of them, particularly CALIGULA and NERO, had purpoſed to extirpate that venerable Aſſembly, by murdering the whole Body.

Sect. VIII. *More Proofs of the Candour and Veracity of* TACITUS.

TACITUS makes TIBERIUS no worſe than he was, hardly ſo bad. That he doomed almoſt his whole family to exile, famine, or the executioner; that his cruel ſuſpicion and diſtruſt extended even to women, even to his mother, nay to children, relations and ſtrangers, to names, nobility, and all men, is undeniable. Nor does TACITUS relate any part of the conduct or politicks of TIBERIUS, but what evidently reſults either from the nature of the man, or the nature of his power. He frequently ſpeaks well of that Prince; and ill he could not avoid ſpeaking, if he ſpoke of him at all. Nay the whole ſixth chapter of the fourth Annal, is a fine panegyrick upon the moderation and wiſdom of his Government for eight years before: *publica negotia, & privatorum maxima, apud patres tractabantur: dabaturque primoribus diſſerere, & in adulationem lapſos cohibebat ipſe; mandabatque honores, nobilitatem majorum, claritudinem militiæ, inluſtres domi artes ſpectando: ut ſatis conſtaret non alios potiores fuiſſe. Sua conſulibus, ſua prætoribus ſpecies: minorum quoque magiſtratuum exercita poteſtas; legeſque, ſi majeſtatis quæſtio eximeretur, bono in uſu, &c.*

WHAT can be fairer than this? and do not other Hiſtorians agree that he grew worſe and worſe: that he had long ſmothered his vices, and was firſt and laſt a complete diſſembler? And is it juſt upon TACITUS, to accuſe him of diſplaying the ſubtleties and craſt of a Prince, who was all craft and ſubtlety? Does he not give us the good and bad of his Character, and frequently defend it? Does he not ſay of him in oppoſition to popular opinion and report, *non crediderim ad oſtentandam ſævitiam, movendaſque populi offenſiones conceſſam filio materiam; quanquam id quoque dictum eſt? An.* 1. *c.* 76.

DOES he not repreſent TIBERIUS elſewhere as mollifying a rigorous ſentence of the Senate, for baniſhing a criminal to a barren and deſolate Iſland, and arguing that to whomſoever they granted life, they ought to grant the conveniences of life: *dandos vitæ uſus cui vita concederetur?* Does he not repreſent him in another place abſolutely refuſing a new acceſſion of power, and arguing againſt it, like a Republican; yet charges him there with no diſſimulation?

IN him you have no falſe colouring, no true worth blemiſhed, no bad qualities diſguiſed; but fair repreſentations and equal juſtice. TIBERIUS is a dangerous Prince, extremely falſe, extremely cruel; but he has many abilities, and ſome good qualities. He is prudent in moderating the exceſſes of others, where he was not inſtigated by his own perſonal anger: *prudens moderandi, ubi propriâ irâ non impelleretur.* He loved power without bounds; yet was conſtant and reſolute in rejecting pompous honours: *ſpernendis honoribus validus:* a great Tyrant, but a Prince obſerving the rules of primitive parcimony: *antiquæ parcimoniæ princeps:* furiouſly jealous of prerogative; yet the laws, where proceſſes of treaſon interfered not, were in proper force: *leges, ſi majeſtatis quæſtio eximeretur, bono in uſu.* He is inflexible in his vengeance, and wherever his jealouſy or anger centers, there terrible Tragedies are ſure to follow: Yet the popular imputation of his poiſoning his ſon, is by TACITUS expoſed as incredible and fabulous; with many the like inſtances of eminent impartiality: He gives fair quarter to the man, but none to the Tyrant.

TO CLAUDIUS a ſtupid Prince, and almoſt a changeling, who had no judgment, no averſion of his own, but only ſuch as were infuſed and managed by others, he allows a ſhare of ſenſe at intervals; allows that he did ſome reaſonable things, gave good advice to the Prince of Parthia; and wanted not elegance in his ſpeeches, when his ſpeeches were premeditated. He owns the ſpirit of Sovereignty to be jealous and unſociable; but as an exception from this rule, mentions the amiable friendſhip and union between GERMANICUS and DRUSUS, in the Court of TIBERIUS, tho' their different intereſts had rent the whole Court into factions. He owns the friendſhip of DRUSUS for the children of GERMANICUS; tho' the participation of power, and the union of hearts, are ſeldom compatible.

The ſame fair temper and truth he obſerves in the Conduct and Character of GALBA, OTHO, and even of NERO and VITELLIUS: and 'twas his buſineſs and deſign to lay open the iniquity and horrors of their miſrule.

THESE are ſome of the objections made to the Writings of TACITUS, and I think with extreme injuſtice. His Criticks are more ſubtle than he: they are falſe refiners, who for the reputation of ſagacity, make ſingular remarks, and ſerve him as they ſay he did TIBERIUS; they pervert and blacken his deſigns, and are too curious to be equitable. TACITUS, with a maſterly diſcernment, unravels the myſterious conduct of TIBERIUS: 'tis from awe of his Mother, 'tis from fear of GERMANICUS, 'tis from jealouſy of the Grandees, and with deſign to amuſe and humour, or to deceive them all, that he rules and acts with ſuch temper and moderation, againſt the bent and pride of his nature always imperious and tyrannical. But when he had well eſtabliſhed himſelf; when GERMANICUS was dead; when his Mother too was gone; when he had cruſhed ſome of the Grandees, and terrified all; and eſpecially when he was far from the eyes of Rome, is it not moſt true, that he then gave a looſe to all the exceſſes of vileneſs and cruelty? *cuncta ſimul vitia, male diu diſſimulata, tandem profudit.* 'Tis not TACITUS who ſays this.

WAS he not continually mocking and deluding the Senate? Firſt he would by no means accept the Empire, at a time when he was actually in poſſeſſion: ſometimes he was weary of it, and would needs reſign at every turn. Before he quitted the City, he was for viſiting the Provinces, and for this purpoſe many preparations were made, and high expectation raiſed: then when he had retired to Capreæ, he was continually amuſing them with his immediate return to Rome, nay begg'd one of the Conſuls to guard him. He carried the deceit ſo far, that he often viſited the Continent, and the very Walls and Gardens about Rome; but never once return'd to Rome, nor viſited the Provinces, nor had a thought of reſigning. The Commonwealth was always in his mouth, even when he was acting the Tyrant moſt: he profeſſed eminent moderation while he was meditating acts of cruelty; and in inſtances of injuſtice and rigour, pleaded law and mercy, His malice in leaving ſo wicked a Succeſſor appears more from SUETONIUS than from TACITUS, who allows him to have had ſome thoughts of appointing another: but the former teſtifies expreſly, that TIBERIUS was wont to foretel what a devouring Dragon he rear'd for the Roman people, and what a Phaeton or incendiary to the whole earth. TACITUS is vouched by SUETONIUS in what he ſays was reported for the motive which determined AUGUSTUS to adopt TIBERIUS; *ambitione tractum, ut tali ſucceſſore conſiderabilior ipſe quandoque fieret. Suet. in Tiber. c.* 21. The ſame too is teſtified by DION CASSIUS.

Sect. IX. *Mr.* BAYLE'*s unjuſt cenſure of* TACITUS; *and how well the latter knew and obſerv'd the Laws of Hiſtory.*

MR. BAYLE in his *Dictionary* in the Article of *Tacitus*, quotes ſome paſſages out of a Book entitled *Anonymiana*, where TACITUS is criticiz'd as above, and approves thoſe paſſages. This is the leſs matter of wonder to me, for that Mr. BAYLE, with all his immenſe learning, acuteneſs, and candour, had a ſtrange and unnatural biaſs to abſolute Monarchy, tho' he had fled from the fury of it, and taken refuge in a free State. A proof this that great weakneſſes cleave to the greateſt minds; and who can boaſt an exemption from prejudices, when a ſpirit ſo ſignally diſintereſted and philoſophical as that of BAYLE was not exempted? He himſelf ſays of TACITUS, *qu'il y a bien à reprendre dans l'affectation de ſon langage, & dans celle de rechercher les motifs ſecrets des actions, & de les tourner vers le criminel.* That this charge is groundleſs I have already proved. Much leſs to be regarded is the authority of Mr. St. EVREMOND in his cenſure upon TACITUS; his obſervations are without depth, to ſay no worſe: nor have I found in his Works any political obſervations remarkable for ſolidity and force. What he has ſaid of the Romans, is ſuperficial, and often wrong.

TACITUS knew perfectly the Laws of Hiſtory, and blames the paſſionate and partial accounts given by thoſe who deſcribed the ſame reigns; ſince thoſe of them which were written during the lives of the Princes, were falſified through dread of their Tyranny, and when dead, through deteſtation of their late cruelties. He had no motive to be partial; free as he was from affection, free from reſentment. He knew that truth uncorrupted was the buſineſs of an Hiſtorian, and that perſonal affection and hate ſhould have no ſhare in the work; *nec amore quiſquam, & ſine odio dicendus eſt.* Of GALBA, OTHO, and VITELLIUS he ſays, that to him they were known by no mark either of favour or diſkindneſs. The ſame is true of AUGUSTUS, TIBERIUS, CALIGULA, CLAUDIUS, and NERO. He ſhews how the truth was corrupted, firſt by flattery, then by reſentment; and profeſſes to be far from either. I think he is as good as his word.

Sect. X. *An Apology for the wrong account by* TACITUS *given of the Jews and Chriſtians, and for his diſregard of the Religion then received.*

THERE are other accuſations againſt TACITUS: he has miſrepreſented the Jews and Chriſtians, and wanted Religion.

Concerning the Jews, he followed the traditions and accounts current amongſt the Romans: he tells you what different relations there were, and neither adds any thing, nor miſrepreſents things maliciouſly. It was an obſcure State, generally enſlav'd to ſome greater power; to the Aſſyrians, Ægyptians, Grecians, and then to the Romans; and contemned by all, as much as they themſelves hated all. They had not common mercy or charity toward the Gentiles and uncircumciſed; and being perſuaded that the Almighty loved only themſelves, they fancy'd that he abhorred, and therefore they abhorred the whole human race beſides: ſo that 'twas ſaid by Tacitus too truly, *adverſus omnes alios hoſtile odium*. They were likewiſe ever ſollicitous to hide their myſteries from the eyes of the Heathens, and could not blame them for not knowing what was not to be known. Yet he was not ill inform'd in ſome inſtances, eſpecially in their ſpiritual notions of the Deity, with their averſion to Images, and to the adoration of the Emperors: *nulla ſimulacra urbibus ſuis; non regibus hæc adulatio, non Cæſaribus honor*.

Of the Goſpel 'tis manifeſt he knew nothing, he could not elſe have made ſo ugly a picture of thoſe who profeſſed it; for it is not likely that the Chriſtians were yet ſo degenerated as to diſgrace the Chriſtian Religion. Tacitus wanted an opportunity to be better informed. That Religion, as it began among the lower ſort of people, had not probably hitherto gained many proſelytes of name and quality, to countenance and recommend it to men of figure. Tacitus conſidered it like a Stateſman, as a new Sect inconſiſtent with the Laws of Rome, and threatning civil tumults and innovations. It is probable too he had heard and credited the calumnies then uſually thrown upon the manners and meetings of that people. Nor after the beſt inſtruction could he have become a Believer without the illumination of the Spirit; which, it is plain, was withheld from him: and, without a change of heart, it was impoſſible for him to conceive the Reſurrection of the dead, and the Crucifixion of the Son of God. Yet he does them the juſtice to vindicate them from the obloquy of Nero, and expoſes the barbarity of their treatment by that Tyrant.

For his diſregarding the Religion then receiv'd, when I conſider what ſorts of abſurdities the Pagans held for Religion, I cannot ſo much blame him. It was a worſhip paid to Deities altogether frantick and impure, by ſacrifices and follies ridiculous and vain; and both their Worſhip and their Gods were invented by the cunning or deluſion of men. It conſiſted in no purification of heart, nor amendment of morals; the things which men and ſocieties require; but in ſounds, geſticulation, and the blood of beaſts: not in truth and ſenſe, in benevolence and rectitude of mind; but in lying oracles, unaccountable myſteries, and a raving imagination: ſometimes in profeſs'd acts of lewdneſs; often in thoſe of fury and madneſs; always in ſuch as were foreign from real virtue and the reſtraining of the paſſions. Public calamities were never thought to be brought down by public depravity and vice, nor to be averted or removed by public reformation. The Gods were not offended but by the omiſſion, or wrong performance of ſome ceremony or grimace; and by grimace and ceremony they were to be appeaſed. And when the Deities were deemed to be endowed with the peeviſhneſs and caprices of children and apes, or the phrenzy of lunaticks, what man of ſenſe could reverence them, or believe in them? It would not have redounded to the reputation of his ſenſe, if he had. Where Religion is pure Superſtition, and the belief of it abſolutely groundleſs and blind; where its Rites are fanciful, fooliſh, and unmanly, as the Religion, and Gods, and Worſhip of the Pagans were; it would have been a revolt from common Reaſon to have had any ſuch Religion. We know how freely CICERO deals with their Gods.

IT is true that theſe great men of Rome, who either had no notion of Religion, or one quite oppoſite to that publickly received and practiſed, regarded it as far as it was interwoven with the conſtitution of the State, and ſubſervient to the ends of Government: yet they ſuffer'd their Poets, eſpecially the dramatic Poets, to treat their Gods with ſevere jeſts and ſatyr. They ſeem'd to be of TIBERIUS's mind, *Deorum injurias dijs curæ;* that is, to leave to the Gods the avenging of indignities done to the Gods. Men were puniſhed for their libelling particulars, people of condition, and eſpecially Magiſtrates; but to ridicule and lampoon the Deities, Jupiter himſelf, even upon the Stage, was a matter of impunity and diverſion.

THEIR Religion therefore conſiſting in Rituals, a man might be very religious with a very debauch'd and libertine ſpirit: *cultor deorum parcus & infrequens*, is a complaint made by HORACE of himſelf, but does not ſeem to infer much heavenly mindedneſs, nor a departure from his impure pleaſures. One might on the contrary be exactly good and juſt, nay the pattern of Virtue, and a public Patriot, without any tincture of their Religion. Such was CATO the Cenſor, ſuch EPICURUS, and ſuch was TACITUS. He thought that either there was no Providence (for his mind waver'd between the doctrine of neceſſity and that of chance,) or ſuch a Providence as he could have well ſpared: *non eſſe curæ Deis ſecuritatem noſtram, eſſe ultionem.* But this bold reproach upon the Deities he uttered, after his heart, zealous for the good of his Country, had been heated by a terrible detail of her calamities.

NOR indeed according to the ideas conceived of theſe odd Beings, ſo eaſily humour'd and provok'd, could one ſay much good of them, or expect it from them. In the reign of NERO he enumerates many preſages, from which as from ſignals divinely ſent, great changes for the better were inferred; but all vaniſhed into air and diſappointment; *prodigia crebra & irrita interceſſere; &c.* Hence he argues, that all theſe omens happened ſo apparently without any direction or interpoſition of the Gods, that, for many years after, NERO rioted in power and wickedneſs.

WHATEVER were the ſpeculations of our Author about Religion, his Morality is ſtrong and pure, full of benevolence to human ſociety; full of every generous paſſion, and every noble principle; a terrible rebuke to iniquity, vice and baſeneſs, in all ſtations and ſhapes; and one continued leſſon of wiſdom and virtue. Theſe are the excellencies which in civil life recommend Books and Men; theſe the excellencies which recommend TACITUS; excellencies which he has carried as high as the utmoſt efforts of human genius could carry them. Mr. BAYLE ſays, *ſes Annales & ſon Hiſtoire ſont quelque choſe d'admirable, & l'un des plus grands efforts de l'eſprit humain; ſoit que l'on y conſidere la ſingularité du ſtile, ſoit que l'on s'attache à la beauté des penſées, & à cet heureux pinceau avec lequel il a ſçu peindre les deſguiſemens & les fourberies des politiques, & le foible des paſſions.*

NOR does he ſhew more abilities than probity, as aſtoniſhing as his abilities were: and having ſo much, what more did he want for his deſign? or what more could we wiſh in him? Which is the better inſtructor, he who has ſtore of faith, but wants virtue, and abounds not in good ſenſe; or he who wants the firſt, but abounds in knowledge and the rules of righteouſneſs? It is for this we conſult TACITUS, not for his Theological ſpeculations. How do his metaphyſical notions impede his excellencies as an Hiſtorian and Politician; or his miſtakes in one thing, leſſen his diſcernment and veracity in another?

ACCORDING to the accounts of our beſt Travellers concerning China, the Mandarins who are the Nobility of the country, the Learned, and ſuch as hold the Magiſtracy, have no Religion at all: their governing principle is public ſpirit; their principal ſtudy the good of the State; and they are noted for politeneſs and virtue. The Bonzes or Prieſts, on the contrary, pretend to extraordinary devotion; but are vicious, ſordid, baſe, and void of every virtue private or public. Here is an inſtance of a Monarchy the moſt thriving of any upon earth, or that ever was upon earth; an Empire that contains more people than half the reſt of the globe, theſe people full of induſtry and arts; yet adminiſtred by men who are of no particular Religion or Sect, but are guided by the natural lights of Reaſon and Morality; nor knows it a greater blot and diſgrace than the vile lives of its Prieſts and Religious.

AGAINST this inſtance ſet another, that of the Pope's Dominions, the center of the Romiſh Religion; where holy men ſway all things, and have engroſs'd all things; where tortures and flames keep out Infidels and Hereticks, and every man who thinks awry; and where the champions for devotion, ſo called, protect the Church, and feed themſelves. Now where but here ſhould one look for the marks of opulence, eaſe, and plenty, and public happineſs, if by an Adminiſtration of Prieſts and Devotees, public happineſs were advanced? But behold a different and melancholy ſcene! Countries fertile, but deſolate; the people ignorant, idle, and ſtarving, and all the marks and weight of miſery!

DOES not this merit reflection, that a Church blended and debauched with exceſſive wealth and power, is worſe, a thouſand times worſe than none; and that the mere light of nature and of reaſon is many degrees more conducive to the temporal welfare of humankind, than a Religion or Church which is purely lucrative and ſelfiſh? Were the Romiſh Church, or any other Church that teaches pains and penalties; any that exalts Eccleſiaſtics into power, and leaves them the ſword, or weilds it for them, once eſtabliſhed in China; there would in a little time be an end of their incredible numbers; and it would ſoon feel the cruel curſe attending the change. In this ſentiment I am vouched by that polite Writer, and candid Prelate, Dr. TILLOTSON: "Better it "were, ſays he, there were no revealed Religion, and that human na"ture were left to the conduct of its own principles and inclinations, "which are much more mild and merciful, much more for the peace "and happineſs of human ſociety; than to be acted by a Religion that "inſpires men with ſo wild a fury, and prompts them to commit ſuch "outrages." Serm. Vol. I. p. 206.

Make another compariſon between two particulars, a Heathen guided by reaſon, and a Chriſtian by paſſion and falſe zeal; between TACITUS and St. JEROM: behold the politeneſs, candour, eternal truth, and good ſenſe in the one: mark the raſhneſs and enthuſiaſm, the fierceneſs and falſhood of the other. So much ſtronger were the paſſions and inſincerity of this great Saint, than the impreſſions of the Chriſtian Religion, which is all meekneſs and candour: nay he often makes it a ſtale for his fury, forgeries, and implacable vengeance. I meddle not with his ſtrange maxims, ſome fooliſh, ſome mad, many impracticable, and others turbulent and ſeditious. In TACITUS you have the good ſenſe and breeding of a Gentleman; in the Saint the rage and dreams of a Monk. Does the Religion of the latter recommend his reveries and bitter ſpirit; or the want of it in TACITUS, weaken the ſhining truths that are in him?

WHEN a Writer relates facts or reaſons from principles, his good ſenſe and veracity only are to be regarded; and we have no more to do with his ſpeculations or miſtakes in other matters, than with his perſon or complexion. PLINY and ARISTOTLE are reckon'd Atheiſts; but what is this to their fine parts and learning? With ſmall ſpirits and bigots every thing that is noble and free, is Atheiſm and Blaſphemy. The littleneſs and ſourneſs of their own hearts, is the meaſure of all things. NERVA, TRAJAN, and MARCUS AURELIUS were Heathen Princes; but they had virtue and benevolence, and their adminiſtration was righteous: what more did their ſubjects want from them? JUSTINIAN, CONSTANTIUS, JOHN BASILOWITZ, JOHN GALEAS, and LEWIS the eleventh, were Chriſtian Princes, and men pretending to high Devotion; ſome of them great contenders for Orthodoxy, and great builders of Churches; but all barbarous and conſuming Tyrants. What were their people or themſelves the better for their Religion, without good nature and probity? Nay, they made Religion one of their principal machines for Tyranny; as Religion in a Tyrant or Impoſtor is little elſe but an impious bargain and compoſition with God for abuſing men.

SUCH in truth is the ſituation of things below, ſuch the frame and foible of men, that it depends in a great meaſure upon Civil Government, whether Religion ſhall in this world do good or harm. Is a country filled with oppreſſion, the happier for being filled too with Churches and Prieſts, as were Greece and Italy by JUSTINIAN? Or can a country that abounds in virtue and happineſs and good Laws, want any more to all the purpoſes of ſocial life; like Lacedemon and Rome in their beſt ages? Let us praiſe all who have true Religion, full of mercy, and void of bigottry; but let us not condemn ſuch as for want of the ſame lights and revelation which we have been bleſs'd with, are, without any forms of Religion, virtuous and wiſe. Certainly worſe, much worſe than none, is that Religion which inſpires pride, bigotry, and fierceneſs, and hath not charity for all men.

To conclude this head, I ſhall here ſubjoin what I have ſaid elſewhere to the like purpoſe: "That black is not white, and that two "and two make four, is as true out of the mouth of an Atheiſt, as "out of the mouth of an Apoſtle: a penny given by an Atheiſt to a "beggar, is better alms than a half penny given by a Believer; and "the good ſenſe of an Atheiſt is preferable to the miſtakes of a good "Chriſtian: in ſhort, whatever reputed Atheiſts do well, or ſpeak "truly, is more to be imitated and credited, than what the greateſt "Believers do wickedly, or ſay falſly: even in the buſineſs of bearing "teſtimony, or making a report, in which caſes the credit or repu-

" tation of the witneſs gives ſome weight, or none, to what he ſays; " more regard is to be had to the word of an Unbeliever, who has " no intereſt on either ſide, than to the word of a Believer who has: " neither are the good or bad actions of an Atheiſt worſe, with reſpect to the world at leaſt, for his being one; though the ſin of " a Saint is more ſinful than that of a Pagan. It is the greateſt folly " to think that any man's crimes are the leſs for him who commits " them; or that truth is leſs or more truth, for the ill or good " name of him who ſpeaks it."

Sect. XI. *The fooliſh cenſure of* BOCCALINI *and others upon* TACITUS.

THE cenſure paſſed upon TACITUS by BOCCALINI and ſome of the other Commentators, as if he maliciouſly taught leſſons of Tyranny; is ſo ſenſeleſs and abſurd that it merits no notice, much leſs confutation. As well may they ſay that LUTHER and father PAUL diſplay the encroachments and frauds of the Church of Rome, on purpoſe to teach that or other Churches how to oppreſs and deceive; or that LIVY, as great a Republican as ever lived, expoſed the uſurpations and Tyranny of TARQUIN, in order to inſtruct Uſurpers to ſupport themſelves and extinguiſh publick liberty. TACITUS repreſents Tyrants as odious to all men, and even to themſelves. But what anſwer could one give to a man who ſhould advance that GROTIUS wrote his Book of the Truth of Chriſtianity, with a view to promote and confirm Paganiſm?

Sect. XII. *Of the ſeveral Commentators and Tranſlators of* TACITUS.

IT were almoſt endleſs to mention all who have writ upon TACITUS, and their ſucceſs: numbers have done it, many as Criticks, ſome politically; and ſeveral of the former with ſufficiency and applauſe, ſuch as LIPSIUS, FREINSHEMIUS, old GRONOVIUS, and RYCKIUS. From the edition publiſhed by this laſt I have made my Tranſlation: the text is very correct, and his notes are judicious and good. Of all thoſe who have commented upon his Politicks, I can commend but very few; I mean ſuch as I have ſeen: many of them are worſe than indifferent: tedious compilations of common places, or heavy paraphraſes upon the original, where its vigour is loſt in ſuperfluous explications; and the lively thoughts of TACITUS converted into lifeleſs maxims, frequently wrong converted; frequently trifling and affected; often ſuch diſcoveries as are obvious to every peaſant or child: or puffy declamations, tedious, laboured and uninſtructive. Of one or t'other ſort are the Commentaries of BOCCALINI, ANNIBAL SCOTI, FORSTNERUS, SCHILDUS, and divers others.

Mr. AMELOT DE LA HOUSSAYE has made a large collection of political obſervations upon TACITUS, as far as the thirteenth Annal incluſive; ſome of them pertinent and uſeful; but many of them inſipid, and little worth. The very firſt which he makes, is flat and poor; *dés que la Roïauté commence à degénérer en tyrannie, le peuple aſpire à la liberté.* Little better is this; *quand un Prince commence à* *devenir infirme, ou caſſé, tout le monde tourne les yeux vers le ſoleil levant, c'eſt à dire, vers ſon ſucceſſeur:* and this; *les refus du Prince doivent être aſſaiſonnez de douceur & de courtoiſie:* and this; *ceux même qui ont renoncé à leur honneur, & qui font gloire de leur ſcelerateſſe, s'offenſent d'etre appellez traitres:* and this; *un bon General ne doit jamais hazarder une bataille, qu'il n'ait mis bon ordre par tout:* this too; *il n'y a rien dont un Favori, ou un premier Miniſtre, doive ſe metre plus en peine, que de bien connoitre l'humeur de ſon Prince:* this too; *un Prince dépoüillé de ſes Etats ne reſte pas volontiers entre les mains de celui qui s'en eſt emparé.* All this is trite, void of force and inſtruction.

THE Spaniſh Tranſlation by DON ALAMOS DE BARRIENTOS, is accompanied with numerous Annotations, by him ſtiled *Aforiſmos*, which are as indifferent and impotent as the Tranſlation it ſelf is good and ſtrong. His obſervation upon, *cuncta diſcordiis civilibus feſſa, nomine principis ſub imperium accepit*, is, *Quando alguno ſe viniere a hazer Señor de una grande, y poderoſa cividad libre, lo mas ordinario ſerà deſpues de una larga guerra civil:* “the opportunity for any one to “become maſter of a great and powerful free City, is moſt commonly “at the end of a great civil war.” TACITUS ſays, that AUGUSTUS left the firſt Lords of the Senate his heirs in the third degree, tho' moſt of them were hated by him: *pleroſque inviſos ſibi, ſed jactantia gloriaque ad poſteros.* DON ALAMOS obſerves upon this: *El principe muchas vezes haze honra a las perſonas que aborrece, para gagnar fama de modeſtia y ſufrimiento:* “a Prince often confers honours on thoſe he “hates, purely for the reputation of moderation and temper.” TACITUS ſays of GERMANICUS, *anxius occultis in ſe patrui aviæque odiis, quorum cauſſæ acriores quia iniquæ: El hombre inocente y bueno,* (ſays DON ALAMOS, by way of Annotation) *de ninguna coſa recibe tanta congoxa, como de los ſecretos aborrecimientos que ſabe le tienen ſus parientos, ſin merecerlo:* “a worthy and innocent man feels ſo much “anguiſh from nothing as from the ſecret hate which he knows “his parents bear him, without deſerving it.”

OF ſmall value are ſuch reflections, and ſmall thought they coſt to produce them: the leſs is the wonder that DON ALAMOS has vented ſuch a myriad. CANINI, an Italian, has however tranſlated them into his own language, with high encomiums, and publiſhed them with the Italian Tranſlation of POLITI, a Tranſlation which reads well, but hampers the thoughts of TACITUS, and from an affectation to be as conciſe as the original, loſes much of its weight and ſpirit. DON ALAMOS, on the contrary, opens the ſentiments of TACITUS fully, often over-fully, by ſupplemental parentheſes, that are ſometimes perfectly needleſs, and always marr and embarraſs the reading.

THESE are the only Spaniſh and Italian Verſions which I have ſeen of TACITUS. There are more of the former, by SUEYRO and COLOMA, both well eſteemed; and as many more Italian by DATI and DAVANZATI not at all commended. Of French Tranſlations there are five or ſix, all except two, good for little, ſome of them good for nothing. Theſe two are by Mr. d'HARLAY DE CHANVALLON, who has done the whole, and Mr. AMBLOT DE LA HOUSSAYE, who has only gone as far as the thirteenth Annal: the former is vigorous and juſt, like that of a man of ſenſe and obſervation; nor has the latter any advantage over him, ſave that his French is more modern, if that be any. **ABLANCOURT** is likewiſe one of the French Tranſlators of **TACITUS**, a man of name and of a flowing ſtile; but if he has abuſed other Authors as he has abuſed and transformed **TACITUS**, 'tis fit they were all done over again. There is ſome life in him, and harmony, but no juſtneſs nor ſtrength. All the force and fine ideas of **TACITUS** are loſt in **ABLANCOURT**.

Sect. XIII. *A Conjecture concerning the modern Languages; more largely concerning the Engliſh.*

OF the French Tongue it ſelf I may venture to ſay after better judges than my ſelf, that from a laxneſs and effeminacy eſſential to it, it cannot naturalize the ſtrong expreſſions of the Ancients, without ſpreading and weakning them conſiderably: it has a number of relatives, particles and monoſyllables that return inceſſantly, and flatten the ſenſe and tire the ear. The Engliſh Language has indeed many words more harſh than the French; but it has likewiſe many more ſpirituous and ſounding: and tho' it be alſo loaded with relatives, particles and words of one ſyllable, yet I think not to the ſame degree, nor do thoſe we have return ſo often; and we can frequently drop the particles, and leave them to be underſtood, as well as the relatives.

IN this reſpect the Latins had an advantage over the Greeks; as thoſe two Languages have over every other that is now in the world, or perhaps ever was. We are infinitely behind them in ſignificancy and ſound, and with all our adventitious words and refinements, are ſtill crude and gothick to them. Neareſt in Language to the Ancients come the Spaniards and Italians, though ſtill far behind; yet they ſtand over the heads of the Engliſh and French, and walk while we creep. The Spaniſh is the more ſonorous and lofty; the Italian the more ſweet and gliding; and both excell in harmony, numeroſity, and the pomp of words. The Italians ſeem to have ſpoiled their Tongue, by wild hyperbolas, and phraſes of mere ſound and complement: whether it be from the turn of the nation to Love and Muſick; whether it be from the Legends of their Saints, and their extravagant Panegyricks upon them, or from their Slavery to Churchmen, or the Severity of their Government, or from what other cauſe I do not pretend to determine.

THE French profeſs to have greatly refined their Tongue; and it is indeed brought to be exceeding glib and perſpicuous; but whether the refiners have not pared away its ſtrength to make it more ſhapely and regular, has been doubted. Some refinements we alſo have made in ours, perhaps by imitating the French; tho' I hope we have better preſerved its force. Eaſy writing has been ſtudied to affectation; a ſort of writing, which, where the thoughts are not cloſe, the ſenſe ſtrong, and the phraſe genteel, is of all others the moſt contemptible. Such were the productions of **SIR ROGER L'ESTRANGE**, not fit to be read by any who have taſte or good breeding: they are full of technical terms, of phraſes picked up in the ſtreet from apprentices and porters, and nothing can be more low and nauſeous. His ſentences, beſides their groſsneſs, are lively nothings, which can never be tranſlated (the only way to try language) and will hardly bear repetition: *between hawk and buzzard: clawed him with kindneſs: alert and friskie: guzzling down tipple: would not keep touch: a queer putt: lay curſed hard upon their*

their gizzard: cramm his gutt: conceited noddy: old chuff: and the like, are ſome of SIR ROGER's choice flowers. Yet this man was reckoned a Maſter, nay a Reformer of the Engliſh Language: a man who writ no Language; nor does it appear that he underſtood any; witneſs his miſerable Tranſlations of CICERO's Offices and JOSEPHUS. That of the latter is a Verſion full of miſtakes, wretched and low, from an eaſy and polite one of Monſieur D'ANDILLY.

SIR ROGER is one amongſt the ſeveral hands who attempted TACITUS, and the third Book of the Hiſtories is ſaid to be done by him. He knew not a word of it but what he has taken from SIR HENRY SAVILL, and him he has wretchedly perverted and mangled. Out of the wiſe and grave mouth of TACITUS he brings ſuch quaint ſtuff as this: *to caſt the point upon that iſſue:—ſneaking departure of* VITELLIUS:—*at the rate of a man at his wit's end:—ſottiſh multitude never went beyond bawling:—an Emperor lugg'd out of his hole:—the ſexton of the Capitol:—the Government dropt into* VESPASIAN's *mouth:—not cut out for a ſoldier:—went not a ſneaking way to work:—*VALENS *in the interim with his diſſolute train of capons:* [into this ſenſeleſs cant word SIR ROGER elegantly changes that of *Eunuchs* uſed by SIR H. SAVILL, for I dare ſay he neither ſaw nor knew the original, *agmine ſpadonum*]: *the Emperor guzzling and gormandizing like a beaſt.*

SUCH jargon is hardly good enough for a Poppet ſhew. SIR ROGER had a genius for buffoonry and a rabble, and higher he never went: his ſtile and his thoughts are too vulgar for a ſenſible artificer. To put his Books into the hands of youth or boys, for whom chiefly ESOP by him burleſqued was deſigned, is to vitiate their taſte, and to give them a poor low turn of thinking; not to mention the vile and ſlaviſh principles of the man. He has not only turned ESOP's plain Beaſts, from the ſimplicity of nature, into Jeſters and Buffoons; but out of the mouths of Animals inur'd to the boundleſs freedom of air and deſerts, has drawn doctrines of ſervitude and a defence of Tyranny.

THE taſte and ſtile of the Court is always the ſtandard of the publick. At the Reſtoration, a time of great feſtivity and joy, the formal and forbidding gravity of the preceding times, became a faſhionable topic of ridicule: a manner different and oppoſite was introduced; jeſt and waggery were encouraged; and the King himſelf delighted in drollery and low humour. Hence the Language became replete with ludicrous phraſes; archneſs and cant grew diverting; the writings of witlings paſs'd for wit; and if they were ſevere upon the Sectaries, as the faſhion was, they pleas'd the Court. By this means L'ESTRANGE got his character. It is very true that there appeared at the ſame time men of juſt wit and polite ſtile; but it cannot be denied but that the other manner was prevalent; the greateſt wits ſometimes fell into it.

THIS humour ended not with that Reign nor the next, but was continued after the Revolution by L'ESTRANGE, TOM BROWN, and other delighters in low jeſts, their imitators: and ſuch witlings have contributed conſiderably to debauch our Tongue. If we go ſo high as Queen ELIZABETH's time, we ſhall find that a good ſtile began then to be us'd, agreably to the good ſenſe of that Princeſs and her Court; and we have the Language of that age in SIR WALTER RALEIGH, whoſe genius was too juſt and ſtrong to go into the miſerable pedantry of the next reign. Many of the productions then, and particularly the Royal productions, are wretched beyond meaſure; (I wiſh the honour and politicks of thoſe days had been better:) nor could ſo conſiderable a man as SIR FRANCIS BACON eſcape the infection.

THE next Prince affected a high and rigid gravity, and a pomp and ſolemnity of ſtile became common: yet the Language began to recover, when the cant and enthuſiaſm enſuing, gave it a new tincture inſipid and diſtaſteful enough. But between the reign of King JAMES and the Reſtoration, ſeveral Writers appeared eminently happy in their ſtile: ſuch particularly was Mr. CHILLINGWORTH, whoſe language is flowing, and free as his own candid ſpirit. The ſame character is due to the excellent Lord FALKLAND, and Mr. HALES of Eaton. Mr. HOBBES's Engliſh is beautiful almoſt, if not altogether, beyond example: nothing can be finer than his way of expreſſing his thoughts: his ſtile is as ſingularly good, charming and clear, as many of his principles are dangerous and falſe. Under this character of his ſtile I do not comprize his Tranſlation of THUCYDIDES; as it does not, however juſt it be, reſemble his other Works. Hence I am inclinable to believe what I have heard, that it was done by ſome of his diſciples and by him reviſed; yet it far excels moſt of our Tranſlations. MILTON's Engliſh Proſe is harſh and uncouth, tho' vigorous and expreſſive. The ſtile of SELDEN and HAMMOND is rugged and perplexed.

Sect. XIV. *A conjecture concerning the preſent ſtate of the Engliſh Tongue, with an account of the preſent Work.*

OF the Character of Writing in our own time, were I to give my opinion, I ſhould be apt to ſay, that in general it comes too near to talking; a method which will hardly make it delightful or laſting: no words upon paper will have the ſame effect as words accompanied with a voice, looks and action; hence the thoughts and language ſhould be ſo far rais'd as to ſupply the want of thoſe advantages; but indeed this is impoſſible, and therefore there is the greater cauſe for heightening the ſtile: now becauſe labour'd periods are offenſive, and flat ones are inſipid, the excellency lies between pomp and negligence. Let it be as eaſy as you pleaſe, but let it be ſtrong; two advantages that are very compatible, and often found in the ſame Writer. LIVY is remarkable for both: it is his eloquence and ornaments which have preſerved him in ſuch eſteem, as much as his matter and good ſenſe. The late Lord SHAFTSBURY, though he has been perhaps too anxious and affected in forming his phraſe to eaſineſs and fluency, has yet had good ſucceſs: ſince it is manifeſt that his ſoft alluring ſtile has multiplied his Readers, and helped powerfully to recommend his Works. Dr. BURNET of the Charter-Houſe wrote with great eloquence and majeſty, yet eaſy and unaffected. Dr. TILLOTSON's ſtile is plain and pleaſant, enlivened too with fine images and ſtrong ſenſe: yet many, while they ſtrove to imitate him, have written very poorly. This has happened to ſome of our Divines, who ſtudying his manner, but wanting his genius, have uttered a flow of words, which ſound not ill, but lack ſpirit and matter. I have looked over whole pages of Biſhop BLACKAL's Sermons, without finding any thing which offended the ear, or pleaſed the imagination, or

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informed the underſtanding. I cannot help mentioning here another Writer, who has gained great reputation for Stile, without deſerving any: I mean Dr. SPRAT Biſhop of Rocheſter. His expreſſion is languiſhing and inſipid, full of falſe pomp, full of affectation. He is always aiming at harmony and wit, but ſucceeds ill; for his manner is ſtarched and pedantick. With much greater juſtice has the Stile of Dr. ATTERBURY his ſucceſſor been admired.

OUR Tongue is naturally cold, and the leſs force our words have, the more they muſt be multiplied: this multiplying of words is tedious; thence the remedy is as bad as the diſeaſe. The Latin phraſes on the contrary are ſhort and lively, and a few words convey many images. Theſe difficulties with many others I found in this Tranſlation very ſenſibly. I wanted new words, but have rarely coin'd any, as the creating of words is generally thought affected and foppiſh: yet I have ſometimes ventured upon a new phraſe, and a way of my own; upon drawing the Engliſh idiom as near as poſſible to that of the Latin, and to the genius of my Author; by leaving the beaten road, dropping particles, tranſpoſing words, and beginning a ſentence where it is uſual to end it. I have ſtudied to imitate the ſpirit, eloquence and turns of TACITUS, as far as I could, aſſiſted by a Language weak in its ſounds, and looſe in its contexture. This manner of writing, I own, would be ſtrange and even ridiculous in plain and familiar ſubjects; but where the ſubject is high and ſolemn, there muſt be a conformity of ſtile.

IN the political Diſcourſes following, I have likewiſe taken a method of my own, in reaſoning largely upon topics which to me ſeemed of the moſt moment to this free Nation, and giving an idea of the Politics of the Ceſars; of the *vis*, *artes*, *&* *inſtrumenta regni*, as by TACITUS they are called. I have vindicated the principles of civil Liberty; I have examined the defences made for CESAR and AUGUSTUS; I have diſplayed the genius of theſe Uſurpers; the temper and debaſement of the people; with the conduct and tyranny of their ſucceſſors, to the end of the *Annals*. When I publiſh my Tranſlation of the *Hiſtory* I ſhall have more to ſay. I have little troubled my ſelf with the ſtrife and gueſſes of Commentators, and various Readings. I have choſen the beſt editions, and where the meaning was dubious, taken the moſt probable: for, after all, there is a good deal of gueſs-work and uncertainty; difficulties not peculiar to TACITUS.

I was perſuaded to this undertaking ſeveral years ago by a friend of mine a Gentleman of Letters in the City; for then I had never ſeen the Engliſh Tranſlation, and knew not but it was a good one. Mr. TRENCHARD approved the deſign with his uſual zeal for every thing which favoured public Liberty. My Lord CARTERET, who underſtands TACITUS perfectly and admires him, was pleaſed to think me not unfit for it, and gave me many juſt lights about the manner of doing it; that particularly of allowing my ſelf ſcope and freedom, without which I am ſatisfied every Tranſlation muſt be pedantic and cold. A Tranſlation ought to read like an Original. The Duke of ARGYLE eſpouſed it generouſly, with that frankneſs which is natural to him, agreable to his knowledge and taſte of polite Learning, and to his ſincere love of Liberty. So did my Lord TOWNSHEND: and SIR ROBERT WALPOLE encouraged me in the purſuit of it in a manner eminently to my credit: and to many Gentlemen of my acquaintance I am much obliged upon this occaſion. I own I have been long about this Tranſlation: that I was ſo, is to be aſcribed not ſo much to idleneſs, as to diffidence. It was done a long while before I put it to the preſs: after all my care and many reviſes, I continued apprehenſive that much fault might be found, and many objections made; a misfortune which I ſtill doubt I ſhall not be able to eſcape, and wiſh I may not deſerve. I therefore rely more on the candour of my Readers, than on my own ſufficiency. Thoſe of them who underſtand TACITUS in the Original will eaſily make allowances for the difficulty of making him ſpeak any other Language. I have been chiefly careful not to miſtake the ſentiments of my Author about human Nature and Government; and I will venture to ſay that no man who has not accuſtomed himſelf to think upon theſe two ſubjects, can ever make tolerable ſenſe of TACITUS, let him be as learned in other things as he will. For the ſame reaſon, no man that is merely Learned, can ever be pleaſed with a free Tranſlation however faithful and juſt; for his chief attachment will ever be to Words and Criticiſm. Who had more Learning than SIR H. SAVILL? 'tis plain he abounded beyond moſt men; but I ſuppoſe Learning was his chief accompliſhment; and thence his Tranſlation is a very poor one. The fault cannot be aſcribed to the time; for at that time the polite world wrote and ſpoke well; and if SIR WALTER RALEIGH had then tranſlated it, no body I believe would have ever attempted to mend it.

OF the former Tranſlations of the remaining Books of TACITUS, that is to ſay, his *Hiſtories*; his *Account of Germany*; and his *Life of Agricola*; I ſhall give ſome account when I publiſh my ſecond Volume.

DISCOURSE III.

Upon CESAR the Dictator.

Sect. I. *Of* CESAR'*s Uſurpation, and why his Name is leſs odious than that of* CATILINE.

NOTHING has been hitherto found a ſufficient check and barrier to the exorbitant paſſions of men; neither kindneſs nor ſeverity; nor mulcts nor pain; nor honour; nor infamy; nor the terrors of death. A proof this, how far human malice or ambition is an over-match for human wiſdom; ſince Laws and Conſtitutions framed by the beſt and wiſeſt men, have firſt or laſt become the ſport and conqueſt of the worſt, ſometimes of the moſt fooliſh. Could wiſe Eſtabliſhments have enſured the ſtability of a State, that of Rome had been immortal. Beſides adopting all the beſt Inſtitutions of the free States of Greece, *accitis quæ uſquam egregia*, her principal ſtruggle and employment for ſome Centuries, was the ſubduing of foreign enemies by Arms, and the ſecuring of domeſtick Liberty by wholſome Laws; and for Laws and Arms ſhe was the wonder and the glory of the earth. But ſhe, whoſe force and policy no power could withſtand, not that of Greece nor of Carthage, nor of the World, fell by the corruption and perfidiouſneſs and violence of her own Citizens. The only ſword that could hurt her, was her own; with that ſhe truſted CESAR, and that he turned unnaturally upon his own mother, and by it enſlaved her.

CATILINE's Conſpiracy and crime every man deteſts: yet CESAR accompliſhed what CATILINE only intended. Had he better qualities than CATILINE? he was ſo much the worſe, and able to do higher miſchiefs. See how infatuation prevails! the ſame men who abhor CATILINE, admire CESAR, who actually did more evil than ever the wicked heart of CATILINE had conceived. But CATILINE had no ſucceſs, nor conſequently flatterers. Had he ſucceeded, had he entailed Rome upon his race, and ſuch as would have been concerned to have guarded his fame, there would not have been wanting flattering Poets and Hiſtorians to have ecchoed his Praiſes and Genius divine, his Eloquence, Courage, Liberality and Politics, and how much the degeneracy of Rome wanted ſuch a Reformer, with every other topick urged in defence of CESAR. But CATILINE failed, and is owned to have been a Traitor: CESAR's iniquity was triumphant, ſo was his name; and after-ages have continued to reverence him by the force of habit, and of ſuperſtition which ſwallows every thing, examines nothing. When popular opinion has conſecrated a man or a name, all that man's actions, however wicked or fooliſh, and every thing done under that name, are ſure to be conſecrated too: the force of authority is irreſiſtible and infatuating, and reaſon and truth muſt yield to prejudice and words.

Sect. II. *Of the publick Corruption by* CESAR *promoted or introduced; with his bold and wicked Conduct.*

WAS the Commonwealth become disjointed and corrupt; as in truth it was deeply and dangerouſly? who had contributed ſo much as CESAR to that wicked work? From his firſt appearance in the world he confederated with every publick Incendiary, with every troubler of the peace of the State, with every Traitor againſt his Country: inſomuch that he was diveſted of the dignity of Pretor by a ſolemn Decree of Senate: and when he ſollicited for the Conſulſhip, his ambition and violent deſigns were ſo much apprehended in that ſupreme Office, *nihil non auſurum eum in ſummo magiſtratu*, that to check him with a proper Collegue, the Senators contributed a great ſum of money; nor did even CATO deny but that ſuch contribution, however againſt Law, was neceſſary then to ſave the State; *ne Catone quidem abnuente eam largitionem e Rep. fieri.*

HE began that Office with violent acts of power: by violence diſpoſeſt his Collegue of all ſhare in the Adminiſtration; and during the whole term, he raiſed and pulled down, gave and took away by mere will and power, whatſoever and whomſoever he would; terrified ſome, impriſoned others; forged plots, ſuborned lying accuſers, and then murthered them, and trampled upon all Faith and Law.

To eſcape puniſhment for all theſe outrages, he corrupted and bribed the people, to chuſe his own creatures into the Magiſtracy, or bribed the Magiſtrates after they were choſen. He went ſo far as even to engage ſome of them, by oath and writing, never to call him to account, nor ſuffer him to be called.

BY the ſame wicked methods he got for his lot the Province of Gaul, and kept it for ten years, committing freſh treaſon every day; making war of his own head, right or wrong, upon friend and foe; inſomuch that it was propoſed in Senate to deliver him up to the enemy: but faction and bribery ſaved him, and from the moſt extenſive rapine he derived his power of bribing. He feaſted the people, he gave them largeſſes; he gained the Senators by money, the ſoldiers by donatives, nay the favorite ſervants and loweſt ſlaves of conſiderable men, were bribed by him. Every prodigal, every expenſive youth, every man indebted and deſperate, every criminal, found in him a ready ſupport and protector; and when their expences, debts, and crimes, were ſo exceſſive as to admit of no relief from him, to ſuch he was wont to preach the abſolute neceſſity of a Civil War.

Nor did foreign Kings and Nations eſcape his court and gifts: upon them he beſtowed aids, and arms, and captives, all belonging to the Roman people, and without their authority; thus to purchaſe foreign friendſhip againſt a day of uſurpation and need. To do all this he robbed the Provinces, plundered Towns, pillag'd Temples, even the Capitol he plundered; whence he ſtole a vaſt quantity of gold, and placed ſo much gilt braſs in the room of it, and put whole Kingdoms and Provinces under contribution to his privy purſe.

How many thouſand deaths did this man deſerve, even before he had committed his capital iniquity? It was he who thus principally corrupted the State, and embroiled it, and unſettled it in all its parts.

He offered indeed to diſband his forces, if POMPEY would do ſo too; but even this offer was giving law to Rome. The Senate was to judge, and not CESAR, what armies were to be diſbanded, what to be retained. Beſides, even that propoſal was juſtly ſuſpected to have been faithleſs and hollow; ſince had he executed the ſame, it had been eaſier for him to have re-aſſembled upon occaſion his veteran ſoldiers, than for POMPEY his troops lately levied.

Had there been no corruption in the State, ſuch a man was enough to introduce it. From his infancy he was thought to have meditated the enſlaving of his Country, and in order to enſlave it, created corruption or improved it: to commit the blackeſt treaſon and iniquity that the malice of man could deviſe, he ſtuck at no other, but by a Babel of crimes accompliſhed the higheſt.

Sect. III. CESAR *might have purified and reformed the State; but far different were his intentions. His Art, good Senſe, and continued ill Deſigns.*

DID the State want reforming? why did not CESAR reform and reſtore it? This would have been true Glory, the only true uſe of his abſolute power, and the only amends for having aſſumed it. The work too was practicable: the wiſeſt and greateſt men in Rome thought it ſo, even after all the poiſon and depravity introduced by him. BRUTUS, CICERO, and the Senate thought ſo; elſe he would never have been put to Death by thoſe who did it. If the State had been deemed irretrievable, and an Uſurper a neceſſary evil, they could not have had a better than CESAR. But they judged otherwiſe, and for ſome time Liberty was actually reſtored: why it ſubſiſted no longer, was owing to caſualties and the faithleſsneſs of OCTAVIUS. No human wiſdom can take in all incidents and poſſibilities at one view; to ſee them by ſucceſſion is often to ſee them too late; and againſt what is not foreſeen no remedy can be provided. CICERO who ſwayed the Senate, in hatred to ANTHONY, truſted OCTA-

VIUS too much, and raiſed him too high, and was by that falſe creature given up to the ſlaughter, to ſatiate the vengeance of ANTHONY, to cement their late union, and to begin the bloody Tragedy which they had meditated againſt their Country and her Liberty, by the murder of ſo ſignal a Patriot. What followed was horrible, continued maſſacres and the rage of the ſword, the people armed againſt one another, two thirds of them deſtroyed, and AUGUSTUS eſtabliſhed Sovereign over the reſt. He too thought it poſſible to reſettle the old free State, by propoſing once or twice to reſign: however inſincere he were, it was a confeſſion that he thought it to be deemed practicable: and DRUSUS, his wife's ſon, declared his own purpoſe to effect it; nay it was what TIBERIUS, after he was Emperor, pretended to do.

CESAR was ſaid to have foretold the publick Calamities and Civil Wars to enſue. Why did he not prevent them? By his Dictatorial power he might have removed what enormities, and made what regulations he would, ſuppreſſed the inſolence of particulars, revived the force of the Laws, and reduced the Commonwealth to her firſt principles and firmneſs. Inſtead of this, he continued, more and more to break her remaining ballance, to weaken and debauch the people, and to deſtroy every Law of Liberty.

LIBERTY and the Republick were a jeſt to CESAR; he treated the very name with ridicule and contempt: *nihil eſſe Rempublicam; appellationem modo ſine corpore ac ſpecie.* He punned upon SYLLA for reſigning his uſurped power. He had nothing in his head or heart but abſolute rule, a Diadem, the title of King, and controuling the world according to his luſt; *nullos non honores ad libidinem cœpit & dedit, ſpreto Patriæ more:* nay to have his very words go for Laws; *debere homines pro Legibus habere quæ dicat:* and as a proof that he meant to entail all this pompous Dominion upon his Race, he had a Law ready to be propoſed for a privilege of taking as many Wives as he thought fit, and of what quality and condition he thought fit. His acts of Tyranny were indeed ſo many, ſo high and inſupportable, that even his dear friends the populace, notwithſtanding all his bounties, his feaſts and ſhews, and all his other arts to ſooth and debauch them, grew ſullen and diſcontented: they declaimed againſt ſuch uſurpation, in their houſes and in the Forum; they called aloud for avengers, and gave him publick affronts.

BY the Laws of Rome the Dominion of one, and conſequently the dominion of CESAR, was deteſtable and accurſed, and any man was warranted to ſlay the Tyrant: *eum jus faſque eſſet occidi, neve ea cædes Capitalis noxa haberetur.* Nor was there any valid reaſon againſt killing CESAR, but that ſomewhat as bad or worſe was to follow: now the beſt and ableſt Romans judged otherwiſe, as I have ſhewn, and who was better qualified to judge? As to CESAR's prophecy of worſe times, it was deciding in his own favour, and not to be credited; and there was policy in it as well as vanity.

THE accompliſhments of CESAR, the mildneſs of his adminiſtration, and mercy to his enemies, have been much magnified. 'Tis certain he had exquiſite abilities and addreſs: but how did he apply them? Was it not to be the Maſter of mankind? and was not this intereſt and ſelf-love? What could be more intereſted, what more ſelfiſh, than to take the world to himſelf? CESAR had good ſenſe and experience: he knew that particular acts of cruelty and revenge were odious, even more odious than the ſlaughter of thouſands under the title of war and conqueſt, however unprovoked and unjuſt: ſo much more quarter from the world has ambition than cruelty, tho' the former is often the more miſchievous paſſion. He knew that while general acts of blood would paſs for Heroiſm, fit to be diſtinguiſhed with praiſe and Laurels, a particular life taken away in anger, would paſs for barbarity. Such fallacy is there in ſounds and in the imaginations of men! We judge not of evil by its quantity, the true medium of judging, but by its name and the quality of the doer or ſufferer: hence the fooliſh cauſes of popularity without merit and innocence. Acts of rage, the execution of particulars, and a vindictive Reign, would have diminiſhed the Hero, and tarniſhed his fame, as much as his generoſity to enemies, his noble contempt of fear and offenders, blazoned his glory and begot admirers.

Sect. IV. *The probability of his waxing more cruel, had he reigned much longer.*

THE generous, the forgiving temper of CESAR, was no ſure warrant, that he would not have broke out into perſonal cruelties; for of his publick cruelty, Rome and the world were the Theatre and the witneſſes: he muſt have acted agreeably to the neceſſities and jealouſy of power, broken thoſe necks which would not bend, and deſtroyed ſuch as he could not but conſtantly fear. I own there came after him ſome Emperors who reigned without many acts of blood: but the ſovereignty was then thoroughly eſtabliſhed, and they had no high ſpirits to fear, bred in the notions and poſſeſſion of Liberty, as were all the Romans in his time. Nor, even after ſervitude had been begun, and for ſome time ſuffered under CESAR, could the ſecond Triumvirate think themſelves ſecure, till they had deſtroyed at once by Proſcription a whole army of illuſtrious Romans, ſuch as they conceived would oppoſe and even extirpate their domination. Nor did this tragical precaution and general barbarity, put an end to barbarity in particular inſtances: AUGUSTUS, for the firſt years of his Reign, was making almoſt daily ſacrifices of noble blood to his fears and ſafety.

POWER of it ſelf makes men wanton, diſtruſtful and cruel: CESAR lived not long enough in purple to ſhew what he would prove: five months were but a ſhort term for trial; *retinuit famam ſine experimento.* It would be raſh to aſſert, that he who had ſhed the blood of Nations and Armies, without provocation, without authority; he who had violated Liberty and Law, and put chains upon his Country and the race of men, would have ſpared particular lives, when from particular lives he came to apprehend danger and revolt. He that could be piqued even to folly and ridicule, becauſe AQUILA the Tribune did not riſe as he paſſed by; he who could not put up this, nor forget it, nor ceaſe mentioning it upon every occaſion for a long while after, nor even forbear ſcolding at it, muſt have been capable of carrying his reſentment very far, as well as of ſudden anger; nay, been full of capricious and childiſh humours. How far ſuch humours and vanity and anger might have carried him, he lived not to ſhew. But he had amply ſhewn, that his Ambition was dearer to him than Rome and the whole earth, and to this private paſſion of his, every publick regard had yielded: the genuine mark this of a Tyrant, who rules the State for his own ſake, and, rather than not rule it, enthralls it! CESAR, who had committed all wickedneſs to gain power, would have committed more to have kept it, as ſoon as he found more to be neceſſary: *nemo enim unquam imperium flagitio quæſitum bonis artibus exercuit.*

WHAT avails the fair behaviour of one who may do what he pleaſes? What avail his fair promiſes, which he may break when he pleaſes? The worſt of the Roman Emperors began their Reigns well, many of them excellently well; as NERO, CLAUDIUS, CALIGULA, DOMITIAN: *nihil abnuentem dum dominationis adipiſceretur.* Some of them reigned well for ſome years. CESAR was generous, magnificent, and humane to affectation, but *cunctis affectibus flagrantiorem dominandi libidinem;* every paſſion, every ſentiment muſt yield to the ardent luſt of reigning. Had it not been for his great and acceptable qualities, he could not have introduced publick bondage: the Hero, the Orator, and the fine Gentleman, hid the Uſurper, and palliated at leaſt the Uſurpation.

LET any man conſider CESAR as a Subject of the State, altogether private; one who never bore Office or Authority; as a Phyſician, a Scribe or an Artiſt, or as one juſt ſtarted out of obſcurity, or come from another Country; and then aſk himſelf, what has this man, this private unknown man, to do with governing all men againſt Laws eſtabliſhed by all? His being once Conſul, his commanding of Armies, and appearing in a great publick light; gave him no more right to do what he did, than the quality of an Artiſt, a Scribe, Phyſician, Upſtart, or Stranger, would have given him: publick truſts betrayed were aggravations of his crime, horrible aggravations! ſo were his excellent parts impiouſly applied.

Sect. V. CESAR *no lawful Magiſtrate, but a publick Enemy.*

OF CESAR, his Uſurpation and Death I have reaſoned largely elſewhere[a], and ſhall here abridge part of that reaſoning. "He had no ſort of Title, but ſucceſs gained by violence and all wicked means. The acquiring and exerciſing of Power by force is Tyranny, nor is ſucceſs any proof of right. If the perſon of CESAR was ſacred, ſo is the perſon of every Uſurper and Tyrant: and if all the privileges and impunity belonging to a lawful Magiſtrate, do alſo appertain to a lawleſs Intruder and publick Oppreſſor, then all theſe bleſſed conſequences follow: There is an utter end of all right and wrong, publick and private: Every Uſurper is a lawful Magiſtrate; every Magiſtrate may be a lawleſs Tyrant: It is unlawful to reſiſt the greateſt human evil: The neceſſary means of ſelf-preſervation are unlawful: Tho' it be lawful and expedient to deſtroy little Robbers, who are ſo for ſubſiſtence, 'tis impious and unlawful to oppoſe great Robbers, who deſtroy Nations out of luſt and ambition: Public miſchief is defended by giving it a good name, ſince Tyranny may be practiſed with impunity, if it be but called Magiſtracy; and the execrable Authors of it are ſacred, if they but call themſelves Magiſtrates: Tho' it be unlawful to be a public deſtroyer, yet it is

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[a] *See* CATO's Letters, Vol. II.

“ unlawful to deſtroy him, and to prevent or puniſh that which is moſt impious and unlawful: In fine, any man who has wickedneſs and force enough to deſtroy or enſlave the whole world, may do it and be ſafe.

“ If CESAR was a lawful Magiſtrate, every powerful villain may make himſelf one, and lawful Magiſtrates may become ſuch by mere force and iniquity. But if lawful Magiſtracy be not acquired by violence and butchery, CESAR was none; if he was not, how came he by the rights and impunity of ſuch?

“ AGAINST lawleſs force every man has a right to uſe force: CESAR had no more right than ALARICK, ATTILA, or BRENNUS, who were foreign Invaders: his crime was greater, as to that of uſurpation he added thoſe of ingratitude and treachery. It is owned that when he firſt made war upon his Country, his Country had a right to make war upon him: how came that right to ceaſe, when he had heightened that iniquity by ſucceſs? Is it lawful to reſiſt a Robber before he has robbed you, but not after? Is a wickedneſs leſſened by aggravations? CESAR had forfeited his life by all the Laws of Rome: was it not as lawful to take it away by thirty men as by thirty thouſand; in the Senate as in the field?

“ A private man in ſociety, even capitally injured, muſt not be his own judge, but leave revenge to the more impartial Law: but a capital offender againſt all, who ſets himſelf above Law and Judgment, is a publick enemy; and violence is the proper remedy for violence, when no other is left. In a State of Nature, every man has a right to vindicate himſelf: when Society is diſſolved, the ſame right returns. Men can never be deprived of both publick protection and private defence.

“ CESAR had violated every tye that can bind the human ſoul; Oaths, Truſt, and Law: he had violated every thing dear to human kind, their Peace, Liberty, Rights and Poſſeſſions. He did all this by means the moſt black and flagitious; by Plots, Faction, Corruption, Robbery, Devaſtation, Sacrilege, and Slaughter.

“ WHAT was left to the oppreſſed Romans to do, under the bonds of the Oppreſſor with his ſword at their throat? Law and Appeals were no more; a Tyrant was their Maſter; the Will of a Tyrant their Law. Becauſe he had ſlaughtered and deſtroyed one half of the people, had he thence a right to govern the reſt? There was no publick force to oppoſe him; he had deſtroyed many of the Armies of the State, and appropriated the reſt to himſelf againſt the State: it would have been madneſs to have thought of judicial proceſs. In ſhort there was no other way of aboliſhing his Tyranny, but by diſpatching the Tyrant.

Sect. VI. *Of the ſhare which Caſualties had, in raiſing the Name and Memory of* CESAR. *The Judgment of* CICERO *concerning him.*

PEOPLE ſuffer their own imaginations to abuſe and miſlead them: the ſound of CESAR's Name; the ſuperſtitious reverence paid to it, his great employments, great victories, and even his great uſurpation; all theſe pompous images dazzle the eyes, and give a falſe luſtre to the blackeſt iniquity and impoſture. Nay it proved an advantage

tage to the ſame and defence of CESAR, that he was aſſaſſinated. Hence ſo much popular pity and lamentation for him; hence ſo much rage and obloquy upon the Tyrannicides. A violent death or violent ſufferings, often paſs for great merit, often atone for great crimes; and in the compaſſion for the doom of criminals the abhorrence of their villanies is often extinguiſhed: malefactors the moſt barbarous, who never ſhewed any mercy in their lives, are bewailed at their execution, only becauſe they are executed.

THERE were circumſtances alſo in his Death favourable to his ſame: he died with decency and a manly ſpirit, and he fell by the hands of his friends. Theſe circumſtances, and his bloody ſhirt diſplay'd to a mob, with an artful melting ſpeech from ANTHONY, inflam'd them with ſorrow and fury; two groſs paſſions which do not reaſon but feel. The ſame topicks have ever ſince furniſhed undiſcerning Declaimers with big words and vehemence, in behalf of ſo fine a man, ſlain for no fault but that of Uſurpation and Tyranny: a ſmall crime, that of being the enemy of human kind!

AS to the glory and proſperous fortune of this mighty Conqueror, CICERO ſays with great truth, "that Felicity is nothing elſe but good "fortune aſſiſting righteous Counſels: nor can he whoſe purpoſes are "not upright, be from any ſucceſs eſteemed in any wiſe happy: hence "'tis that from the impious and abandoned purſuits of CESAR, no "true felicity could flow: happier in my judgment was CAMILLUS "under exile from his Country, than MANLIUS his co-temporary "had been, tho' he had acquired over his Country that Tyranny "which he luſted after" *Epiſt. ad nepot.* The ſame wiſe man ſays elſewhere, "that he would have preferred the laſt day of ANTONIUS the Orator, tragical as it was, to the uſurped rule of "CINNA, by whom that worthy Roman was barbarouſly murdered." I cannot admire CESAR's ambition: he would rather have been Lord of a poor Village than the ſecond man in Rome. To me it appears more glory to be the Member of a free State, eſpecially of the greateſt State upon earth, than a Lord of Slaves, the biggeſt Lord.

Sect. VII. *How vain it is to extol any Deſigns of his for the Glory of the Roman people.*

IT is ſaid that CESAR was meditating great and glorious things for the Roman people, when he was cut off. He might indeed have gathered empty Laurels for himſelf by more wars at the expence of the people; but how this would have redounded to their advantage I cannot ſee. I can eaſily ſee that all the future ſtrength he could have acquired muſt have been acquired to himſelf and over them; and every acceſſion of power muſt, by raiſing his Tyranny higher, have ſunk them lower, and ſtreighten'd their chains. He wanted to fight the Parthians, but firſt he wanted to be King; and for this purpoſe a Prophecy was forged, that none but a King could conquer them: was this impudent forgery too and the deſign of it, for the glory of the people who were abuſed by it? In ſhort he could have done nothing beneficial or glorious for the Roman people, but to have reſtored them to their ancient and ſubſtantial Glory, that of their Liberty and Laws. This too would have been the higheſt glory of his own Life, which to thoſe who conſider things as they are, ſtript of fooliſh fair names and diſguiſes, is without this all over black and infamous.

No man's life can be ſaid to be deteſtable, if his was not: ſeeing all the malefactors condemned ſince there were men and crimes, did not half the miſchief which he did. It was even currently believed (and what worſe could be believed of him than he had done?) that he meant to tranſlate the ſeat of Empire, with all its ſtrength, to Ilium, or to Alexandria; and having exhauſted all Italy by great levies, (that ſhe might never recover her ſelf) he would have begun, probably, a new ſort of Sovereignty upon his own model, exempt from the names and appearances of the old Conſtitution and Laws, which ſtill had reverence paid them at Rome, and conſequently were ſo many grievances to him. Rome he intended to have left to the dominion of his creatures. It is probable he thought himſelf not ſafe at Rome, nor in any place which had ever known the governance of Laws, nor any where but at the head of Armies. He had reaſon for his fear: the ſevereſt oppreſſor can never tye the hands of all the oppreſſed, nor put chains upon their reſentments.

Sect. VIII. *Of his Death; and the raſhneſs of aſcribing to divine Vengeance the fate of ſuch as ſlew him.*

IN the midſt of his farther deſigns, whatever they were, a bloody doom overtook this man of blood, and he was lawfully ſlain; tho' not by the forms of Law: *abuſus dominatione & jure cæſus exiſtimaretur* (*Sueton.*): his lawleſs power had made this impoſſible. It is true they who ſlew him were themſelves ſlain. The righteouſneſs of a cauſe does not always enſure its ſucceſs; too ſeldom, God knows: but they who periſh in defence of the Laws, are ſlain againſt Law: ſuch was the difference between his death and theirs. They were vanquiſh'd and ſlain in a great Civil War, at a time when Courage, and Virtue, and Patriotiſm were capital and proſcrib'd.

DID none of thoſe who deſtroy'd CESAR die a natural death? no more did not CESAR, who deſtroyed the State. If this was not a judgment upon him, why ſhould theirs be one upon them? What rule have we to know a judgment, but from the juſtice or iniquity of a cauſe? If ſo, CESAR fell by the appointment of Heaven; BRUTUS and his brethren by the malice of Men. But if there be no rule, or if judgments, like parties, take different ſides; how dare we pronounce? How many of the Ceſars his ſucceſſors died naturally? Not one, if we will believe the Hiſtorians and probability, from CESAR the Dictator to the Emperor VESPASIAN. AUGUSTUS was poiſoned by LIVIA his wife; TIBERIUS ſmothered by MACRO his favorite, to make way for CALIGULA, who was ſlain with the ſword by the officers of his guard: AGRIPPINA poiſoned her huſband CLAUDIUS; NERO ſtabbed himſelf: GALBA was murdered by the ſoldiers, ſo was VITELLIUS: OTHO fell by his own hands.

DISCOURSE IV.

Upon OCTAVIUS CESAR, afterwards called AUGUSTUS.

Sect. I. *Of the baſe and impious Arts by which he acquired the Empire.*

BY the death of the Uſurper, Liberty was reſtored, but laſted not; *libertate improſpere repetita;* and OCTAVIUS ſucceeded CESAR, by no ſuperiour genius, by no military proweſs or magnanimity; for tricking and deceit conſtituted his chief parts, and tho' he was bold in Council, he was a coward in the field: but he uſurped the Empire by methods ſo low and vile, as brought diſgrace even upon Uſurpation; by a thouſand frauds, and turns ſuddenly made, without the common appearances of decency or ſhame; by thouſands of murders deliberately committed, without the appearance of proceſs or provocation; by multiplied treacheries, aſſaſſinations, and acts of ingratitude; by employing Ruffians and being himſelf one; and by deſtructive wars conducted by the bravery of others.

HE levied forces without authority; and under a lying pretence of defending Liberty, got to be employed by the State againſt ANTHONY. He then robbed the Commonwealth of her Armies; and was thought to have murdered both her chief Magiſtrates, the Conſuls HIRTIUS and PANSA, the former by his own hand in the hurry of battle, the other after it, by cauſing poiſon to be pour'd into his wound by GLYCO his Phyſician. It is certain the Phyſician was ſuſpected, ſeized, and even doom'd to the torture, but ſaved by the credit of his maſter OCTAVIUS; whoſe villany had theſe farther aggravations, that he was generally believed to have been a Pathick to HIRTIUS for hire; and PANSA had ever a tender regard for him, a regard ſuperior to that which he owed his Country, as he manifeſted by the advice he gave him before he expired under agonies cauſed by the hardhearted contrivance of that his beloved and perfidious friend.

WITH this very Army of the Commonwealth he turned head upon the Commonwealth, marched in a hoſtile manner to Rome, and ſent a deputation of Officers to his Maſters the Senate, to demand the Conſulſhip in the name of the Legions; and upon ſome heſitation ſhewn by that venerable Body, one of theſe armed Embaſſadors laid his hand upon his ſword, and told them, "If you will not make him Conſul, "this ſhall." For his firſt credit with the Senate he was beholden to CICERO, at whoſe ſuit he was truſted with command in conjunction with the Conſuls, and dignified with the title of Propretor. We ſee how he requited the Senate, we ſee how he ſerved the Conſuls: and CICERO his father in Counſel, and the father of the Republick, he deliver'd up to be murder'd and mangl'd by his implacable enemy.

Sect. II. *Of the vindictive ſpirit of* OCTAVIUS, *and his horrid Cruelties.*

IN the Battle of Philippi, OCTAVIUS was beaten out of the field, his Camp ſeized, and but for the fortune and valour of ANTHONY, the day muſt have been loſt. After the victory he ſhewed as much inſolence and cruelty, as he had wanted courage in it. He could not forbear ſhewing cowardly ſpite to the dead body of BRUTUS, before whom he had a little before fled for his life, and ſent the head of that excellent perſon to Rome, to be laid ignominiouſly at the feet of the Statue of CESAR. Different was the treatment ſhewn by ANTHONY, who had ſaved OCTAVIUS and beat BRUTUS: ANTHONY beheld his Corpſe with grief and tears, cover'd it with his own armour, and treated it with reſpect and tenderneſs. OCTAVIUS had not greatneſs of heart enough for ſuch generous humanity; but treated every illuſtrious captive with bitter words and cowardly inſults, and put them to death without mercy: *in ſplendidiſſimum quemque captivorum non ſine verborum contumelia ſæviit*, ſays SUETONIUS. To one of theſe imploring the privilege of burial, the baſe Tyrant anſwered, “That “ the fowls of the air would ſoon regulate that matter.” When a father begg'd mercy for his ſon, and the ſon for the father, the merciful OCTAVIUS commanded the father and ſon to fight for the ſurvivorſhip: this barbarous ſight he beheld, beheld the ſon ſlay his father, and then himſelf for having done it. Had not the remaining Priſoners reaſon, when they were brought before ANTHONY and him, to ſalute the former with the honourable title of, *Imperator*, and the latter with invectives and contempt?

WITH the ſame cruel ſpirit he behaved himſelf after the ſiege of Peruſia. All who applied to him, whether they pleaded innocence, or begged mercy, had one and the ſame mercileſs anſwer, *moriendum eſſe*: “ death is the lot of you all;” and they had it. Three hundred of the chief, comprizing their Nobility and Magiſtrates, were carried in chains to an Altar raiſed to JULIUS CESAR, and there butcher'd like cattle, as victims to his ghoſt, upon the Ides of March, the Anniverſary of his Aſſaſſination. The City it ſelf he deliver'd to the luſt and plunder of his ſoldiers, contrary to articles, and his faith given. Never was a more tragical and horrible ſcene: after killing, robbing and raviſhing; what the ſword could not deſtroy, the fire did; and that great and beautiful City, one of the faireſt in Italy, was reduced to aſhes. There were Hiſtorians, who aſſerted, that the quarrel between him and LUCIUS ANTONIUS, who had ſhut himſelf up in that City, was all feigned, and a contrivance between them for two reaſons; firſt to try who were real friends and who cover'd enemies; and then by the conqueſt and confiſcation of ſuch, to find a fund for paying the Veterans their promiſed largeſs.

FROM the Citizens of Nurſia he took all that they had, their ſubſtance and even their City, and ſent them forth to wander and ſtarve; for no other crime but that for their fellow Citizens, ſlain at the ſiege of Modena, they had rais'd a Monument with an Inſcription, “ that they died for the publick Liberty;” tho' he had but juſt before fought and declared for the ſame ſide.

It is impoſſible to paint the horrors of the Proſcription: by it every conſiderable man in the Roman world, who was diſlik'd, or ſuſpected by the Triumvirate to diſapprove their Tyranny, was doom'd to die; it was death to conceal or to help them, and rewards were given to ſuch as diſcover'd and kill'd them: many were betray'd and butcher'd by their ſlaves and freedmen; many by their treacherous hoſts and relations; and many fled with their wives and tender children to the howling wilderneſs, and liv'd or periſh'd amongſt woods and wolves. Nothing was to be ſeen but blood and ſlaughter: the ſtreets were covered with carcaſſes: the heads of the illuſtrious dead were expoſed upon the Roſtras, and their bodies upon the pavement, denied the mercy of burial, other than ſuch as they found in the entrails of devouring dogs and ravenous birds. This looked like dooming Rome to periſh at once: and when the other two were ſatiated with ſo many butcheries; OCTAVIUS, who, never had blood enough, ſtill perſiſted to ſhed more. No ſort of men eſcape his cruelty, nor Nobles, nor Knights, ſtrangers nor acquaintance, nay nor his confidents, and favorite freedmen; nor even his old companion and tutor, TORANIUS, no one knows why, unleſs for being an honeſt man and a lover of his Country.

These victims continued daily for a courſe of years; the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions, the vileſt forgeries, were grounds for ſlaughters, for illuſtrious ſlaughters. Nor could the great quality and venerable ſtation of QUINTUS GELLIUS the Pretor, nor his innocence, exempt him from the bloody hands of the executioner; nor was execution the worſt part of his doom: he was by a band of ſoldiers ſeized in his ſeat of juſtice, hurried away and ſubjected to the torture, like the meaneſt ſlave; but confeſt nothing: nor did all this injuſtice and barbarity ſatisfy the gentle AUGUSTUS, ſo much renowned for moderation and clemency: he had the brutal baſeneſs to dig out the eyes of that Magiſtrate with his own hands, before he allowed him the mercy of being murdered outright. One of his favorite Miniſters ſhewed his ſentiments of the clemency of AUGUSTUS plainly enough, upon the following occaſion: that Prince was judging ſome criminals, and giving himſelf over to revenge and bloody decrees, without check or compaſſion, when the Miniſter who abhorred to ſee him engaged in ſuch feats of cruelty, ſent him a note, told him, "he was a butcher," and bad him "come down from his Tribunal."

Sect. III. *Of the treachery, ingratitude, and further cruelties of* OCTAVIUS: *that the ſame were wanton and voluntary.*

THE conduct of OCTAVIUS in regard to ANTHONY, was like the reſt of his conduct, all one train of perfidiouſneſs. Firſt he made court to ANTHONY, then ſuborned rogues to murder him; then made war upon him with the arms of the State: then joyned with him againſt the State: then by the bravery of ANTHONY he conquered the Empire, and then by plots and the valour of AGRIPPA he conquered ANTHONY: then he was deviſing ways to deſtroy AGRIPPA, and but for an expedient offered by MECENAS, had deſtroyed him.

Was it ſtrange that againſt ſuch a Prince conſpiracies were frequent? As he was an Uſurper he could not eſcape ſome: his falſhood and cruelties begot others; and from conſiderations publick as well as perſonal, there was abundant cauſe for many. To puniſh one plot with exceeding violence, is a ſure way to produce more; and when there is no ſafety found in innocence, further methods will be tried.

IT is a poor defence for AUGUSTUS, to ſay, that it was from neceſſity, and to ſerve himſelf, that he ſhed ſo much blood: for, beſides that his cruelty was natural, wanton and unneceſſary; why did he ſeek to be in a ſtation where acts of blood were neceſſary? why did he uſurp the ſtate? why did he make himſelf a mark for publick and private vengeance? was it not by ambition, was it not by treachery, that he aſſumed Sovereignty; was he not a publick Traytor? and was it not his choice to be ſo? why did he wilfully commit crimes ſo flagitious, that in their defence he muſt commit more? Can one horrible iniquity efface another? Is a ſubject juſtified, who, becauſe he has deſerved the pains of treaſon, raiſes a rebellion againſt his Prince, nay kills him, to be ſafe? No villany ever was, or ever can be perpetrated, which ſuch reaſoning will not juſtify.

WHEN ſome were bold and honeſt enough to talk to OLIVER CROMWELL about his exceſſes and uſurpation, he aſked them, what would you have one in my ſtation to do? He was well anſwered: *Sir, We would have no body in your ſtation.* To vindicate murder from the neceſſity of committing it, in order to conceal robbery; is to argue like a murderer and a robber: but 'tis honeſt Logic, to reply; "do not rob, and then you need not be tempted to murder; but if "you will do one and conſequently both, remember that puniſhment "does or ought to follow crimes, and the more crimes the more pu-"niſhment: if by a repetition of crimes you become too mighty to "be puniſhed, you muſt be content to be accurſed and abhorred as an "enemy to human race: you muſt expect to have all men for your "enemies, as you are an enemy to all men; and ſince you make ſport "of the lives and Liberties of men, you muſt not wonder, nor have "you a right to complain, if they have all of them memories and feel-"ing, and ſome of them courage and ſwords."

Sect. IV. *Of the popular Arts and Accidents which raiſed the Character of* AUGUSTUS.

MANY things concurred to favour the fame of AUGUSTUS, and to obliterate his reproach. He reigned very long, and eſtabliſhed a laſting peace; a ſpecial bleſſing and refreſhment after a Civil War ſo long and ruinous: *cuncta diſcordiis civilibus feſſa, ſub imperium accepit.* For, tho' that war was the child of his ambition, yet in a ſeries of enſuing tranquillity, it was forgot: nay the greatneſs of the publick Calamities was a reaſon for forgetting them: the generation who felt them, were almoſt all cut off by them; and the next generation, which had not ſuffered, did not remember: *juniores poſt Actiacam victoriam, etiam ſenes plerique inter bella civium nati:* what the people had not ſeen, they did not lament: when he died there were ſcarce any living who had beheld the old free State: *quotuſquiſque reliquus qui Rempublicam vidiſſet?* The people too were deceived into a belief that they ſtill enjoyed their old Government, becauſe their Magiſtrates had ſtill their old names, tho' with juſt as much power as he thought fit to leave them. This was the advice of MECENAS, that to the Officers of State, the ſame names, pomp and ornaments ſhould be continued, with all the appearances of authority without power: *eadem magiſtratuum vocabula ſua conſulibus, ſua prætoribus ſpecies.* They were to have no military command during their term, but to poſſeſs the old juriſdiction of adjudging all cauſes finally, except ſuch as were capital; and tho' ſome of theſe laſt were left to the Governor of Rome, an Officer newly created by the Emperor, yet the chief were reſerved.

Moreover **AUGUSTUS** paid great Court to the people: the very Name that covered his Uſurpation was a complement to them: he affected to call it the Power of the Tribuneſhip, an Office firſt created purely for their protection, and as the ſtrongeſt effort and barrier of popular Liberty: 'twas for their ſake and ſecurity, he pretended to aſſume this power, tho' by it he acted as abſolutely as if he had called it the Dictatorial power; ſuch energy there is in words! The Office it ſelf was erected as a bulwark againſt Tyranny; and by the name of it Tyranny is now ſupported. In the ſame manner he uſed and perverted the Conſulſhip; another Magiſtracy peculiar to the Commonwealth, but by him abuſed to the ends of his Monarchy.

He likewiſe won the hearts of the people by filling their bellies, by cheapneſs of proviſions, and plentiful markets. This has infinite effect: if people have plenty at home, they will not be apt to diſcover many errors or much iniquity in the publick, which will always be at quiet when particulars are ſo. But famine or the fear of it, children crying for bread, mothers weeping for their children, and huſbands and fathers unable to ſtop their tears, and find the neceſſaries of life for themſelves and ſuch dear relations; all theſe are terrible materials for tumults, ſedition, and even for revolutions: but people in eaſe and plenty are under no temptation to be enquiring into the title of their Prince, or to reſent acts of power which they do not immediately feel.

He frequently entertained them with Shews and Spectacles: a notable means to produce or continue good humour in the populace, to beget kind wiſhes and zeal for the author of ſo much joy, and to make them forget Uſurpation, Slavery and every publick evil. Theſe were indeed uſed for the ends of corruption and ſervitude: they rendred the people idle, venal, vicious, inſenſible of private virtue, inſenſible of publick glory or diſgrace; but the things were liked, and the ends not ſeen, or not minded, ſo that they had their thorough effect: and the Roman people, they who were wont to direct mighty wars, to raiſe, and depoſe great Kings, to beſtow or take away Empires, they who ruled the world or directed its rule, were ſo ſunk and debauch'd, that if they had but bread and ſhews, their ambition went no higher.

By the ſame arts Cardinal **MAZARIN** began to ſoften and debaſe the minds of the French; and after his death the like methods for promoting of idleneſs and luxury were purſued: ſhews, debauchery, wantonneſs and riot were encouraged and became common; and after the Reſtoration, England adopted the modes of France, her worſt modes. There were ſome, too many, who unworthy of their own happineſs and Liberty, came to admire her Government and misfortune, and laboured with the ſpirit of Parricides, tho' without their puniſhment, to bring ours to the model of that.

I cannot omit obſerving here, that by the ſame means that **CESAR** and **AUGUSTUS** acquired the Empire, they deſtroyed its force. In the Civil Wars great part of the people periſhed, and the reſt they debauched: they had utterly drained or corrupted that ſource of men which furniſhed ſoldiers who conquered the earth: henceforth the *plebs ingenua* became a mere mob, addicted to idleneſs and their bellies, void of courage, void of ambition, and careleſs of renown: armies were with difficulty raiſed amongſt them; when raiſed not good, or apt to corrupt the reſt: it was ſuch who excited the ſedition in the German Legions, after the death of AUGUSTUS: *vernacula multitudo, nuper acto in urbe delectu, laſciviæ ſueta, laborum intolerans, implere ceterorum rudes animos; veniſſe tempus, &c. An.* I. *C.* 31: "the recruits lately raiſed "in Rome, men accuſtomed to the ſoftneſs and gayeties of the City, "and impatient of military labour and diſcipline, inflamed the ſim"ple minds of all the reſt by ſeditions, infuſions, and harangues, *&c.*" Indeed the Roman Armies (ſo chiefly in name) were moſtly compoſed of foreigners.

TO engage new creatures and dependences he created many new Offices: as the multitude of Offices in France is reckoned a great ſupport of the Authority Royal. He raiſed many publick buildings, repaired many old, and to the City added many edifices and ornaments. He attended buſineſs, reformed enormities, ſhewed high regard for the Roman name; was ſparing in admitting foreigners to the rights of Citizens; preſerved publick peace; procured publick abundance, promoted publick pleaſure and feſtivity; often appeared in perſon at the publick diverſions, and in all things ſtudied to render himſelf dear to the populace. In truth, when he had done all the miſchief he could, or all that he wanted and more, he ceaſed his cruelty and ravages: this too was imputed to him for merit. He was reckoned very good, becauſe he began to do leſs miſchief. It was a rational ſaying of that madman CALIGULA, "that calamitous and tragical to the Roman "people were the boaſted Victories of his great grand-father AUGUS"TUS;" and therefore he forbad them to be ſolemnized annually for the future.

Sect. V. *Tho'* AUGUSTUS *courted the people and particular Senators, he continued to depreſs publick Liberty and the Senate.*

BUT amidſt all theſe acts of popularity and beneficence, and this plauſible behaviour of AUGUSTUS, the root of the evil remained and ſpread; the bulwarks of Liberty were daily broken down, and having lulled the publick aſleep, he was ſowing his tares: the beſt of his Government was but the ſunſhine of Tyranny: *ubi militem donis, populum annona, cunctos dulcedine pacis pellexit, inſurgere paulatim, munia Senatus, Magiſtratuum, Legum, in ſe trahere:* AUGUSTUS was become the center and meaſure of all things; he was the Senate, Magiſtracy and Laws: the arms of the Republick he had wreſted out of her hands; thoſe who had wielded them for her, he had ſlain; *Bruto & Caſſio cæſis, nulla jam publica arma.* The armies of the State were now the armies of AUGUSTUS, and every Province where Legions were kept or neceſſary, he reſerved to himſelf: ſuch as were unarmed he left to the Senate and people: in kindneſs forſooth to them, for he ſtudied to relieve them from all anxiety and fatigue, and to leave them nothing to do; but would take all the care and trouble to himſelf. Italy, the original ſoil of Liberty and Freemen, he utterly diſarmed, agreeably to the Maxims of abſolute Monarchy: the Roman people and the Roman Senate he had reduced to cyphers and carcaſſes: *patres & plebem, invalida & inermia.* Hence all the ſubmiſſion and duty formerly paid to the free State, were with her power, transferred to the Emperor, and certain wealth and preferment were the rewards of ready ſervility and acquieſcence: *quanto quis ſervitio promptior, opibus & honoribus extollerentur.*

THIS ſhews that however he depreſſed the power of the Senate, he paid great court to particular Senators: and 'tis too true, that as men generally love themſelves better than their Country, they too eaſily poſtpone the publick intereſt to their own.

Sect. VI. *What Fame he derived from the Poets and other flattering Writers of his time.*

THE Renown of AUGUSTUS was alſo notably blazon'd by the Hiſtorians and Poets of his time; men of excellent wit, but egregious flatterers. According to them AUGUSTUS had all the accompliſhments to be acquired by man, the magnanimity of Heroes, the perfections and genius of a Deity, and the innocence peculiar to the primitive race of men. After ſo many inſtances of his cruelty, revenge, ſelfiſhneſs, exceſſive ſuperſtition and defect in courage; after all the crying calamities and afflictions, all the oppreſſion and vaſſalage, that his ambition had brought upon his Country and the globe, one would think that ſuch praiſes muſt have paſs'd for ſatyr and mockery: but *nihil eſt quod credere de ſe non poſſit cum laudatur Diis æqua poteſtas.* Ambition, ſucceſsful ambition is a credulous paſſion; or whether he believed ſuch praiſes or no, he received them graciouſly, and careſs'd the Authors. Hence ſo much favour to VIRGIL and HORACE, and to ſuch other wits as knew how to be good Courtiers: and hence every admirer of thoſe charming Poets, is an admirer of AUGUSTUS, who was ſo generous to them, and is the chief burthen of their Panegyricks.

SUPPOSE he had miſcarried; ſuppoſe the Commonwealth reſtored and him puniſhed as a Traytor inſtead of gaining the Sovereignty; would not the Hiſtorians, would not the Poets have then ſpoke as the Law ſpoke, that Law by which he had certainly forfeited his life? would not BRUTUS and CASSIUS have then filled their mouths with Panegyricks, as the Saviours of the State? would they have lamented that the Uſurpation failed, and extolled the Uſurper? Is CATILINE extolled, or are the Uſurpations of CINNA, SYLLA, or MARIUS? nor was the conduct and domination of either, half ſo barbarous and tragical as was that of AUGUSTUS for a courſe of years. The truth is their Tyranny was ſhort lived, unſucceſsful, or reſigned.

INIQUITY unproſperous or puniſhed, no man praiſes; but wickedneſs exceeding great and triumphant, almoſt all men do, as well as decry virtuous attempts defeated. CESAR and AUGUSTUS ſucceeded; and their flattery continued, becauſe their government and race did: *ſemper magnæ fortunæ comes adeſt adulatio;* Sycophancy is ever a conſtant attendant upon greatneſs, ſays PATERCULUS, who was himſelf a ſcandalous flatterer, and has in his Hiſtory, miſerably perverted truth, or utterly ſuppreſſed it, that he might lie for the Ceſars.

ſars. When Truth was treaſon who would venture to ſpeak it? and when Flattery bore a vogue and a price, there were enough found to court it, and take it. Hence the partiality or ſilence of Poets and Hiſtorians; *gliſcente adulatione deterrerentur.*

Sect. VII. *Of the falſe Glory ſought and acquired by* AUGUSTUS, *from the badneſs of his Succeſſors.*

ANOTHER ſignal advantage to the name and memory of AUGUSTUS, was the badneſs of his Succeſſors; and for his poſthumous luſtre he was indebted to the extreme miſery of the Roman people: in proportion as TIBERIUS, CALIGULA, *&c.* were deteſted, AUGUSTUS was regretted: yet who but AUGUSTUS was to be thanked for theſe monſters of cruelty? They were legacies by him entailed upon that great State, and he was even ſuſpected to have ſurrendred the Roman people to the Tyranny of TIBERIUS, purely to enhance his own praiſe with poſterity, by the compariſon and oppoſition of their Reigns: *comparatione deterrima ſibi gloriam quæſiviſſe.* He ſought renown from a counſel for which he deſerved abhorrence. He had made a feint or two to abdicate the Sovereignty; had he been in earneſt, he might at leaſt have contrived, that his Uſurpation ſhould laſt no longer than his life, and have left for a legacy to the Roman people that Liberty of which he had robbed them; that dominion over themſelves, which none but themſelves had any right to exerciſe. The truth is, his power and name were dearer to him than the Roman people or human race: he made proviſion by a long train of ſucceſſors againſt any poſſible relapſe into Liberty: *proviſis etiam hæredum in Rempublicam opibus.* When he had no longer any heir of his own blood, or none that he liked, he adopted the ſons of his wife, and even the worſt of them was deſtined to the ſucceſſion; *ne ſucceſſor in incerto foret.*

IF it be ſaid that by ſuch adoption he fortified himſelf, and conſidered heirs as *ſubſidia dominationis,* the ſtays and ſecurity of his domination; this ſtill ſhews what was uppermoſt in his views, that he meant to perpetuate ſlavery. If he had ſtudied the good of Rome, why was not TIBERIUS, whom he knew to be tyrannical and arrogant, poſtponed; why was not his brother DRUSUS, the moſt accompliſhed and popular man in the Empire, preferred? or (after his death) GERMANICUS his ſon, one equally deſerving, and equally beloved? It is even ſaid that he loved DRUSUS, loved GERMANICUS, and was ſuſpected to have hated and deſpiſed TIBERIUS: yet TIBERIUS was preferred, and had the world bequeathed to him. Was it done to pleaſe his wife? then he loved her better than the Roman people, nay preferred her caprice to the felicity of human kind. DRUSUS had declared his purpoſe to reſtore the Commonwealth: the ſame intention is ſuppoſed to have been in GERMANICUS: this perhaps was the reaſon for ſetting them aſide; *quippe illi non perinde curæ gratia preſentium, quam in poſteros ambitio;* as was ſaid of TIBERIUS.

Sect. VIII. *The Character of* AUGUSTUS.

AS to the Character of AUGUSTUS; he was a man of Senſe and Art; his courage below his capacity, his capacity below his fortune, yet his fortune below his fame; becauſe his fame was the child of able flattery as well as of propitious fortune: he was a cunning man, not a great genius; dextrous to apply the abilities of others to his own ends, and had ability enough to be counſelled by ſuch as had more: his deſigns rather incidental and progreſſive, than vaſt and conceived at once; and he cannot be ſaid to have maſtered fortune, but to have been led by it. In the times of the Republick he would have made but a midling figure; in the ſtation and purſuits of JULIUS CESAR, none at all: 'tis not in the leaſt likely that he would have thought or attempted what CESAR accompliſhed. He wanted CESAR's maſterly ſpirit, the eclat of that conſummate Warrior, his boundleſs Liberality, his enchanting Eloquence: for the Eloquence of AUGUSTUS, which was eaſy and flowing, ſuch as became a Prince, was quite different from that torrent of Language, and power of ſpeaking neceſſary to agitate and controul the ſpirit of Republicans, and came far ſhort of the talent of JULIUS, who ſtood in rank with the moſt diſtinguiſhed Orators. I know not whether the vices of the Dictator had not more popular charms than the virtues of AUGUSTUS: CESAR made his way to the Throne, AUGUSTUS found it already made, or where difficulties occurred, was conducted by the ſuperiour lights and force of others, whom he rewarded with all the meanneſs of ingratitude and even cruelty, and did many things which the great heart of CESAR would have ſcorned. No great mind ever delighted in petty miſchiefs; tho' to do mighty evil an elevated genius is not always neceſſary.

Sect. IX. *Of the Helps and Cauſes which acquired and preſerved the Empire to* AUGUSTUS. *His great Power and Fortune, no proof of extraordinary Ability.*

THAT AUGUSTUS acquired the Empire, is not a proof of talents grand and ſurprizing: a thouſand things concurred to it, times and accidents, friends and enemies, the living and the dead, fought and contrived for him; CESAR, ANTHONY, the authority of the Senate, the folly and corruption of the people, the eloquence and abilities of CICERO, ſeaſonable conjunctures, the oppoſition of ſome, the compliance or intoxication of others, nay the charms of CLEOPATRA, and his own treachery and fears: all theſe co-incided to puſh him forwards, and to hoiſt him into Sovereignty; nor indeed wanted he dexterity to improve opportunities, for he was a notable man, judged well, and had a turn for buſineſs.

NOR did it require much genius to hold the Empire, when he had got it. All who could oppoſe him were ſlain or ſubdued. He had Armies and Guards; and the people were diſarmed and enſlaved; the State was ſo thoroughly maſtered, the Roman ſpirit ſo entirely broken, *verſo civitatis ſtatu, nihil uſquam priſci & integri moris*, that any the moſt contemptible wretch amongſt men, provided he were but vouched by the Armies and called CESAR, might rule, inſult, and lay waſte the Roman world at his pleaſure: *omnis exuta æqualitate juſſa principis aſpectare.* What was CALIGULA, what were NERO and CLAUDIUS? were they not monſters, who but for ſhape and ſpeech, were utterly disjoined from humanity? and yet were not theſe monſters ſuffered, nay adored, and deified, while they were wallowing in the blood of men, and making ſpoil of the creation? Nor were the ſavages cut off by any effort of the Roman people, but by the inſtruments of their own cruelty, their wives, ſoldiers, and ſlaves.

THUS it was poſſible to be Maſters of mankind, not only without common ſenſe, and common mercy and compaſſion, but even armed with intenſe and ſettled hate againſt the race of men, and daily exerting it. The rule and havock of a Lion or any other beaſt of prey, would have been leſs pernicious, and leſs diſgraceful to the Roman people, tho' he had required for his ſuſtenance a veſſel of human blood every day. Nay had the Imperial Lion kept about him a Court and Guard of ſubordinate Lions, for his Inſtruments and Counſellors, they could not have worried and devoured faſter than did the Accuſers, Freedmen, Poiſoners, and Aſſaſſins of the Emperors. Cruelty inſpired by hunger, ceaſes when hunger is aſſwaged; but cruelty created by fear and malice is never ſatiated, nor knows any bounds: ſo much leſs dangerous and pernicious are the jaws and rapaciouſneſs of a Tyger, than the jealouſy and rage of a Tyrant, his flatterers and executioners.

NOW where was the difficulty to AUGUSTUS, where the neceſſity of high wiſdom, to maintain the Sovereignty, when ſuch deſpicable wretches could maintain themſelves in it for a courſe of years? The Romans who were maſters of mankind, were become the tame property, the vaſſals and victims of creatures equal to no office in a State, even the meaneſt and moſt contemptible office; creatures void of underſtanding, void of courage. Such, without aggravation, were the Lords of Rome for ſeveral ſucceſſive Reigns: ſuch as were a ſcandal to human Nature, trod upon the necks and wantoned in the blood of human kind; nay delegated this work, and the diſpoſal of the Romans, life and property, to the vileſt of their domeſticks and dependants, their ſpies, informers, and bond ſlaves.

DISCOURSE V.

Of Governments free and arbitrary, more eſpecially that of the CESARS.

Sect. I. *The Principle of God's appointing and protecting Tyrants, an Abſurdity not believed by the Romans.*

I Do not find that a Servitude ſo beaſtly and ignominious was borne by the Romans out of Principle. Their Religion, as vain and ſuperſtitious as 'twas, had never offered ſuch an inſult to common ſenſe, as to teach them that their Deities, as capricious as they thought them, warranted Tyranny and ſanctified Tyrants; that the brutal and bloody CALIGULA, was the beloved and Vice-gerent of Jove, almighty, all-wiſe and all-merciful; that the worſt of men had a commiſſion from Heaven to oppreſs all men, and to deſtroy the beſt; that murder, rapine and mis-rule were Government, and ſuch lawleſs and bloody robbers were Governors divinely appointed; that Society had no remedy againſt devouring luſt and the raging ſword, which were deſtroying all the ends of Society and Society it ſelf. Theſe are Abſurdities below Paganiſm and all its chimeras: even the Superſtition of Pagans never broached ſuch blaſphemies and indignities to God and Man; never propagated Doctrines which would have turned men into idiots, deſtitute of reflection and feeling, nay into beaſts of burden, and beaſts for ſacrifice; turned the Deities into Devils; human ſociety into a chaos of blood and carcaſſes, and this earth into a place of torments. It never entered into the heart of a Greek or a Roman, nor into any heart which felt the ſentiments of virtue and humanity, that it was unlawful to defend Law; a crime to ward againſt murder, barbarity, and deſolation; and an impiety to do the moſt godlike action which can be done on this ſide Heaven, that of diſarming a Tyrant, and ſaving ones Country from periſhing. It is true that the Romans flattered their Tyrants, as Tyrants ever will be flattered; but as the names and appearances of the old Government ſtill ſubſiſted, they pretended to believe that none but the old Laws were exerciſed; and by the old Laws the Emperors ſtill pretended to act. For ſeveral generations after the State was enſlaved, and even during the Reigns of the worſt of the CESARS, the Romans expreſſed high contempt for Nations who were avowedly ſlaves, and for Kings who were avowedly arbitrary; and it then continued uſual, to behold foreign Monarchs attending the levee and train of the Roman Magiſtrates and Governors of Provinces; nay they were ſometimes denied acceſs and treated with great ſcorn.

GOVERNMENT is doubtleſs a ſacred thing, and juſtly claims all reverence and duty; but in the idea of Government is implied that of publick Protection and Security; that it is the terror of evil doers, and the encouragement of ſuch as do well: but when what was Government ceaſes; and what is called Government, is in reality general oppreſſion, havock, and ſpoil; when a power prevails which is ſwayed by evil doers to the deſtruction of all who do well; when law and righteouſneſs are baniſhed, luſt and iniquity triumph; property is violently invaded, and lives are wantonly deſtroyed; is this Government too? If it be, I ſhould be glad to know what is not Government.

Sect. II. *The reaſonableneſs of reſiſting Tyrants aſſerted, from the ends of Government and the Nature of the Deity. Opinions the moſt impious and extravagant, why taught and how eaſily ſwallowed.*

IT is certainly unlawful to reſiſt Government; but 'tis certainly lawful to reſiſt the deviation from Government, to reſiſt what deſtroys Government and men: to reſiſt the abuſe of Government, is to aſſiſt Government. 'Tis allowed to be juſt to help our protectors; but it is equally juſt to oppoſe our enemies, madmen and ſpoilers. Now what was NERO, what CALIGULA and CLAUDIUS? one a bloody idiot, the other an inhuman madman; the firſt like the ſecond, and all of them publick robbers and butchers. If their courſe of cruelties and oppreſſion was Government, ſo are plagues, tempeſts and inundations: but if their lives and actions were altogether pernicious and deteſtable; the exterminating of ſuch monſters from amongſt men, would have been a ſervice to the whole race. Was TARQUIN half ſo black and odious? yet who has ever blamed his expulſion? was the Inſolence and Tyranny of TARQUIN the Ordinance of God? what then was the ſucceeding Government of the People and Senate? if this was the Ordinance of God too; then every Government good and bad, or rather Miſ-government as well as Government, publick robbery and ruin as well as publick ſecurity and protection, may be equally ſaid to be his Ordinance; and there are Ordinances of his that combat one another, like the two Angels contending in one of the Prophets. But if the Tyranny of TARQUIN was, and the eſtabliſhing of the free State was not the Ordinance of God, then are not the Patrons of this opinion obliged to ſay, and to maintain this groſs and blaſphemous abſurdity, that the divine Being diſapproves of good Government, Equity and Laws, and delights in injuſtice, cruelty and confuſion; not in the rule of equal juſtice, but in the ravages of luſt and iniquity.

TO ſay that all Governments, the good and the bad, are alike to him, equally inviolable, is to ſay that he takes no cognizance of things below; and at this rate, there is, in his ſight, no ſuch thing as guilt and innocence. To alledge that that Government which is beſt for men, is diſliked by him; and the rule of luſt is preferable to that of Laws; is to make him worſe than indifferent, the patron of wantonneſs and oppreſſion; a foe to order and benevolence, fonder of one man's caprice and violence than of the happineſs of millions; nay a profeſſed advocate for iniquity, a profeſſed adverſary to all publick righteouſneſs. If it be ſaid, that he approves not of Tyranny himſelf, and yet would not have it reſiſted by others; this is nonſenſe added to prophaneneſs; ſince what he neither checks nor allows to be checked, he may be ſaid to approve. If I ſee a man going to commit murder, and by terrible threatning and penalties reſtrain ſuch as would reſtrain him, will it not be conſtrued, that I choſe to have the murder perpetrated? It makes him beſides a hard hearted being, who forbids to remedy the higheſt human evil, nay wilfully dooms human kind to the ſevereſt miſery.

I never heard that he has forbid under any penalty the uſe of Medicines againſt the Plague, and I think I have found the reaſon why I never heard it: the Plague has no treaſures, nor dignities to recompenſe flatterers. Had it been worth while to have made ſuch prohibition a Doctrine of Religion; that is, had it been pleaſing to power and the way to favour, I doubt not but it would have gained ground, and many followers, as other Doctrines equally abſurd have done, where the gain and craft of a few have been followed and defended by the ſuperſtition and zeal of many; witneſs Tranſubſtantiation, Purgatory, Auricular Confeſſion, blind Obedience under the rod of Tyranny, *&c.* The Turks out of bigottry to that of Predeſtination, forbear all precautions againſt the Plague, when raging on every ſide of them. It is impoſſible to invent a Doctrine ſo monſtrous and miſchievous, but 'twill meet with partizans and admirers, provided the inventors have convenient names and habilements, without which the moſt illuſtrious and benevolent truths will hardly paſs with a multitude bewitched with the magick of words and ſuperſtition.

IT is impoſſible for the hearts of men to contrive a Principle more abſurd and wicked, than that of annexing divine and everlaſting vengeance to the reſiſting of the moſt flagrant miſchief which can poſſibly befall the ſons of men; yet it has found inventors and vouchers. 'Tis plain from this inſtance, and from a thouſand more, that there is no wickedneſs of which the hearts of men are not capable, and that the wretchedneſs of the whole race weighs not ſo much with them as their own profit and pleaſure. It would ſeem from hence, as if we had lived in the dregs and barbariſm of time, ſince to the late age (at leaſt here in Chriſtendom) was reſerved the infamy of hatching a Monſter ſo horrible, that to its birth was ſacrificed all Senſe and Humanity, all the conſiderations and even the eſſence of Truth, Order and Liberty.

THE advocates for this impious tenet, which repreſents the great and good God as incenſed with men for ſtriving to remove their chains and ſorrows, are, by defending Tyranny, ſo much worſe than Tyrants, as a Scheme of Barbarity cooly and deliberately contrive'd or defended, is more heinous than particular acts of barbarity committed in the heat and hurry of paſſion, and Murder a greater crime than Manſlaughter.

WHAT avail Laws and Liberty, ever ſo excellently framed, when they are at the mercy of lawleſs rage and caprice? If we are forbid by God to defend Laws, why do we make them? Is it not unlawful to make what it is unlawful to defend? What elſe is the end of Government, but the felicity of men; and why are ſome raiſed higher in Society than others, but that all may be happy? Has God ever interpoſed againſt the eſtabliſhment of Society upon a good foot? If he has not, but wills the good of Society and of men, how comes he to interpoſe againſt the defence of an Eſtabliſhment which he no where forbids, and againſt that good which he is ſaid to will? What more right had NERO to take away the lives of innocent men than any other Aſſaſſin; what more title to their fortune than any other Robber; what better right to ſpill their blood than any Tyger? And is it unlawful to reſiſt Robbers and Aſſaſſins and Beaſts of Prey? Did the Almighty ever ſay of that beaſtly Tyrant, "Touch not NERO my "Anointed, nor do his Ruffians any harm?" Did NERO's ſtation leſſen or abrogate his crimes?

WHAT idea does it give of God, the Father of mercies and of men, to repreſent him ſcreening that enemy to God and man, as a perſon ſacred and inviolable, and holding his authority from himſelf; the merciful and holy Jehovah protecting an inhuman Deſtroyer! What more relation could there be between God and NERO, than between God and an Earthquake, God and a Conflagration or Maſſacre? The very ſound of the phraſe is ſhocking to the ſoul! Is ſuch repreſentation likely to make the name and nature of God amiable to men, likely to excite them to love and reverence him? SATAN is ſaid to be delighted with the miſeries and calamities of men; and, to ſuppoſe that wicked Being concerned for the ſecurity of a Tyrant, whoſe office 'tis to debaſe and afflict human race, is natural and conſiſtent with his Character: but I wiſh men would not father upon the Author of all good ſuch counſels and inclinations, as can only ſuit the father of cruelties and lies.

Sect. III. *The danger of ſlaviſh Principles to ſuch as truſt in them, and the notorious inſecurity of lawleſs Might.*

NEITHER have Tyrants and Oppreſſors been much obliged to this enſlaving Doctrine, which has generally filled them with falſe confidence and ſecurity: it has always made them worſe, ſeldom ſafer; and, without doing them any good, been the cauſe of much evil to their poor ſubjects. The Turks hold it as an Article of Faith, and 'tis one worthy of Turkiſh groſneſs and barbarity! yet where has the depoſing and murdering of Princes been ſo common as in Turkey? The Monarch is told he may do what he pleaſes; their Religion tells him ſo, the holy Mufti who explains it tells him ſo, and from God he tells him ſo: but notwithſtanding all theſe holy Authorities, this perſon ſo ſacred, and guarded with ſecurities human and divine, is often butchered with leſs form than a common malefactor, and even with the Mufti's conſent and aſſiſtance. Thus it has happened to ſeveral in a Century: had not their power been ſo great, their ſecurity would have been greater.

NUNQUAM *ſatis fida potentia ubi nimia;* an abſolute Prince is of all others the moſt inſecure: as he proceeds by no rule of Law, he can have no rule of Safety: he acts by Violence, and violence is the only remedy againſt him. Now violence which is confined to rule, but as various and unlimited as the paſſions and devices of men, can never be parried by any certain proviſion or defence. His acts of cruelty upon particulars, whether done for revenge or prevention, do but alarm other particulars to ſave themſelves by deſtroying him. Men who apprehend their lives to be in danger, will venture any thing to preſerve them; or if they do more than apprehend and be already become deſperate, we know to what lengths deſpair will puſh them. Thus CALIGULA, thus DOMITIAN and COMMODUS, were ſlaughtered by thoſe whom they had doomed to ſlaughter. Nor Armies nor Guards can prevent the machinations and efforts of a ſecret enemy: even amongſt his Armies and Guards ſuch a one may be found, nay in his Houſhold, in his Bed-chamber, amongſt his Kindred, nay amongſt his Children.

WHEN Princes act by Law, in caſe of hardſhip upon particulars, there is a remedy to be ſought from the Law; and when the Law fairly adminiſtred will afford none, they will acquieſce; or if they blame any thing, they will blame the Law: but a remedy they will be apt to ſeek; and when they ſuffer not from Law, but from mere violence, they will have recourſe to violence. Neither can a people be ever ſo ſunk or deadned by Oppreſſion, but much provocation, ſome management, and a ſkilful leader, will find or raiſe ſome ſpirit in them, often enough to accompliſh great Revolutions: witneſs Sicily under the French, Swiſſerland under the Yoke of Auſtria, and the Low Countries under that of Spain; nay the moſt conſummate and profeſſed ſlaves, thoſe of Turkey, often rouſe themſelves, and caſting their proud rider to the earth, trample him to death.

INDEED ſlaves enraged are the moſt dangerous populace; becauſe having no other reſource againſt oppreſſion, they repell violence with outrage: a little ſpark often raiſes a great flame, and a flame ſoon ſpreads to a Conflagration, where materials are prepared, as they almoſt eternally are in Governments that are abſolute or aiming to be ſo. The Commotions at Paris, during the Minority of the late King, were followed by others all over France, tho' the whole Kingdom had been for a great while before, by the Tyranny of the Adminiſtration, frightened, deſpairing, and even lethargic: but the reſentment and convulſions that followed this falſe calm, had like to have overſet the Monarchy: nor can any publick calm be certain, or any Government ſecure, where the people are pillaged and oppreſſed. People that are uſed like beaſts, will act like beaſts; and be mad and furious, when buffeted and ſtarved.

Sect. IV. *Princes of little and bad Minds, moſt greedy of Power: Princes of large and good Minds chuſe to rule by Law and Limitations.*

IT is a poor and contemptible ambition in a Prince, that of ſwelling his Prerogative, and catching at advantages over his People: it is ſeparating himſelf from the tender relation of a Father and Protector, a Character which conſtitutes the Glory of a King; and aſſuming that of a foe and an enſnarer: *non dominationem & ſervos, ſed rectorem & cives cogitaret.* This is what a Prince of a great and benevolent ſpirit will conſider; not himſelf as a lordly Tyrant, nor them as his Property and Slaves; but himſelf and them under the amiable and engaging ties of Magiſtrate and fellow Citizens. Such was the difference between a Queen ELIZABETH and a RICHARD the ſecond: how glorious and proſperous the Reign of the one, how infamous and unhappy that of the other! what renown accompanies her memory, what ſcorn his! It is indeed apparent from our Hiſtory, that thoſe of our Princes who thirſted moſt violently after arbitrary rule, were chiefly ſuch as were remarkable for poor ſpirit, and ſmall genius, Pedants, Bigots, the timorous and effeminate.

THE French Hiſtorians obſerve that the worſt and weakeſt of their Kings were fondeſt of Dominion, and their beſt and wiſeſt contented with ſtinted Power and the rule of Laws. LEWIS the eleventh, ſays Cardinal DE RETZ, was more crafty than wiſe: he was in truth a genuine Tyrant, he trampled upon the Laws of the Kingdom and the lives of his Subjects, pillaged and oppreſſed all manner of ways, and followed no counſel but that of his Luſt and Caprice. But what advantage or content, what ſecurity or fame did he draw from his exorbitant encroachments and power? no man ever lived under a blacker ſeries of fears, and cares, and ſuſpicions, or died in greater miſery and terrors; and in his life, and death, and memory he is equally deteſtable[b]. LEWIS the thirteenth, a man naturally harmleſs but ſilly, was jealous of his authority, purely becauſe he was ignorant about it: but HENRY the fourth, who was born with a Soul great and generous, never diſtruſted the Laws, becauſe he truſted in the uprightneſs of his own Deſigns: *il ne ſe defioit pas des loix, parce qu'il ſe fioit en lui même*, ſays DE RETZ. Another French Monarch of great name, loved and enjoyed unbridled Dominion, but had no greatneſs of mind or genius anſwerable to the meaſure of his ambition. He had a ſort of ſtiffneſs and perſeverance, by his flatterers ſtiled Fortitude and Firmneſs, but in reality ariſing from arrogance or obſtinacy; qualities found in the weakeſt women, and eminently in his mother. In Religion he was a bigot; in Politicks falſe, ſuſpicious, and timid; in Government inſolent and oppreſſive; the property of his Miſtreſſes, the Pupil of his Confeſſors, the Dupe of his Miniſters: a ſore Plague to his Neighbours; a ſorer to his own People: vainly addicted to War without the

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[b] *Vid.* PHIL. DE COMINES and MEZERAY.

talents of a Warriour; a diſhonourable Enemy; a faithleſs Ally; and, with ſmall Abilities, a great Troubler of the World.

It was natural to ſuch an Imperial Wolf as CALIGULA, to delight in power as ſavage as his own bloody ſpirit, and to boaſt that he had an unlimited privilege to do whatever his will or fury ſuggeſted; *omnia ſibi in homines licere:* but worthy of the benevolent and human heart of TRAJAN, were the words by him uſed to his chief Officers, when he preſented them with the ſword: *pro me; ſi merear, in me:* "this ſword, this badge of Authority, you hold from me, " but turn it, if I deſerve it, againſt me." Now, did the challenging and exerciſe of this monſtrous power ſecure CALIGULA; or did the diſavowing of it leſſen the ſecurity of TRAJAN? quite otherwiſe: the former was abhorred and aſſaſſinated as a Tyrant: the latter was adored living, and died lamented, as a publick Father and Guardian. TRAJAN knew no other purpoſe of Imperial Prerogative, but that of protecting the People; nor indeed is there any other uſe of Emperors and Prerogatives upon earth.

Cardinal DE RETZ ſays, that with all the arguments and pains he could uſe, he could never bring the Queen Regent to underſtand the meaning of theſe words, *the Publick:* ſhe thought that to conſult the intereſt of the People, was to be a Republican, and had no notion that the Government of a Prince was any thing elſe but Royal Will and Authority, rampant and without bounds. Was it any wonder that the people of France gaſped under Oppreſſions and Taxes, when the Government was ſwayed by ſuch a Woman, herſelf blindly governed by MAZARIN, a publick Thief if ever there was any; one convicted to have ſtollen from the Finances nine millions in a few years; one who had ſpent his younger years in low rogueries; who had no maxims of rule but ſuch as were adapted to the ſevereſt Tyranny in Italy, that of the Pope; and one, who in the higheſt poſt of firſt Miniſter, could never help ſhewing the baſe ſpirit of a little Sharper. *Le vilain cœur paroiſſoit toûjours au travers,* ſays DE RETZ: the Duke of Orleans called him *un Scelerat, & Miniſtre incapable & abhorré du genre humain; un Menteur fieffé.*

Sect. V. *The Wiſdom and Safety of ruling by ſtanding Laws, to Prince and People.*

IT was a fine anſwer that of THEOPOMPUS King of Lacedemon to his wife, who reproached him that he would leave the Kingſhip diminiſhed to his ſons, by creating the Ephori: *yes,* ſays he, *I ſhall leave it ſmaller, but I ſhall leave it more permanent.* VALERIUS MAXIMUS explains this by a very juſt reflection: " THEOPOMPUS's reaſon was full of pertinency and force: for, in reality, " that Authority which bounds it ſelf, and offers no injuries, is expoſed " to none. The King therefore by reſtraining Royalty within the juſt " limits of Laws, did as much endear it to the Affections of his " Countrymen, as he pruned it of all Licentiouſneſs and Terror[a]."

It is as rare for a Prince limited by Laws and content with his power, to reign in ſorrow, or to die tragically, as 'tis uncommon for thoſe who have no bounds ſet them, or will ſuffer none, to eſcape a miſerable Reign and unbloody end. The power of the Roman Kings was, from the firſt eſtabliſhment, very ſhort: they had no negative voice in the Senate, and could neither make War nor Peace. What TACITUS ſays of ROMULUS, *nobis Romulus ad libitum imperitaverat,* can only mean his adminiſtring juſtice, as the chief Magiſtrate, between man and man, or perhaps his encroachments upon the Senate towards his latter end, for which 'tis thought he paid dear.

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[a] Optime quidem; ea demum tuta eſt potentia, quæ viribus ſuis modum imponit. Theopompus igitur legitimis regnum vinculis conſtringendo, quo longius à licentia retraxit, hoc propius ad benevolentiam civium admovit, Val. Max. L. 4. C. 1.

WHERE the Government is arbitrary and ſevere, the oppreſſed people will be apt to think that no change can make their condition worſe; and therefore will be ready to wiſh for any, nay to riſque a Civil War, riſque freſh evils and calamities, to get rid of the preſent, and to be revenged on their Oppreſſor: ſuch was the temper of the Romans upon the revolt of SACROVIR: they even rejoiced in it, and, in hatred to TIBERIUS, wiſhed ſucceſs to the publick enemy; *multi odio præſentium, & cupidine mutationis, ſuis quiſque periculis lætabantur.* People will be quiet and patient under burdens however heavy which Law lays on; for they ſuppoſe that Laws are founded upon reaſon and neceſſity: but impoſitions the moſt reaſonable will be apt to appear unreaſonable and tyrannical, where they proceed from the will of one. Mere will is ſuppoſed to act without reaſon, and to be only the effect of wantonneſs: hence the acquieſcence of a free people however taxed, and from their acquieſcence, the ſafety of their Governors. Hence too the induſtry and wealth, and conſequently the peaceableneſs of the country: for induſtry and wealth are things exceeding quiet and tame, and only aim at ſecuring themſelves; whereas idleneſs and indigence are uneaſy, tumultuous, and deſperate. Beſides, he who pays twenty ſhillings in a free Government, and pays it cheerfully, would not perhaps, were the Government changed, pay willingly ten, nay perhaps be unable to pay it, tho' by the change no new taxes were added. While the Law requires it, he will imagine that no more than enough is required; and as the ſame Law leaves him all the reſt to himſelf, he will be induſtrious to acquire more, and as much as he can: but when the quantity of his Tax depends upon the caprice or avarice of one, when the more he is worth, the more he will be taxed, or even fancies that he will be, he will grow idle, diſcontented and deſponding, and rather live poor and lazy, than labour to make his Tax-maſter rich. Not to mention the furious Monarchies of the Eaſt deſtructive of all diligence and Arts; the COMTE DE BOULAINVILLIERS in his *Etat de la France,* ſays, that in ſome Provinces in France the ſoil is left uncultivated, and ſeveral trades and profeſſions are diſuſed; becauſe the labour of the Huſbandman, and the ſkill and application of the Artiſt, are rendred abortive by rigorous impoſitions: they chooſe rather to ſtarve in idleneſs, than to work and ſtarve.

Sect. VI. *The Condition of free States, how preferable to that of ſuch as are not free.*

NO arbitrary Prince upon earth could have raiſed from the States of Holland the fifth part of what they have, as a free State, paid to their own Magiſtrates, nor have found whence to have raiſed it. I will venture to ſay the ſame of England. Under a Monarchy of the late King JAMES's model, was it poſſible to have ſupported two wars ſo long and conſuming as the two laſt, or to have raiſed ſums ſo immenſe to carry them on? It would be madneſs to aſſert it: by this time numbers of our people would have been driven from their Country, much of our Soil been waſte, many of our Manufactures laid aſide, our Trade ſunk, our Wealth fled, and the condition of England have reſembled that of France, as well as our Government theirs, and for the ſame reaſon. It is in vain boaſted of the Houſe of Medicis, that in a long courſe of years they had laid no new tax upon a country where their power was abſolute; ſince the Cities and Territories under their Sovereignty are by it reduced from great wealth and populouſneſs to ſuch miſerable deſolation and poverty, that 'tis downright oppreſſion to oblige them to pay any conſiderable part of the old, much more all.

To reaſon from experience and examples, is the beſt reaſoning; *quia pauci prudentia, honeſta ab deterioribus, utilia ab noxiis diſcernunt; plures aliorum eventis docentur.* Compare any free State with any other that is not free: compare the former and preſent condition of any State formerly free; or once enſlaved, and now free: compare England with France; Holland with Denmark; or the ſeven Provinces under the States, with the ſame ſeven Provinces under Philip the ſecond; you will find in theſe and every other inſtance, that happineſs and wretchedneſs are the exact tallies to Liberty and Bondage.

FLORENCE was a Commonwealth ill framed at firſt, and conſequently ſubject to frequent convulſions, factions, parties, nay ſubdiviſion of parties: yet by the mere bleſſing and vigour of Liberty, She flouriſhed in people, riches and arms, till with her Liberty ſhe loſt all ſpirit and proſperity; and became languiſhing little and contemptible under a ſmall Prince with a great name: ſhe has been long cured of all her former frolicks and tumults, by an effectual remedy, ſervitude; and beggary, the child of ſervitude; and by depopulation, the offspring of both: *inſtrumenta ſervitutis & reges habuere.* All arguments for abſolute Power, are confuted by facts: no Country governed by mere will was ever governed well: paſſion governs the will, the will becomes the meaſure of right and wrong and of all things, and caprice the ballance of the will: and I know not but it may be maintained that a free State the worſt conſtituted, as was that of Florence, is with all its diſorders, factions, and tumults, preferable to any abſolute Monarchy, however calm: *ſolitudinem faciunt, pacem vocant.*

Sect. VII. *The Miſery and Inſecurity of the Ceſars from their overgrown Power.*

THESE Emperors of Rome, who had ſacrificed their Country and all things to their ſupreme power, found little eaſe and ſecurity from its being ſupreme. From CESAR the Dictator, who had ſacrificed publick Liberty, and was himſelf ſacrificed to her *manes*, till CHARLEMAIN, above thirty of them were murdered, and four of them murdered themſelves: the ſoldiery were their maſters, and upon every pique put them to death. If the Prince was choſen by the Senate, this was reaſon enough for ſhedding his blood by the Armies; or if the Armies choſe him, this choice of their own never proved an obſtacle againſt ſhedding it: 'twas the ſoldiers that diſpatched the Emperor **PERTINAX**, after he had been forced to accept the Empire. Theſe lofty Sovereigns having trod under foot the Senate, People and Laws, the beſt ſupports of legitimate Power, held their Scepter and their lives upon the courteſy of their maſters the ſoldiers: he who ſwayed the Univerſe, was a ſlave to his own mercenaries.

Tho' **AUGUSTUS** had reigned ſo long, and ſo thoroughly enfeebled or extinguiſhed the maxims of Liberty, and introduced and ſettled thoſe of Monarchy; **TIBERIUS** his immediate Succeſſor, thought himſelf ſo little ſafe, that he lived in perpetual vaſſalage to his own fears: by making all men ſlaves, he could not make himſelf free, and was only the moſt overgrown and gaudy ſlave in the Empire; ſo much do Princes gain by being above Law! They who will be content with no terms of reigning, but ſuch as make all men fear them, will find reaſons to fear all men. **TIBERIUS** did ſo, and the many ſacrifices which he made to his fear, far from leſſening did but encreaſe it, as ſuch ſacrifices did but multiply enemies and terrors.

FIRST he dreaded **AGRIPPA POSTHUMUS**, and murdered him: but the murder enſured not his repoſe, even from that quarter; for a ſlave of that Prince perſonated his Maſter, and alarmed **TIBERIUS** more than **AGRIPPA** had done: he dreaded **GERMANICUS**, and when that excellent perſon was dead (by no fair means, 'twas ſuppoſed) he dreaded **AGRIPPINA** his wife, and her little children; and when by all manner of treachery and cruelty he had oppreſſed them, he was ſeized with new dread from **SEJANUS**, the greateſt and juſteſt of all; nor ceaſed his dread after the execution of **SEJANUS**, ſo that he commanded a general Maſſacre of all his Family, Friends, and Adherents: next, his fears ſtill continuing, he doomed to the moſt barbarous death his own grandſons by **GERMANICUS**; for their being already under miſerable impriſonment and exile, did not ſuffice; and when the Family of **GERMANICUS** was deſtroyed; he had remaining fears from the Friends and Dependants of that Houſe: theſe were the next objects of his Vengeance, which he executed fiercely. Nor ſmall was the Terror which he entertained of his own Mother; and when ſhe was gone, he let looſe his rage upon the Favourites and Adherents of his Mother.

NOW after all theſe precautions, ſo many, and ſo bloody, did his ſuſpicions abate? No; they were rather whetted and inflamed; *irritatus ſuppliciis:* of the great Lords of the Senate he was under perpetual apprehenſions, and making daily victims: their wealth and race, nay their poverty, names, and qualities frightned him: he feared friends and enemies. Thoſe who adviſed him in counſel, thoſe who diverted him at his leiſure hours; his Confidents, Counſellors, and Bottle-companions, were all Martyrs to Jealouſy and Fury. He was ſo afraid of conſiderable men, or giving them employments which made them ſo, that ſome who were appointed Governors of Provinces, were never permitted to go thither, and great Provinces, for a courſe of years, left deſtitute of their Governors: and tho' he dreaded ſtirs and innovations above all things, *nihil æque Tiberium anxium habebat quam ne compoſita turbarentur;* yet he ſuffered the loſs and devaſtation of Provinces, the inſults and invaſion of Enemies, rather than truſt any one with the Power of avenging the State, and repulſing the publick foe. Thus he left Armenia to be ſeized by the Parthians,

thians, Mœſia by the Dacians and other barbarians, and both the Gauls to be ravaged by the Germans; *magno dedecore Imperii, nec minore diſcrimine*, ſays **SUETONIUS**.

Sect. VIII. *A repreſentation of the Torments and Horrors under which* TIBERIUS *lived.*

WHAT joy, what tranquillity did **TIBERIUS** reap from his great and unaccountable Sovereignty? Did it exempt him from diſquiet, or could all his efforts, all the terrors of his Power, prevent or remove his own? Did his numerous Armies protect him from the aſſaults of fear and apprehenſion? Did he ſleep the ſounder for his Pretorian Bands? Did the Rocks of Capreæ, hardly acceſſible to men, keep off thoſe horrors of mind which haunted him at Rome, and on the Continent? Or rather, with all the eclat of Empire, with all his Policy and all his Guards, was he not the moſt miſerable Being in his Dominions? Doubtleſs he was: other particulars, the moſt obnoxious and threatened, had but ſome things and ſome perſons to fear; **TIBERIUS** dreaded all men and every thing: was his Power unlimited? ſo was his Miſery: the more he made others ſuffer, the faſter he multiplied his own torments. He himſelf confeſt, that all the anger of the Deities could not doom him to more terrible Anguiſh than that under which he felt himſelf periſhing daily.

IMAGINE this great Prince, this Sovereign of Rome, in hourly fear of ſecret Aſſaſſins; daily dreading and expecting the news of Armies revolted, a new Emperor created and himſelf depoſed: imagine him fixt upon a high rock, and watching there from day to day, with a careful eye and an anxious and boding heart, for ſignals from the Continent, whether he muſt ſtay or fly: imagine him every moment ready to commit himſelf to the waves and tempeſts, and to eſcape whither he could for life and ſhelter: imagine him, even after a Conſpiracy ſuppreſt, lurking for nine months together in one lodge, under ſuch terrors as not to dare to venture an airing even in his beloved Capreæ, however walled with Rocks and defended with Guards: in ſhort he feared every thing but to do evil, which yet was the ſole cauſe of his fears. Such was his ſituation and life, and ſuch the bleſſing of lawleſs Might! "To **TIBERIUS** not his Imperial "fortune, not his gloomy and inacceſſible ſolitude could enſure repoſe, "nor keep him from feeling nor even from avowing the rack in his "breaſt and the avenging furies that purſued him." His Death too was like his Life and Reign, tragical and bloody.

Sect. IX. *The terrible Operation of lawleſs Power upon the Minds of Princes; and how it changes them.*

TIBERIUS was an able man: he had talents for Affairs; he had eminent ſufficiency in War: during the Commonwealth he would have well ſupported the Dignity of a Senator, he would have filled the firſt Offices of the State: he would have probably been zealous for publick Liberty: he had even under **AUGUSTUS**, while he was yet a Subject, acquired a ſignal name and eſtimation: nay 'tis likely he might have left behind him a high reputation and applauſe; for he had Art enough to have hid or ſuppreſſed the ill qualities which were naturally in him; ſo that he might have lived happy and admired, and died in renown. But being, unhappily for himſelf and his Country, inveſted with Power without controul, he let looſe all his Paſſions, and he who might have proved an excellent and uſeful Member of a free State, became a Prince altogether mercileſs and pernicious; a terrible Tyrant, void of natural affection for his own Blood and Family, void of all regard and tenderneſs for his People, and poſſeſſed with intenſe hate towards the Senate and Nobility. One of his diſcernment was not to be deceived by Flattery: he knew that whatever ſubmiſſions and even proſtrations were made him, the Yoke of Sovereignty was grating and grievous to the Romans, and he ſought revenge upon their perſons for hating his Uſurpation: this conduct made him more hated, and this hatred enraged him ſo, that at laſt renouncing all ſhame, and throwing away his beloved Arts of Diſſimulation, he commenced as 'twere an open Enemy to his People, ſurrendered himſelf over to every act of Cruelty, and to every Abomination, even to Rapaciouſneſs and Plunder, a vice to which for a long time he ſeemed to have no biaſs.

BUT what is not to be apprehended from Power without controul, and who is to be truſted with it, when a man of ſuch ſtrong parts and long experience as TIBERIUS, was ſo entirely maſtered and perverted by it? 'Tis a taſk too mighty for the ſoul of man, and fit for none but God, who cannot change, cannot act paſſionately, cannot be miſtaken and is omnipreſent. There are few inſtances of men who have not been corrupted and intoxicated with it, and many of whom the higheſt hopes were conceived, have degenerated notoriouſly under it. When men are once above fear of puniſhment, they ſoon grow to be above ſhame: beſides, the genius and abilities of men are limited, but their paſſions and vanity boundleſs; hence ſo few can be perfectly good, and ſo many are tranſcendently evil: they miſtake good fortune for great merit, and are apt to riſe in their own conceit as high at leaſt as fortune can raiſe them. GALBA was in the opinion of all men worthy of Empire, and that opinion would have ever continued, had he never been tried; and VESPASIAN was till then, the only inſtance of an Emperor by power changed for the better: *ſoluſque omnium ante ſe Principum in melius mutatus eſt.*

Sect. X. *The wretched Fears accompanying the Poſſeſſion of arbitrary Power, exemplified in* CALIGULA *and other Roman Emperors.*

NOR was this anguiſh and theſe fears peculiar to TIBERIUS: his Succeſſors felt them eminently; as did every one who reigned as he reigned. CALIGULA was ſo haunted by inward horrors, and his Imagination ſo terrified, that he became almoſt a ſtranger to ſleep, and uſed to roam about the Palace while others ſlept, afraid of the night invoking the return of day: upon an alarm from Germany, he prepared to run away from Rome; and was always provided with exquiſite poiſon againſt an exigency. CLAUDIUS ſcarce lived a moment of his Reign free from affrights and ſuſpicions: nor was there any accident ſo trivial, or any Man, Woman, or Slave, or Child ſo contemptible, as not to diſmay him and ſet him upon ſanguinary precautions and puniſhments; he was ſeveral times almoſt frighted out of his Sovereignty, and willing to creep away into ſafety and ſolitude: even before the Senate, which upon the ſight of a dagger, he had ſummoned in great haſte and earneſtneſs, the poor unmanly wretch burſt into tears and howling, bewailed his perillous condition, that in no place or circumſtance could he be out of the way of danger. His whole life was governed by fears, and his fears by his wives and freedmen; hence his exceſſive cruelty, according to the meaſure of his own timidity, or of their ambition, vindictiveneſs, and rapacity. The Horrors of NERO's guilt never forſook him: they were ſometimes ſo violent, that every joint about him trembled; he dreaded his Mother's Ghoſt as much as he had her living Spirit, and made doleful complaints, that the Furies purſued him with Stripes, and Rage, and burning Torches; and that he was alarmed with horrid ſhrieks and groans from his Mother's Tomb. What elſe did HELIOGABALUS think of but a violent death, when he went always provided with a ſilken halter and a golden poignard, as expedients to eſcape death by the hand of an Enemy? For the like purpoſe CARACALLA made himſelf a copious proviſion of poiſons. This barbarous Parricide was wont to complain that the Ghoſt of his Father, and that of his Brother by him murdered, terrified and purſued him with drawn ſwords. So ſorely did the bloody Horrors of their Crimes and Infamy, haunt theſe men of Blood, and became their Executioners! What availed their Power and Armies againſt the alarms of their Conſcience? Could all their Titles and Might, all the Guards at their gate, ſcare away reflection, or reſcue them from the agonies and gorings of their own breaſts?

Sect. XI. *What it is that conſtitutes the Security and Glory of a Prince; and how a Prince and People become eſtranged from each other.*

WHAT then is it that a Prince may rely on for the ſecurity of his Perſon and the quiet of his Soul? Hear the opinion of a great and a good Prince, MARCUS ANTONINUS, delivered to his Friends and Counſellors juſt before he expired: "Verily 'tis neither "the influence of Revenue and Treaſures, nor the multitude of Guards, "that can uphold a Prince, or aſſure him of obedience, unleſs with "the duty of obedience, the zeal and affections of his People do con-"cur. Surely, only long and ſecure is the Reign of ſuch a one as by "actions of benignity ſtamps upon the hearts of his People the im-"preſſions of love; not thoſe of fear by acts of cruelty." He adds, "that a Prince has nothing to fear from his People, as long as their "obedience flows from Inclination, and is not by Servitude conſtrained; "and that Subjects will never refuſe obedience, when they are not "treated with contumely and violence. See *Herodian. in Marc. Antonin.*

A man who means no ill would not ſeek the Power to do it, and he who ſeeks that Power, or has it, will be eternally ſuſpected to mean no good: now the only way to obviate ſuch ſuſpicion, is to act by known rules of Law: he who rules by Law rules by conſent, he who rules by conſent is obnoxious to no blame: ſuch reſtraint may probably at ſome times keep a juſt Prince from doing good, but it certainly

tainly withholds a bad one from doing much greater miſchief: an arbitrary Prince who can do what he will, is for ever liable to be ſuſpected of willing all that he can; hence his people miſtruſt him; hence his indignation for their miſtruſt, and hence the root of eternal jealouſy and uneaſineſs between him and them.

THE People likewiſe expect complaiſance from the Prince, expect to have their ſentiments and humours conſidered; while the Prince probably thinks that they have no right to form any judgment of publick matters, or to make any demands upon him; but on the contrary requires of them blind reverence and obedience to his Authority; and acquieſcence in his ſuperior Conduct and Skill; that all his doings ſhould paſs for juſt; himſelf for a perſon altogether ſacred and unaccountable; and his words for Laws. If their behaviour towards him do not happen to ſquare exactly with theſe his ſovereign notions and high conceit of himſelf, he will be apt to think, or ſome officious flatterer will be ready to perſuade him, *ſpretam voluntatem Principis, deſciviſſe populum: quid reliquum niſi ut caperent ferrum?* "his Royal "Authority is ſet at nought, the People are revolted; and what re"mains but that they take Arms?" To puniſh therefore their Diſobedience, he proceeds to violence, and exerciſes real ſeverity for imaginary guilt: miſchief is prolifick; violence in him begets reſentment in them; the People murmur and exclaim, the Prince is thence provoked, and ſtudies vengeance; when one act of vengeance is reſented and expos'd, as it ever will be, more will follow: thus things go on: affection is not only loſt but irrecoverable on either ſide; hatred is begun on both; and Prince and People conſider themſelves no longer as Magiſtrate and Subjects, but one another as Enemies. Hence perhaps CALIGULA's inhuman wiſh, that he could murder all his People at a blow. The ſequel of all this is eaſy to be gueſſed: he is continually deſtroying them; they are continually wiſhing him deſtroyed.

Sect. XII. *How nearly it behoves a Prince to be beloved and eſteemed by his Subjects. The terrible Conſequences of their mutual Miſtruſt and Hatred.*

HOW much does it import Princes to preſerve the good opinion of their People! when it is once loſt, it is ſcarce ever to be recalled. When once they come to believe ill of their Prince, there is nothing ſo ill that they will not believe; as in the inſtance of TIBERIUS, of whom things the moſt improbable and horrid were believed. It is hardly poſſible for any merit, the moſt genuine and exalted, to preſerve popular favour for a long time: accidents and diſaſters will be falling in, to ſour the ſpirits of the populace; or ſome freſh merit, more new or more glaring, may appear and leſſen or intercept their admiration of the other; or the ſame perſon may not always have the ſame opportunities to oblige them; ſo that the beſt care and conduct can only ſerve to retain it to a certain degree: and this by good conduct is certainly and always to be done. But when the reputation of the Prince with his Subjects is entirely gone, ſomething worſe than the bare want of it will enſue. Between a Prince's forfeiting the publick Affection and his incurring the publick Hatred, there is ſcarce any medium, and even that medium is a terrible one, ſince to be ſcorn'd is not much better than to be hated, and often infers it.

WOULD a Prince live in ſecurity, eaſe and credit? let him live and rule by a ſtandard certain and fix'd, that of Laws, nor graſp at more than is given him: many by ſeeking too much have loſt all, and forfeited their Crown through the wantonneſs and folly of loading it with falſe and invidious ornaments: while nothing would ſerve them but lawleſs Power, even their legitimate Authority grew odious and was rent from them. They ſet their People the example of aſſuming what was none of theirs, to do acts of violence in defenſe of violated Laws, to judge for themſelves, and to ſanctify by the title of Right whatever they could accompliſh by force. Rather than live upon bad terms, people will be apt to make their own terms, and think no fealty is due where no faith is kept. Who would not rejoice more in a free gift than in plunder; for ſuch is the difference between Power conferred and power uſurp'd? What new Prerogative acquir'd to the Crown, or what new Revenue can make amends for the Hearts of the People eſtrang'd and embitter'd? This is ſuch a loſs as no acquiſition; no pomp of power whatſoever, can atone for. We have ſeen under what gloom, affright, and deſpair the Ceſars liv'd and ſway'd, tho' their ſway was without check and bounds. MACHIAVEL ſays that when a Prince has once incur'd the publick hate, there is no perſon nor thing which he ought not to dread.

HE who does no ill, fears none: but ſuch as are continually creating terrors and calamities to others, have abundant reaſon to be under continual apprehenſions themſelves. How much more deſirable, how much more juſt and eaſy and ſafe is the condition of a Prince, who lives and rules by Laws over a free People by their own conſent? both People and Laws are his guard, and what ſecures them ſecures him. They feel that he loves them; and he is conſcious that they ought to love him. This is Government and the effects of it: not the triumph of boundleſs arrogance or folly; not the inſults of one over all, nor conſequently his diſtruſt of them, nor their ſlaviſh dread of him; but the equal adminiſtration of eternal Right, Righteouſneſs, and ſtated Laws; an endearing intercourſe of fatherly care and protection, and of filial gratitude and duty. How amiable muſt it be, how refreſhing to a generous Spirit, to oblige and ſolace a whole People, to have a whole People adore and bleſs him! What maſter of Slaves, even the higheſt and moſt unbounded maſter, can boaſt ſo much of himſelf and his ſlaves? The Grandeur of ſuch a Prince is all falſe and tinſel, painted and hollow: he is never ſecure becauſe he is not innocent; he is not innocent becauſe he is an Oppreſſor.

TO rule by mere Will, is to rule by Violence, and violence is War: he who puts himſelf in a ſtate of Hoſtility with his Subjects, invites Hoſtility from them, as did the late King JAMES, who having no Confidence in the Laws, which he had violated, nor in his People whom he had oppreſſed, put himſelf in a poſture of War againſt his Subjects; ſo that when they too had recourſe to arms, they did but ſtand in their own defence. They had no quarrel to that King JAMES, who had taken an Oath to rule by Law: but when that King aſſumed another perſon, and in ſpite of Oaths and Laws would oppreſs and ſpoil, they who owed this man of violence no Allegiance, oppoſed Might to Might, ſince he would abide by no Law. 'Twas not their

Prince therefore that they reſiſted, but their Enemy and Spoiler: he in truth, had no more Right to what the Law gave him not, than the great Turk had; they oppoſed not an Engliſh Monarch, but an Invader and a Tyrant. Nor do I know of any People who threw off their Monarchy wantonly; and if they did it through Oppreſſion, the Oppreſſor might blame himſelf: *quidam, poſtquam regum pertæſum, leges maluerunt.* Had he conquered his Subjects what would he have gained, but the deteſtable Glory of a triumphant Oppreſſor; of ſeeing a rich Country reduced by ſervitude into poverty, and of bearing the curſes of a free People oppreſſed? Whoever has beheld the condition of a great neighbouring Kingdom, naturally the fineſt in Europe, has ſeen in the condition of the Inhabitants, poor, pale, naſty, and naked, what genuine Glory their Princes have reaped, by reducing all the Laws of their Country into one ſhort one, that of Royal Will and Pleaſure.

Sect. XIII. *Publick Happineſs only then certain, when the Laws are certain and inviolable.*

IT is allowed that amongſt the Roman Emperors, there were ſome excellent ones. But was not all this chance? They might have proved like the reſt, who were incredibly miſchievous and vile. They had nothing but their own Inclinations to reſtrain them; and is inhuman Society to depend for ſecurity and happineſs upon uncertain Inclination and Will? They were good by conformity to the Laws, as Laws are the only defenſe againſt ſuch as are bad. The bad ones had almoſt ſunk the Empire to a chaos, before there appeared one Prince of tolerable capacity and virtue to retrieve it. Inſomuch that VESPASIAN declared it to be abſolutely neceſſary to raiſe a fund of above three hundred millions of money (of our money) purely to ſave the State from abſolute ruine, and diſſolution, *ut Reſpublica ſtare poſſit.* After DOMITIAN there ſucceeded five good Reigns, during which Law and Righteouſneſs prevailed, and the Emperors took nothing, neither power nor money, but what Laws long eſtabliſhed gave them, and profeſſed to derive every thing from the Law, and to occupy nothing in their own Name. But as the Emperor might ſtill be a Tyrant if he would, that wild Prince COMMODUS reſumed the old meaſures of violence, and becomimg a ſecond CALIGULA, diſpatched and overturned in a few years all the treaſure, wiſe proviſions and eſtabliſhments, contrived and gathered by his Predeceſſors during the beſt part of a Century.

TO conclude, if Princes would never encroach, Subjects would never rebel; and if the former knew that they would be reſiſted, they would not encroach. Every Subject knows that if he reſiſts againſt Law, he will die by Law. 'Tis certain miſchief to both Prince and People, to aſſert ſlaviſh Doctrines, and no ſecurity to either; ſince nature oppreſſed will depart from paſſive principle: but to aſſert the reaſonableneſs of vindicating violated Laws, is no more than aſſerting that Laws ought not to be violated, as they ever will be where there is no penalty annexed. The leaſt attempt upon publick Liberty is therefore alarming: if 'tis ſuffered once, it will be apt to be repeated often; a few repetitions create a habit; habit claims preſcription and right. Such alſo is the nature of man, that when publick Affairs are once diſconcerted, 'tis hard, ſometimes impoſſible, to reſtore them to their firſt firmneſs: numbers become engaged in the corruption, and will be trying all their Arts and Power to ſupport it: where it grows extenſive and general, the publick Authority will probably eſpouſe and defend it; and even where that authority is againſt it, the torrent may be ſo ſtrong as to bear down Authority itſelf. How many great and good men have fallen themſelves while they ſtrove to reſtore the State? attempts to reform the ſoldiery, to reform the Clergy, to reform the Civil Adminiſtration, have often drawn down a tragical Doom upon the Authors of them. It is much eaſier to prevent than to cure.

DISCOURSE VI.

Of the old Law of Treaſon by the Emperors perverted and extended.

Sect. I. *The antient Purpoſe of that Law: the Politicks of* AUGUSTUS *in ſtretching it.*

I Proceed now to ſhew by what Arts and Supports the Tyranny was preſerved and exerted; how the old Laws, eſpecially that of Treaſon, were perverted, and to explain the *inſtrumenta regni.* "This Law, ſays TACITUS, in the days of our Anceſtors, had indeed the ſame Name, but implied different arraignments and crimes, "namely thoſe againſt the State; as when an army was betrayed "abroad, when ſeditions were raiſed at home; in ſhort, when the "publick was faithleſly adminiſtered, and the Majeſty of the Roman "People was debaſed: theſe were Actions, and Actions were puniſhed, "but Words were free: AUGUSTUS was the firſt who brought Li-"bels under the penalties of this wreſted Law[a]."

IN that ſenſe of this Law (and doubtleſs 'tis the true ſenſe) the Emperors were the criminals; they who had enſlaved Senate and People, uſurped and deſtroyed the State, but they had got the Power of interpreting Laws, or of directing thoſe who did, and conſequently were become the Law-makers: as Laws obſerved had defended Liberty; Laws wreſted ſecured the Uſurpers. Hence the old Law of Treaſon was degraded and perverted to involve in its penalties the Authors of Lampoons and Paſquinades. This Law of Majeſty was ſo much and ſo long proſtituted and abuſed; ſo much bloodſhed and oppreſſion was committed by the ſucceeding Emperors under its name, that at laſt every ſentence and puniſhment, however juſt, which was pronounced by virtue of it, was thought unlawful and cruel; ſo that out of deteſtation to this abuſed Law, many other good Laws periſhed.

DOUBTLESS Reputation is a tender thing, and ought no more to be violated than property or life; and they who attack and blacken it, are as vile Offenders as they who rob and ſteal. But there was no better pretence for making it treaſonable, than for conſtruing any other offence againſt particulars, to be an offence againſt the publick. In truth, AUGUSTUS could have no other view in this, than the ſuppreſſing of that Freedom of Speech which was an effect of the freedom of the antient Government, and inconſiſtent with his Uſurpation. When words were made Treaſon, it was time to be wary of ones expreſſions; eſpecially when the conſtruction of them was merely arbitrary, and the Law that made them ſo, was utterly ſilent about them: there remained no ſort of rule to know when they were otherwiſe; nor had he who was to be judge any rule but his own ſuſpicion, anger and partiality. For every word, for every action, men were involved in proceſs for Treaſon, provided there appeared but an informer to charge him, and call it ſo.

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[a] Legem Majeſtatis reduxerat (Tiberius); cui nomen apud veteres idem, ſed alia in judicium veniebant: ſi quis proditione exercitum, aut plebem ſeditionibus, denique male geſta Republ. Majeſtatem populi Romani minuiſſet. Facta arguebantur, dicta impune erant. Primus Auguſtus cognitionem de famoſis libellis, ſpecie legis ejus tractavit.

IT is to no purpoſe to ſay that AUGUSTUS ſometimes overlooked or pardoned invectives againſt himſelf: it was all grimace and falſe generoſity; ſince, after this Law was ſo terribly inverted, there was little likelihood that men would run ſuch capital riſques: if contumelies upon private perſons were high Treaſon; what muſt it be to meddle with the Prince or his Adminiſtration? He took care of himſelf without ſeeming to do ſo; he found his own ſanctuary in providing one for others; and regulations made for his own defence and gratification, had an appearance of a ſpirit altogether publick and diſintereſted. But it was a downright inſult upon the ſenſe of mankind, to convert a petulant imagination and a few wanton words, into a crime againſt the State: he who expoſed the gallantries of a Lady of Quality, or the faults and foibles of a Patrician, was forſooth deemed to bear hoſtile purpoſes againſt the Commonwealth: for this is the conſtruction of Treaſon by the Lawyers: yet AUGUSTUS himſelf had made obſcene Libels, particularly upon FULVIA the wife of ANTHONY. This multiplying of Treaſons from Words and Writings, had a melancholy aſpect: for, beſides that Treaſons multiplied are the bulwarks and engines of Tyranny; looks at laſt became treaſonable, as did natural ſympathy and ſorrow, nay ſighs and ſilence.

AUGUSTUS was cunning enough to know the advantages of Treaſons multiplied to his own domination; and wreſted adultery alſo into a crime of State. His daughter and her daughter were proſtitutes, and all their Gallants according to this merciful Monarch, were Traytors: and becauſe theſe ſort of Traytors were very numerous, as well as conſiderable for quality and credit, he had here a good pretence to get rid of many conſiderable Romans, who gave him uneaſineſs and jealouſy. With death or baniſhment therefore he puniſhed their Gallants. For to a crime common between men and women, he gave the grievous name of Treaſon and Sacrilege, and trod upon the moderation of Antiquity. Nor was this ſort of Treaſon limited to the Reigning-Houſe and the blood of the Ceſars: it was univerſal, and every Adulterer was a Traytor: by which he made himſelf the greateſt Traytor in Rome, as he was the moſt univerſal Adulterer; nor were his own ſevere Laws any check upon him, no more than the ſacred ties of friendſhip; for he ſpared not the wife of his own Favourite and faithful Counſellor, MECENAS. This was not extreme prudence in ſo great a Politician, to be daily violating inſtitutions of his own making, eſpecially when by the rigour of the penalties, and the formidable name he had given to the crime, he had ſhewn how important and unpardonable he thought it;

unleſs, like the Princes of Italy in MACHIAVEL's time, he broke penal Laws, to encourage others to do ſo, on purpoſe to enſnare delinquents and gain confiſcations.

Sect. II. *The Deification of the Emperors, what an engine of Tyranny, and ſnare to the Roman People.*

THE Deification of AUGUSTUS and his uſurping even in his life-time the Attributes and Prerogatives of a Deity, was another ſnare for Power and Crimes. Henceforth every offence offered to this new Deity was high Treaſon againſt the Gods; for he was a God as well as the beſt of them, and indeed more to be dreaded than all of them. It became a high crime to ſwear falſly by his name, the ſame as if the name of Jupiter had been falſified; nay to ſell his Statue in the ſale of a Houſe or Gardens: and the Citizens of Cyzicus, notwithſtanding their faithful adherence and ſtrenuous ſervices to the Romans, in the Mithridatick War, were bereft of their freedom for neglecting the worſhip of the deified AUGUSTUS. The name of APIDIUS MERULA was razed from the liſt of Senators, becauſe he had not ſworn upon the Acts of the deified AUGUSTUS: one of the articles charged againſt C. SILANUS, Proconſul of Aſia, was that he violated the Deity of AUGUSTUS. VARILIA, in the opinion of TIBERIUS, deſerved to be condemned, if ſhe had uttered ought irreligiouſly concerning the deified AUGUSTUS; for this was Treaſon and Blaſphemy. Such was the awe and reverence paid to this freſh Deity; and ſuch care had he taken to tie up the tongues of men from cenſuring him living or dead: he was *inſtar omnium deorum;* you might ſay what you would of other Gods, but beware of injuring a deified Emperor. He had done more miſchief, committed higher oppreſſions, ſpilt more human blood than all the men in the world, and was made a Deity!

NOR was it out of any principle of Superſtition, that TIBERIUS guarded the fame and Godhead of AUGUSTUS with ſuch ſevere ſanctions: for he little mattered the Gods and godly Rites, being himſelf a Fataliſt, and only infatuated with notions of Aſtrology: neither was it from any regard to AUGUSTUS (who was ſuſpected to have been poiſoned to make way for him) and whoſe Blood and Poſterity he was daily deſtroying; a proceeding inconſiſtent with the adorations and ſacrifices he affected to offer him, as AGRIPPINA truly told him: but he did it to promote Superſtition in others, and rivet the publick Slavery, ſince in religious devotion paid to a Prince, civil ſubmiſſion was included and enforced. It in truth imported him nearly to have all the Laws and doings of AUGUSTUS paſs for ſacred, and to ſet an example himſelf that he thought them ſo: he had left him (as he pretended) his Succeſſor, and it behoved him that AUGUSTUS ſhould paſs for a Prince of conſummate wiſdom; for had he erred in other great counſels and events, he might have erred in that; beſides AUGUSTUS was a popular Prince, and it would have been unpopular to have neglected him, or reſcinded his deeds.

NERO too acquired the Sovereignty by the murder of CLAUDIUS, and, to keep it, murdered his Children and Kindred: yet he at firſt treated his memory with high regard, vindicated the Reign, and even extolled the parts and prudence of this deified fool; for CLAUDIUS too was liſted amongſt the Gods, he who had been the moſt ſtupid, cowardly, and bloody Idiot that could poſſibly wear and diſgrace a Diadem. This ſtrange animal or human monſter, juſt begun by nature, but never finiſhed, as his mother uſed to ſay, was utterly unfit for any office in the Empire or private life, yet came to be an Emperor and a God. So that to bear ſovereign rule, or to be exalted to a God, no qualification at all was neceſſary. His grandmother LIVIA contemned him even to loathing; ſhe could not bear to ſpeak to him: his nephew CALIGULA, when he had butchered many of his kindred, ſaved CLAUDIUS purely to keep him for a laughing ſtock: he was held in the ſame ſcorn by his ſiſter LIVILLA, by AUGUSTUS and all his family. He was the jeſt of the Court; *tum Claudius inter ludibria aulæ erat.* The kindeſt word AUGUSTUS gave him was that of *miſellus*, wretchling.

Sect. III. *The Images of the Emperors, how ſacred they became, and how pernicious.*

AS flattery begot ſervitude, ſo it was by ſervitude propagated, and whatever tended to ſink and debaſe the ſpirit of the people, as ſycophancy did, exalted the Tyrants: nay, their Images and Statues became ſacred and rever'd; and any villain or profligate might offer what outrage he pleaſed to every worthy man, every ſlave inſult his Lord, every criminal eſcape juſtice, by ſheltering himſelf under the Emperor's Statue, or by carrying his Effigies about him: nor could ſo conſiderable a man as a Senator of Rome, even in the face of the Tribunal, and in the very portal of the Senate, eſcape the inſults and menaces of a profligate woman, who thus defended herſelf with the Image of TIBERIUS, tho' he had legally convicted her of forgery; ſo far was he from daring to bring her to judgment. So that in this impious reverence to a ſilent ſtone, all Law and puniſhment and protection was ſwallowed up. This gives probability to what PHILOSTRATUS tells us in the life of APOLLONIUS TYANEUS, that a maſter was condemned, as one ſacrilegious and accurſed, for having chaſtized a ſlave, who happened to have about him a ſmall coin impreſſed with the Effigies of TIBERIUS. So vaſtly had ſervitude grown upon the Romans ſo early as the Reign of TIBERIUS, and in the beſt part of his Reign, even while he yet kept tolerable meaſures with Law and Liberty, and warily avoided all exceſſes of power and cruelty: yet in his ſecond year, GRANIUS MARCELLUS being arraigned of high Treaſon, it was one of the articles, that the Statue of MARCELLUS ſtood higher than that of the Ceſars, and from that of AUGUSTUS the head had been taken off and the head of TIBERIUS put on: at the recital of this he waxed into ſuch a flame and fury, that departing from his wonted caution and ſilence, he cried aloud, he would vote in this cauſe himſelf under the tie of an oath. He was excellently anſwered by CNEIUS PISO, who aſked him; “In what place, CESAR, will you chuſe to vote? if firſt, I ſhall “have your example to follow; if laſt, I fear through ignorance, I “may happen to differ from you.” Hence the reflection of TACITUS, that there even then remained ſome faint traces of expiring Liberty: *manebant etiam tum veſtigia morientis libertatis.*

IT is not ſtrange, however hideous, to find afterwards theſe Statues, theſe dead repreſentatives of the dead, inveſted with ſuch extravagant and inviolable ſanctity, that it was death without redemption for a maſter to chaſtiſe his ſlave near the picture or image of AUGUSTUS; death, to change ones garments there; death, to carry a coin or a ring with his Image into the Privy or into the Stews; death, to drop a word that ſeemed to cenſure any action or any ſaying of his: and death was the portion of that unhappy man, who ſuffered ſome publick honour to be decreed him by his Colony, on the Anniverſary of the ſame day, when AUGUSTUS had once publick Honours decreed to him.

THE execrable CALIGULA, who was a profeſſed foe to the human race, a Monſter gorged with blood and died in it, aſſumed Godhead as well as the reſt, and claimed all the apparatus of Divinity, a Temple and Altars, Worſhip and choice Sacrifices: it is incredible what dreadful puniſhments he inflicted upon many even of principal faſhion, for no other crime, than that they had never invoked his celeſtial Genius by an Oath. This was capital, it was Majeſty violated; and for it the offenders, after they had been firſt torn and mangled with ſtripes, were doomed to the mines, or to the drudgery of mending the publick roads, or to be thrown to wild beaſts; and ſome were ſawed aſunder. A bloody Deity this! Had he been omnipotent, the race of men muſt have been extinct: all his own murders, all the efforts of his malice and rage, were not able to accompliſh it, and he wiſhed to derive the Glory of his Reign from ſome ſignal Calamities happening in it, as if the monſter himſelf had not been curſe and calamity enough! He envied AUGUSTUS the happineſs of an Army maſſacred, and TIBERIUS the ſad diſaſter at Fidenæ, where fifty thouſand ſouls were maimed, or periſhed outright by the fall of the Amphitheatre there. Hence he longed paſſionately for the bleſſing of ſome publick Calamities great and dreadful, the Slaughter of great Armies, Famine, Peſtilence, Conflagrations and Earthquakes. The acclamations of the crowd in the Theatre differing from his, he uttered a godlike wiſh, "that the whole Roman People had but one "common neck; for then one execution would have diſpatched them "all." To complete the Character of this benevolent Deity, he boaſted that of all his great qualities, none delighted him ſo much as his defiance of all ſhame: *nihil majus in natura ſua laudare ſe ac probare quam* ἀδιατρεψίαν.

THESE celeſtial Titles and Worſhip divine, were ſometimes beſtowed upon the wives of the Emperors, their ſiſters, harlots, and infants. CALIGULA was wont to ſwear by the Divinity of DRUSILLA his ſiſter and concubine: CLAUDIUS had divine Honours decreed to LIVIA his grandmother. NERO's daughter by POPPEA was deified; Worſhip, Prieſt, and Chapel were aſſigned her; and 'twas one of the crimes imputed to THRASEA PETUS, that he did not believe POPPEA herſelf to be a Divinity: nay it would ſeem as if NERO's Voice had been created a Divinity, ſince I think, 'twas Treaſon never to have ſacrificed to it; a crime imputed to the ſame THRASEA. DOMITIAN likewiſe adjudged himſelf a God, and proved much ſuch another as CALIGULA.

Sect. IV. *What a deſtructive Calamity the Law of Majeſty grew, and how faſt Treaſons multiplied under its Name.*

I Have ſaid ſo much of this humour of deifying Princes living or dead, not ſo much to expoſe it, as to ſhew the wicked effects it had upon Liberty and the State: it opened a new Source of Flattery, and accuſations, and puniſhments, and ſtrengthen'd the hand of Tyranny; of this I have given ſufficient inſtances, and many more might be given, all manifeſtly proving with what impudence and cruelty the Law of Majeſty was ſtretch'd and embitter'd. In this Law all Laws were ſwallow'd up, and therefore all crimes brought under the article of Treaſon, as Treaſon was the higheſt crime, *cuncta quæſtione majeſtatis exercita:* as in the caſe of C. SILIUS, whoſe chief offence was overmuch ſervice done to TIBERIUS; thence that refined obſervation of TACITUS; " that benefits are only ſo far acceptable, as it ſeems " poſſible to diſcharge them; but when once they have exceeded all " retaliation, hatred is return'd for gratitude." Under TIBERIUS, ſays SUETONIUS, every fault paſs'd for capital, even that of words however few and undeſigning. When C. SILANUS was arraign'd for male-adminiſtration in Aſia, TACITUS ſays, that beſides all the other methods of artifice and violence, manifold and barbarous, us'd to deſtroy him; that none of his relations might dare to aid him and plead for him in his trial, articles of Treaſon were ſubjoin'd, a ſure bar to all aſſiſtance, and a ſeal upon their lips. One of the great charges againſt LIBO DRUSUS was, that he ask'd the fortune-tellers, whether he ſhould not one day be immenſely rich. This too was the ſin of Majeſty violated, and for it he was purſued to death and his eſtate ſeiz'd. Note that theſe were two men of high quality, akin to the Ceſars, and obnoxious to TIBERIUS. This ſeems to have been their real crime. CESIUS CORDUS was accuſed of rapine in his Government of Crete; but to make ſure of the criminal, he was likewiſe charg'd with the crime of violated Majeſty: a charge, ſays TACITUS, which in thoſe days prov'd the ſum and bulwark of all accuſations whatſoever.

IT was Treaſon in CREMUTIUS CORDUS to have inſerted in his Hiſtory the praiſes of BRUTUS; Treaſon, to have ſtil'd CASSIUS the laſt of the Romans, tho' in doing it he only quoted the words of BRUTUS: Treaſon in TITIUS SABINUS to have been a follower of GERMANICUS, and after his death, a faithful friend to his wife and children: Treaſon in POMPEIA MACRINA, Treaſon in her Father and Brother, the former an illuſtrious Roman Knight, the latter once Pretor, to have been deſcended from THEOPHANES of Mitylene, a noble Greek, in great confidence with POMPEY the Great: Treaſon in L. ENNIUS a Roman Knight, to have turned the Effigies of the Emperor into money: Treaſon in LUTORIUS PRISCUS, another Roman Knight, to have compoſed during the illneſs of DRUSUS, a Poem for an Elegy, in caſe he died: Treaſon in MAMERCUS SCAURUS, an illuſtrious Orator nobly born, that in a Tragedy by him compoſed, there were certain Verſes capable of two meanings: Treaſon in TORQUATUS SILANUS, a Nobleman of the firſt rank in Rome, to live ſplendidly, and entertain ſeveral principal

pal ſervants; another SILANUS his Nephew died ſoon after for the very ſame ſort of Treaſon. In another Nobleman 'twas Treaſon, to have preſerved the Image of CASSIUS amongſt thoſe of his Anceſtors: Treaſon in the two brothers ſirnamed PETRÆ, both illuſtrious Roman Knights, to have dreamed ſomething about CLAUDIUS: Treaſon in APPIUS SILANUS, that MESSALINA the Empreſs, and NARCISSUS the freedman, had forged a dream concerning him: and to add no more, it was Treaſon, it was Majeſty violated, for a poor diſtreſſed Lady to have bewailed the blood of her ſon, ſpilt to ſatiate an implacable Tyrant incenſed by his gay raillery. This was FUSIUS GEMINUS, lately Conſul; and his ancient mother was murdered for bewailing the murder of her Child: *fæminæ ob lacrymas incuſabantur; necataque eſt Vitia Fuſii Gemini mater, quod filii necem fleviſſet.*

DISCOURSE VII.

Of the Accuſations, and Accuſers under the Emperors.

Sect. I. *The peſtilent Employment of theſe Men, their Treachery and Encouragement.*

FROM Law thus perverted there aroſe encouragement more than enough for Informers and Accuſers, and a plentiful harveſt: a ſort of men theſe, ſays TACITUS, born for the deſtruction of mankind, and by no terrors or penalties ever ſufficiently reſtrained: yet by the Emperor ſuch ſons of perdition were ſought out and invited by great rewards. TIBERIUS had the front to tell the Senate that theſe inſects, enemies to Law and Liberty, were the Guardians and Defenders of the Laws: they were his Defenders, if he pleaſed; the Champions of Imperial Violence and Luſt; but the peſts of the Publick; dogs of prey thirſting after the blood and fortunes of every worthy and every wealthy man. That Prince who does not puniſh Informers encourages them, ſaid DOMITIAN; but this he ſaid in the beginning of his Reign, while he yet retained the appearances of benevolence and humanity: afterwards when the Diſguiſe was taken off, and he followed the bent of his brutal nature, it was enough to ruin any man, if he were but charged to have done ſome deed, or ſpoke ſome word, no matter what, againſt the Majeſty of the Prince. Men were then capitally arraigned, and the Eſtates were ſeized of both the living and the dead, for any fault whatſoever, upon the credit of any Accuſer whatſoever; and inheritances, to which he could have no poſſible title or pretence upon earth, were uſurped by him, if there was but one Perſon, one Informer, who could ſay, that he heard the deceaſed declare CESAR to be his heir. The ſame pretence ſerved CALIGULA; nay when people had out of fear named him amongſt their heirs, he wondered at their impudence to keep him out of his ſhare by living afterwards, and for that offence poiſoned many ſuch. In ſhort the chief and moſt frequent incidents in the Reigns of almoſt all the Ceſars, were but the bloody efforts

forts and ſucceſs of the Accuſers; and the ground-work and ſupport of all accuſations, was the perverted Law of violated Majeſty, which came to ſignify every thing which the Accuſers averred and the Emperors diſliked.

IN the beginning of TIBERIUS's Reign, L. PISO, one of the boldeſt men then ſurviving, owned himſelf ſo much intimidated by the mercileſs purſuits of the Impleaders, who breathed nothing but terror and accuſations, that he threatned in open Senate to relinquiſh Rome and retire into ſome diſtant corner of the earth. He had reaſon for his complaint and fears: he was afterwards marked out as a victim and prey by one of the Tribe, and arraigned for certain words ſecretly drop'd againſt the Majeſty of the Prince. Theſe accuſations were no other or better than the cruel Proſcription continued: by the latter Senators and Knights, Patriots obnoxious to the Uſurpers, were butchered in the lump; afterwards, under the proceſs of the Accuſers, they periſhed piece-meal, but were inceſſantly periſhing, *quem diem vacuum pœna, ubi inter ſacra & vota, vincla & laqueus inducantur?* often a great many at a time. Every Law of the old free State, and every man who loved his Country and her Laws were repugnant to the reigning Tyranny: hence as the Republick was ſwallowed up in the Sovereignty of the Ceſars, all her Laws were made to center in that of Majeſty, and all men who adhered or were ſuſpected to adhere to the ancient Conſtitution, were either deſtroyed by this new Law (rather an old Law turned into a new ſnare) or at the mercy of its Guardians and Accuſers. And all this new violence was committed under old names and conſtitutions; *proprium id Tiberio fuit, ſcelera nuper reperta priſcis verbis obtegere:* ſo that the Commonwealth was made to cut her own throat; juſt as cruel and ambitious men juſtify Perſecution and Oppreſſion by the authority of the Goſpel, which abhorrs it: the Church of Rome calls every thing that diſpleaſes her, Hereſy and Blaſphemy: this is the *Lex Majeſtatis* of ſome Churchmen, and by cruelties committed under that name they have more than vied with your NERO's and DOMITIAN's. Thus after a ſolemn murder committed by the Senate, to gratify TIBERIUS, he ſent them a Letter of thanks, for puniſhing a perſon who was an enemy to the Commonwealth; as if the Republick had been then ſubſiſting and vindicating her own wrongs.

THE Accuſers were the agents and tools of Tyranny, and by the Tyrants upheld and animated with open countenance and high rewards; their buſineſs was to hunt down and deſtroy every man ſignal for blood, or wealth, or dignity, or virtue; becauſe all ſuch men were obnoxious to Imperial Jealouſy and Diſpleaſure. Had a noble Roman ſuſtained publick Offices? he was a dangerous man; had another refuſed to bear them? he was equally dangerous; and for publick Offices either exerciſed or declined, he was ſure to be attacked as a criminal of State: and if he were conſpicuous for any notable ability or virtue, his doom was inevitable: *nobilitas, opes, omiſſi geſtique honores, pro crimine; & ob virtutes certiſſimum exitium.* VALERIUS ASIATICUS periſhed becauſe he had delightful Gardens, which tempted the avidity of MESSALINA; as did STATILIUS TAURUS for the ſame reaſon by the avarice and ſubornation of AGRIPPINA: ſo did SEXTUS MARIUS for his immenſe Wealth and gold Mines, under TIBERIUS. This gives one an idea of the terrible ſpirit of the Emperors as well as of the Accuſers: how much the former feared and hated, and how faſt they deſtroyed every thing that was noble, good, or amiable amongſt men; and what a peſtilent employment was that of an Accuſer! Was it any wonder that to carry on ſo deteſtable a trade, they were to be tempted with lucrative earnings? In truth, their recompences were ſo publick and ample, that they were deteſted not more for their Iniquities than for the Wages of their Iniquities.

THESE Peſts of Rome were for being ſo, frequently raiſed to the higheſt Offices in the Roman State; and that Imperial City, the Miſtreſs of the Earth ſaw her publick Dignities, thoſe of the Pontificate, and of the Conſulſhip, beſtowed as ſpoils upon Parricides for ſpilling her beſt blood and tearing her vitals. With the Prince their credit was high as their merit was infamous: ſome were preferred to be Governors of the Provinces, others taken to be his chief Confidents and Counſellors in the Palace. And thus veſted with credit and ſway, exerting all their terrors, and purſuing their hate, they controuled and confounded all things: *agerent, verterent cuncta, odio & terrore.* After the tragical Death of LIBO DRUSUS, procured by execrable Artifices, Falſhoods, Horrors and wreſted Laws, all the ſubſtance of that noble Patrician was divided amongſt his Accuſers; and ſuch of them as were Senators were created Pretors, even without the regular method of election. The four Senators who enſnared TITIUS SABINUS, by trepanning, lurking, feigned friendſhip, and by a ſeries of treachery the moſt infamous and cruel that could be practiſed amongſt men, and afterwards accuſed him, engaged in all this meritorious villany purely to gain the Conſulſhip, to which there was no poſſible acceſs but through SEJANUS, nor without villany was the favour of SEJANUS to be ſought or purchaſed.

BUT beſides rewarding of the Accuſers out of the fortune of the accuſed, (for where they had not all, they ſtill went ſhares with his children) they had frequently exceſſive ſums out of the publick Treaſury; CAPITO COSSUTIANUS had near a hundred and thirty thouſand Crowns, for accuſing THRASEA PETUS: EPRIUS MARCELLUS had as much, for the ſame good ſervice; for NERO after he had long wallowed in the blood of eminent men, and butchered them without number, was in hopes by the murder of THRASEA and SORANUS, to extirpate Virtue, name and eſſence, from the face of the earth: OSTORIUS SABINUS, the Accuſer of SORANUS, had indeed a leſs reward in money, that of thirty thouſand Crowns; but the reward was enhaunced by the ornaments of the Queſtorſhip preſented with it. "Theſe Incendiaries were animated, and ſuch crying calamities to the Publick were excited by the Minions of the Court, who as it were ſounded the trumpet to Arraignments and Confiſcations; on purpoſe, that out of the fortunes of the condemned they might raiſe or increaſe their own;" ſays AM. MARCELLINUS. AQUILIUS REGULUS, an Upſtart and a miſchievous Accuſer under NERO, was diſtinguiſhed with two Conſulſhips, and the dignity of Pontiff, and had premiums in money to the value of more than two hundred thouſand Crowns; as if he had been burying the Commonwealth, and for this merit had afterwards gathered her ſpoils, ſays TACITUS.

Sect. II. *The traiterous Methods taken to circumvent and convict Innocence: The ſpirit of accuſing how common, the dread of it how univerſal; and the miſery of the Times.*

AS upon theſe bloody occaſions, it was neceſſary to find or feign ſome crime; ſo any crime ſerved the turn, as I have largely ſhewn: witneſſes alſo muſt be had; but any witneſſes were good witneſſes; and where they did not offer themſelves, they were bought with money or frightned with the torture: ſlaves were ſuborned againſt the life of their Lords; clients and freedmen againſt their Patrons; and he who had no enemy was betrayed and undone by his friends; *corrupti in dominos ſervi, in patronos liberti, & quibus deerat inimicus per amicos oppreſſi.* Now becauſe, by the old Roman Laws, ſlaves could not be witneſſes againſt their maſters, the crafty TIBERIUS found a trick to evade that Law without ſeeming to violate it: he contrived to have the ſlaves upon ſuch occaſion ſold; and then they might be evidence againſt their late Lord. This perfidious ſubtilty was begun by AUGUSTUS, as is largely ſhewn by DION CASSIUS. Nay, when a man had no other to accuſe him, he was accuſed by his own ſon: dreadful times theſe! even all rewards and incitements apart, fear for themſelves made men treacherous to others; falſhood and cruelty reigned uncontrouled. If you would pleaſe the Prince, you muſt gratify his bloody ſpirit; to do that you muſt offer victims and exerciſe the trade of accuſing: if you were ill with him, no man, no innocence could protect you; and to be well with him, you muſt make all other men deteſt you. To make your own fortune you muſt ruin that of others, and ſhed blood to get money.

TO this vile employment men of the higheſt Quality deſcended, and men of the firſt note for Eloquence and Civil Accompliſhments: ſuch was COTTA MESSALINUS, a man nobly born, but the foremoſt in every ſanguinary motion: ſuch was PUBLIUS DOLABELLA, who ſprung from Anceſtors the moſt illuſtrious, yet debaſed his Nobility, and engaged in the occupation of an Accuſer, even againſt thoſe of his own blood. When men of ſuch Quality ſet ſuch example, what wonder if numbers followed it: many purſued it for money; others becauſe they would not become obnoxious by appearing ſlack. The queſtion was not about right or wrong, Law or Magiſtracy; but how to pleaſe and humour, to ſatiate the Emperor, and to eſcape his ſuſpicion and fury. 'Twas the plea of the Accuſers afterward, when they were brought to anſwer for their crimes, that they were obliged by the Emperors or their wives, to undertake and proſecute accuſations: this SUILIUS pleaded, and urged the imperious orders of MESSALINA. Nay, men of figure were ſometimes called upon by the Emperor in perſon to undertake Accuſations. This, ſays TACITUS, was one of the moſt baneful and deadly evils of thoſe times, that the firſt Lords of the Senate degraded themſelves to the office of the vileſt Informers; ſome impudently in the face of the Sun; others in the dark ways of treachery; no diſtinction of kindred from ſtrangers, of friends from ſuch as were unknown; none between things lately tranſacted, and ſuch as were covered by a courſe of years in oblivion; for words ſpoken in the Forum, ſpoken at an entertainment, and about what ſubject ſoever ſpoken, the Speaker was accuſed; every one haſtning to be foremoſt in the accuſation and to prevent his fellows; ſome for their own ſafety, many as it were ſtruck with the contagion, and ſmitten with the diſeaſe of accuſing.

THIS univerſal treachery begot apprehenſion in all men equally univerſal. When villany was thus rewarded, or thus neceſſary, and thus every where practiſed by high and low, every man was fearful of finding every man a villain: hence the mournful anguiſh and terror which ſeized the City: people were afraid to converſe, nay afraid to meet; they diſtruſted all alike, their acquaintance as well as the unknown; even things mute and inanimate were dreaded; and roofs and walls created terror and circumſpection; nay, they were apprehenſive that guilt might be found in theſe their apprehenſions, and thence came to dread this very thing, that they had ſhewn dread; *id ipſum paventes, quod timuiſſent.*

Sect. III. *Plots feigned or true, an ample field for Accuſations and Cruelty; and upon what miſerable Evidence Executions were decreed.*

BUT the beſt market for Accuſations, and the beſt opportunity for the Emperor to exert Tyranny and conſume men, was the detection of any Conſpiracy forged or real. How prodigious and mercileſs was the ſlaughter committed by CONSTANTIUS after the death of MAGNENTIUS, and by his bloody inſtrument PAULUS, ſirnamed *Catena* from his dexterity in calumny and accuſations! Thus too upon the detection of the Deſigns of SEJANUS againſt TIBERIUS, who at one time for a courſe of years, had deſtroyed every man that was obnoxious to this execrable Favourite of his, and afterwards deſtroyed every man who had been well with his Favourite; thus when thoſe of PISO againſt NERO came to be diſcovered, the whole buſineſs of the State was that of accuſing, impriſoning and executing: Rome was dyed, deformed, and filled with blood and death and funerals; and as many as were hated, or diſliked, or worth deſtroying upon any account, were ſure to have been Conſpirators, and to be doomed to the pains annexed to Conſpiracy. TIBERIUS cauſed a general ſlaughter to be made of all that were in priſon, under accuſation of intelligence with SEJANUS. Any thing upon earth, the lighteſt the moſt fortuitous and fooliſh thing, ſerved for proof of ſuch intelligence: POMPONIUS SECUNDUS was arraigned of Treaſon, for that there were ſome ſigns (but not ſhewn by him neither) of friendſhip between him and AETIUS GALLUS, who was a friend to SEJANUS, who was a Traytor. GALLUS, upon the execution of SEJANUS had retired into the Gardens of POMPONIUS: this was all; yet this was the doughty argument uſed by his Accuſer, for proving this worthy and accompliſhed man a Traytor, one who had violated Majeſty: and yet his Accuſer CONSIDIUS was a man conſiderable enough to have been Pretor: 'twas thus, I ſuppoſe, he ſhewed how well he deſerved Imperial Favour, and one of the higheſt Dignities in the State.

THE Emperor CONSTANTIUS was as cruel and as credulous: with him 'twas death to be accuſed, and every Accuſation, however doubtful, or falſe, or even whiſpered, was convincing proof of guilt; nay the leaſt rumour, however groundleſs, the ſmalleſt hint, however ſpiteful, created Treaſon and death without redemption; and by no better proof men of the firſt Quality and merit were doomed to confiſcation, or baniſhment, or execution: the bare ſaying that ſuch a one was in the Conſpiracy, or a friend to the Conſpirators, was conviction in abundance for taking away Eſtates and Lives. NERO whoſe chief and only purpoſe was to afflict and deſtroy, created guilt whereſoever he found diſtaſte. His own hatred or fear was crime enough, and reaſon ſufficient to deſtroy the object. Some were ſacrificed without being once accuſed, or named; ſome puniſhed e'er they knew they were accuſed; and the leaſt defamation was full conviction: nothing was more common than to charge any great man, doomed beforehand to deſtruction, with deſigns againſt the State: this was the charge upon LIBO DRUSUS. All the guilt that could be proved upon him, tho' to prove it, and indeed to create it, the moſt villanous Arts were uſed, was, that he had conſulted the Fortune-tellers and dealt in Charms. This was conſpiring againſt the State, 'twas Treaſon; and becauſe the Romans were much addicted to ſuch ſort of Superſtition, this became a very convenient Treaſon and very fertile; yet TIBERIUS himſelf was, as much as any, addicted to Aſtrology. In the accuſations particularly againſt great Ladies, who for blood or wealth or beauty, merited Imperial Wrath, it was a conſtant article; that they had dealt with the Chaldeans, or practiſed the rites of Magic: and for this many great Ladies were doomed to death: *ob hæc mors indicta.*

Sect. IV. *What ridiculous Cauſes produced capital Guilt. The ſpirit of the Emperor* CONSTANTIUS; *with ſomewhat of his Father* CONSTANTINE.

THIS humour of conſulting the Aſtrologers, ſtill increaſing with Superſtition and Tyranny, adminiſtered an inexhauſtible fund of crimes and accuſations: the noiſe of a Mouſe in a wall, or the ſight of a Weaſel, became matters of omen and conſultation, and conſequently matters of Treaſon and Blood: ſo did the uſe of an old Woman's Charm for aches: ſo did the counting the Vowels upon ones Fingers, as a remedy againſt the Cholick: ſo did the wearing of an Amulet for an Ague: ſo did the caſual dropping of any Word or Joke, that bore any analogy to the Empire or the Emperor's name, or to any matter of State and Power: ſo did the frequenting of Sepulchres, and carrying away the bones or habiliments of the dead: ſo did any Dream dreamt about any ſuch ſubject, or conſtrued to be ſo dreamed.

Under CONSTANTIUS there was one MERCURIUS, a Perſian, who was a favourite of the Emperor, and a ſpy for Dreams; inſomuch that he had the title of *Somniorum comes.* This bleſſed inſtrument, a fellow of a malicious ſpirit, and fawning behaviour, uſed to creep into all companies and banquets, to fiſh out Dreams from particulars, and whatever he there learned of this kind, after he had with all his invention dreſſed it up in ugly and formidable colours, he carried inſtantly to the Emperor, whoſe ears were ever open wide to ſuch miſchievous infuſions; and this Dreaming, thus repreſented, was a crime to be expiated only by the blood of the Criminal, I ſhould ſay, Dreamer, and ſo a terrible proceſs was formed. This terror ſpread ſo much, that people, far from telling their Dreams, durſt ſcarce own that they ſlept: nay it was lamented by ſome, that they had not been born upon Mount Atlas, where, according to tradition, people never dream.

To complain too of the badneſs of the times was high Treaſon; for this was arraigning the Government, and puniſhed capitally. But Death itſelf, however unjuſt, was not always the moſt formidable woe. The accuſed were often not allowed the benefit of Death, till they were firſt barbarouſly racked and mangled by torture; and to gratify the inhuman Vengeance of the Prince, their Agonies were continued as long as life could continue under them: *mortemque longius in puniendis quibuſdam, ſi natura permitteret, conabatur extendi.* This is teſtified by AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS of CONSTANTIUS the ſecond Chriſtian Emperor, more cruel than NERO and CALIGULA; a conſideration which confirms what I have ſaid before, that where the Government is bad, even the beſt Religion can do little good. CONSTANTIUS was a Chriſtian and even zealous in Church Matters and Religious Diſputes, and by foſtering them did miſerably afflict Chriſtianity and the Empire. But he was ſo far from being improved or bettered by this zeal, that the moſt cruel Tyrants that went before him, ſuch monſters as CALIGULA, DOMITIAN, and COMMODUS, were but babes to him in cruelty: *Caligulæ, & Domitiani, & Commodi immanitatem facile ſuperabat:* ſays the ſame AMMIANUS.

I wiſh much better things could be boaſted of his Father, the firſt Emperor who embraced Chriſtianity, the ſame ſtiled CONSTANTINE THE GREAT. All the Princes, even the perſecuting Princes who went before him, hurt not Religion ſo much as he did; by blending it unnaturally with Politicks and Power, by laying the foundations of a ſpiritual Tyranny, and enabling the Biſhop of Rome and other great Prelates, to exert the domineering ſpirit, which before they had but ill concealed: a ſpirit which has almoſt extinguiſhed that of the Goſpel. In his Civil Adminiſtration, he was rapacious, profuſe, and oppreſſive; and in his Family barbarous and ſanguinary: however his partial and flattering Hiſtorian, EUSEBIUS, has extolled him, and concealed the iniquities of his Reign. But, in barbarity and the exceſſes of Power, his ſon and Succeſſor CONSTANTIUS exceeded him. What juſt reaſon had AMMIANUS to ſay, that under the lying pretence of guarding Imperial Majeſty, numerous and horrible were the butcheries then committed: *per ſimulationem tuendæ Majeſtatis imperatoriæ multa & nefanda perpetrabantur!*

Sect. V. *The black and general carnage made under* CONSTANTIUS, *by his bloody Miniſter* PAULUS CATENA, *for certain Acts of Superſtition and Curioſity.*

CONSTANTIUS ſurrendered at one time a great part of the Roman World to the mercileſs hands of Accuſers, Torturers and Executioners: and certain cauſes, in themſelves frivolous and contemptible, but magnified with the ſwelling imputation of Majeſty violated, produced all the uproar and calamity attending a great Civil War: the trumpets ſounded to try and ſlay: *ad vicem bellorum civilium in-*

ſtabant litui quædam colorata læſæ Majeſtatis crimina —— materiam autem in infinitum quæſtionibus extendendis dedit occaſio vilis & parva.

An Egyptian Deity, named *Beſa*, was noted for uttering Oracles and telling fortunes, and thence much frequented, adored and conſulted by all the Countries round about. As many conſulted him in perſon, others did it in writing: this occaſioned, that ſeveral of the billets thus ſent, continued in the Temple after the anſwer was returned, ſome of theſe were maliciouſly tranſmitted to the Emperor, a Prince of a poor ſpirit, ſuſpicious, and bitter. He now waxed fierce and wrathful, and inſtantly diſpatched his execrable inſtrument, PAULUS CATENA, into the Eaſt, armed with Powers equal to thoſe given to ſome famous Captain for carrying on a mighty war: PAULUS was authorized to hear and determine diſcretionally, and proceeded to his charge; breathing nothing but rage and bloody zeal. Univerſal accuſation and calumny being thus licenſed and encouraged, numbers of all degrees were dragged from far and near, as it were out of the ſeveral quarters of the world, to this barbarous Tribunal, and expoſed to the mercy of a butcher, who only purſued blood and prey. Some came with their joints excoriated with fetters, others cruſhed and ſpent in carts made for carrying criminals; no diſtinction made between the noble and vulgar: the proceſs was long and tragical; in ſhort, confiſcations, exiles, tortures worſe than death; death under tedious torments, and every evil painful or deſtructive to human nature, was there exerted and ſuffered. As for PAULUS, the lives and fortunes and fate of multitudes depended upon his nod; a man ſkilled in the Arts of cruelty, and openly profeſſing them; a ſavage who made a market of the rack and the wheel; one fed as it were with human carcaſes mangled, and crucified by butchery and rapine; a fellow who avowed the trade of accuſing and killing, and ſtudied to enſnare and devour innocence, lives, and property: this was the man in high favour and truſt under the pious CONSTANTIUS. It will be a relief to the Reader to know that this monſter, bloated with blood and crimes, was burnt alive under JULIAN, a Prince of different parts and ſpirit.

Sect. VI. *The Ravages of the Accuſers continued; their Credit with the Emperors; yet generally meet their Fate. The Falſhood of theſe Princes: the melancholy State of thoſe Times.*

THE Reigns of theſe following Princes, CONSTANTIUS, CONSTANS, GALLUS, VALENTINIAN, VALENS, were ſpent in a continual war upon their people, under colour of their Majeſty's being violated.

Crying and tragical were the ravages committed at Rome by that bloody man MAXIMINUS, where under pretence of Majeſty violated, poiſonings, and acts of lewdneſs, ſome few real, more imputed, were uſed as a ſtale for killing, torturing, and deſtroying: every man, or woman, that was obnoxious to him or the Accuſers, was put to death; and to private malice or rapaciouſneſs a ſea of Roman blood was ſpilt. I think it was this MAXIMINUS, who perſuaded certain perſons accuſed to confeſs and diſcover others, and in that caſe promiſed they ſhould undergo no puniſhment either by ſword or fire: they did ſo, truſting to his faith, and confeſſed crimes never committed; he then, for a ſalvo, doomed them to die under leaden hammers. He was executed himſelf under GRATIAN.

AGAINST the defence of innocence accuſed, againſt the moſt evident truth and juſtice, and all honeſt information, the ears of the Emperor were eternally ſhut: but calumny whiſpered by any malignant, had equal weight with real crimes proved by authentick witneſſes; ſays AMMIANUS. Falſhood and flattery, envy and rapiciouſneſs paſſed for evidence; juſtice was converted into cruelty, and judgment into rage: the Tribunals erected for juſtice and preſervation of life and property, were become ſhambles, and what had the names of pains and penalties, was in truth robbery and aſſaſſination.

AS there was never any lack of Accuſers, there was none of Criminals; and the accuſed, the more they were deſtroyed, the faſter they multiplied; like witches in former days, daily executed and daily increaſing: they were the food and revenue of the Accuſers, who, while they could ſpeak and lie, could never want occupation or wages, as long as there were Tyrants and men. MARCELLUS was charged with having uttered diſaffected words concerning TIBERIUS, and the Accuſer collecting every thing which was deteſtable in his manners, alledged the ſame imputations of the accuſed. A large field for accuſations this, and well cultivated by the Accuſers! you could ſay nothing of theſe Emperors that was true, but what was Treaſon; ſuch bloody monſters were they all! and the worſt you could have ſaid being actually true, you were eaſily believed to have actually ſaid it. What a bleſſed lot it muſt have been, that of living in thoſe Reigns, under monſters unchained, and rogues let looſe; when virtue and property were proſcribed, villains careſſed and guarded!

THE perſons of Accuſers came to be conſidered as ſacred and inviolable; the more they were deteſted by the publick, the more they were protected by the Emperor, and in proportion as they merited death and ignominy, had countenance and preferment. Their vileſt forgeries, convicted and owned, againſt the lives and fortunes of the greateſt men, drew down no doom or penalty upon them: the crimes charged upon FONTEIUS, late Proconſul of Aſia, by SERENUS, were proved to have been by him forged; yet he eſcaped puniſhment: nay the more the man was abhorred by all men, the more TIBERIUS conſidered and protected him. This SERENUS was a villain of exalted merit; he had falſly accuſed his own father of Treaſon, an old man and already an exile: but TIBERIUS owed him a ſpite, and the ſon ſtudied to oblige TIBERIUS, who had been offended with the elder SERENUS for once upbraiding him with ſome wicked ſervice unrewarded; nor had an interval of eight years pacified the Prince. Yet it generally ſo happened, that their reign was but temporary; firſt or laſt moſt of them found the genuine wages of their fraud and iniquity, and ſuffered the ſame doom which they had made others ſuffer; a doom much more bitter, as 'twas juſt, accompanied alſo with univerſal hatred of their perſons, and with a guilty and upbraiding conſcience; this the fate of SUILIUS, CASSIUS SEVERUS, and others.

NOW as it was the cuſtom, to find high Treaſon in harmleſs words, impertinent vanities, and even in ridiculous follies, deſerving rather pity than puniſhment, ſuch as were thoſe charged upon LIBO; ſo it was the purpoſe and policy of the Emperor never to prevent any guilt of this kind: on the contrary he was glad of guilt, and when he knew it was begun, let it run on, till it was ripe, and evidence and Accuſers were ready. TIBERIUS knew that LIBO dealt with the Aſtrologers, with every thing done or ſaid by him: yet at no time had he careſſed LIBO more, than at the time when he was meditating his deſtruction. He preferred him to the Pretorſhip; he entertained him at his table; ſhewed no ſtrangeneſs in his countenance, no reſentment in his words; ſo deeply had he ſmothered his vengeance; and when he might have reſtrained all the dangerous Speeches and Practices of LIBO, he choſe rather to permit them in order to know them. The crafty Tyrant did not only lull aſleep his deſtined victim by theſe exceſſive civilities; but meant by them to deceive the world, as if LIBO's crimes were a ſurprize upon him, at a juncture when he would ſeem to have meant all kindneſs to LIBO. But he was miſtaken, and his diſſimulation only ſerved to heighten the opinion of his malice; for craft diſcovered is worſe than folly, as folly never creates hatred: cunning is only then complete, when it cannot be detected, which ſeldom happens. NERO careſſed and flattered SENECA, while he was deviſing all methods to deſtroy him: when he meant to murder his mother, never was there ſuch a ſcene of falſe fondneſs as that which he played. He was formed by nature, ſays TACITUS, and by habit nurtured to hide his hate under inſidious blandiſhments. DOMITIAN uſed to treat with the utmoſt good humour and tenderneſs ſuch as he intended to murder; nor was there any warning or interval between his careſſing you and delivering you to the Executioner; nor a more certain ſign that a tragical doom awaited you, than the Prince's gentle behaviour towards you. Well might SUETONIUS ſay, that his cruelty was not only exceſſive, but ſly and inſtantaneous.

NOW under ſuch a torrent of Accuſations, under Laws perverted, Informers buſy, employed, protected and rewarded, when all things were crimes, and all men were feared, nay when fear itſelf was a crime, (for when CALIGULA murdered his brother, he gave it for a reaſon, that the youth was afraid of being murdered) when ſervants and neighbours, nay acquaintance and kindred, were all juſtly to be ſuſpected; we need not admire that all offices of friendſhip and compaſſion were ſuſpended amongſt men, and compaſſion itſelf as it were extinguiſhed. When LIBO DRUSUS ſo often already mentioned, upon his arraignment for Treaſon, went in mourning from houſe to houſe to ſollicit the interpoſition of his relations (as all the great families in Rome were ſo) and to pray their aid, when his life and all was at ſtake; they all declined it to a man, each alledging a reaſon of his own, but every one in reality from the ſame cauſe, namely their fear of the Emperor; *abnuentibus cunctis, cum diverſa prætenderent, eadem formidine.*

PEOPLE muſt not only ſhew no ſorrow or ſympathy for their murdered relations, but they muſt teſtify joy; unleſs they had a mind to be murdered themſelves: as under NERO, many whoſe neareſt relations had been murdered by him, repaired to the Temples with thankſgiving and offerings, and when the City was filled with corps, ſo was the Capitol with victims. In that mighty carnage made by TIBERIUS of the friends and followers of SEJANUS at once; when the pavements were covered with ſingle carcaſes or filled with carcaſes in piles, thoſe of every ſex and age, many that were noble, many that were mean, all caſt abroad promiſcuouſly; neither their acquaintance nor kindred were allowed to approach them, or to bewail them, or even at laſt to behold them: about the coarſes ſpies were placed, to watch countenances and the ſigns of ſorrow: and when after they became putrified and noiſome, and were thrown into the Tiber, whether they floated in the ſtream, or were caſt upon the banks, none would touch them, none durſt bury or burn them. The force of Fear had cut off all the commerce and offices of Humanity; and the more Tyranny raged, the more human compaſſion was extinguiſhed: *interciderat ſortis humanæ commercium vi metus, quantumque ſævitia gliſceret miſeratio arcebatur*. Even the outrageous CALIGULA had ſo well learned to hide his heart, that when by the cruelty of TIBERIUS, his mother and both his brothers were condemned and baniſhed, not a word eſcaped him; nor a groan; tho' all Arts were uſed to draw words and reſentment from him. OCTAVIA too, the wife of NERO, when her little innocent brother was murdered before her face, by the direction of the Tyrant her huſband, had even then learned, young as ſhe was, to ſmother all ſymptoms of tenderneſs and ſorrow, and every affection of the ſoul; nay AGRIPPINA, with all her courage and high ſpirit, laboured to hide her ſurprize and dread, and every other emotion, upon that occaſion.

Sect. VII. *The increaſe of Tyranny. Innocence and Guilt not meaſured by the Law, but by the Emperor's Pleaſure and Malice.*

ONE would think that Tyranny had by this time gone as far as it could go, and that after this, human cruelty and terrors could be ſtrained no higher. But this is a miſtake. Flatterers and Accuſers were ingenious villains, and Tyranny is a monſter never glutted: it is ſtill craving for new butchery and victims; its purveyors therefore are ever ſtudying to humour and pamper it: *metus principis rimantur, & ſævitia adrepunt*. Who could have imagined any thing upon earth more intenſely cruel than TIBERIUS? yet his Succeſſors exceeded him and one another in cruelties, for number and quality; and DOMITIAN committed ſuch as had eſcaped even the preceding monſters. Hence TACITUS ſays; "As our fore-fathers had ſeen the ultimate "point and laſt efforts of publick Liberty; it was reſerved to us of this "generation to behold the utmoſt weight and ſeverity of publick Bondage; ſince by the terrors of State Inquiſitors, we were even bereft "of the common intercourſe of Civil Life, that of diſcourſing ourſelves, and of liſtning to the diſcourſe of others:" he adds, "we ſhould "have alſo loſt the uſe of memory, as well as the habit of ſpeaking, "had it been equally in our power to forget as to be ſilent."

THE trial of perſons for Treaſon went on generally in the old form, but in effect, was all reſolvable into the breaſt and good pleaſure of the Prince. According to hints from him, perſons were condemned or acquitted: ſometimes by his interpoſing the Tribunitial Power, they were not admitted to be accuſed; ſometimes Treaſon was found in one man's words and actions, which in another were not allowed to be criminal. Thus men were ſentenced, or abſolved, or not accuſed, not according to their guilt or innocence, but to their degree of grace or diſlike with the Emperor, who had the Prerogative to coin guilt and innocence, and invert one into the other, as he pleaſed. Thus TIBERIUS purſued VESTILIUS to death, his brother's antient friend and his own, for ſuſpicion of having lampooned his Nephew CALIGULA; but would not allow COTTA MESSALINUS to be a criminal for the ſame offence and for many more. But COTTA had merit, he was always foremoſt in every bloody Counſel; all his wickedneſs and crimes were ſo many ſervices, and ſo much merit. In thoſe days there was no ſure guilt but that of worth and of virtue, and innocence; hence the ſecurity of all men egregiouſly miſchievous. The known cruelty of the Prince, was no terror to thoſe who took care to eſcape it, by the vileneſs of their lives; eſpecially if they were active to feed his cruelty by noble ſacrifices: like HATERIUS AGRIPPA, who meditated in the midſt of his cups and harlots the deſtruction of illuſtrious men. The worſt and vileſt men in the Empire, became the ſecureſt, and often the higheſt, by deſtroying the beſt.

Sect. VIII. *What* TACITUS *means by* Inſtrumenta regni.

BESIDES the Accuſers, who were the Imperial Bloodhounds, to hunt men down for words, conjectures, ſigns, and appearances, by ridiculous pleas, forced conſtructions, and wreſted Laws; the Emperors had other peſtilent tools called by TACITUS *Inſtrumenta regni*, the Inſtruments of Imperial Rule. Theſe were your Poiſoners and Aſſaſſins. When there was no room or pretence to accuſe a perſon ſignal for worth or opulence, or on any account obnoxious, and thence fit to be deſtroyed; or when 'twas unſafe to accuſe him; recourſe was had to a doſe or dagger. Such were P. CELER, and ÆLIUS the Freedman, they who poiſoned JULIUS SILANUS, by the appointment of AGRIPPINA: ſuch was ANICETUS who murdered NERO's Mother, by the direction of her ſon: ſuch was LOCUSTA, who adminiſtred the poiſon to CLAUDIUS, a woman famous for many feats in poiſoning, and long retained for this talent, amongſt the implements of Court; 'twas ſhe who prepared this poiſon as well as that which deſtroyed young BRITANNICUS: ſuch was XENOPHON, Phyſician to CLAUDIUS; one who helped to diſpatch his maſter: ſuch were they who by the procurement of LIVIA, made away the deſcendants of AUGUSTUS. After the aſſaſſination of CALIGULA; in his apartment was found a cheſt filled with all ſorts of poiſons, ſo rapid that when they were thrown into the ſea, they proved baneful to the fiſh; and numbers were by the tide caſt dead upon the ſhore. Such alſo were the Tribunes and Centurions, and even the Captain of the Pretorian Guards; who whenever they were ordered to ſeize and kill, never failed to obey, without any reaſon but the word of command. Thus POSTHUMUS AGRIPPA was diſpatched by a Centurion under TIBERIUS: thus GERELANUS the Tribune, was, at the head of a band of ſoldiers, by NERO employed to ſee the execution of VESTINUS the Conſul, a man charged with no guilt: but NERO, who hated and feared him, having neither crime nor accuſer againſt him, and being therefore unable to aſſume even the falſe guiſe of a Judge, betook himſelf to the violence of a Tyrant.

In truth, the whole body of Pretorian Guards were kept by theſe Tyrants as their Aſſaſſins, to murder for them, or to ſecure others who did. The Turk too has his Mutes and Poiſoners in the Seraglio, as well as ſoldiers, to execute his fury ſecretly, or openly. LEWIS the eleventh entertained other ſecret Ruffians to ſtab and drown, beſides his truſty murderer the Provoſt TRISTAN. Queen KATHARINE and her ſon CHARLES the Ninth, kept an Aſſaſſin, to diſpatch privately ſuch men of rank as they could find no other means to deſtroy; and as dark as the proceedings in the Baſtile are kept, 'tis known what helps have been adminiſtered to the miſerable priſoners there, to get rid of life beſides that of nature. Under the Reign of LEWIS the fourteenth the trade of poiſoning was brought to great perfection; and was ſuſpected, with too much appearance, to have been part of the Politicks of ſome French Miniſters, as well as the bane of others.

Sect. IX. *How much theſe Emperors hated, and how faſt they deſtroyed all great and worthy Men. Their dread of every Man for any Reaſon.*

THE deſtruction of every man who was great or good, was ſo common and almoſt certain in thoſe tragical Reigns, that TACITUS reckons as a wonder the natural death of L. PISO, chief Pontiff: *per idem tempus L. Piſo Pontifex, rarum in tanta claritudine, fato obiit.* Eminent men, and eminent merit, are the dread of Tyrants. That merit and thoſe talents which, during the old Republick, would have certainly recommended a man to publick Favour and publick Honours, did afterwards expoſe him as certainly, to Imperial Jealouſy and perſecution, generally to ruin and death; and thoſe peſtilent Accuſers, Inſtruments of publick Servitude, the ſons of rapine and blood, who were now the men of faſhion and favour, and clothed with the ſpoils of their Country, for afflicting and mangling her, and devouring her vitals, would have been then treated as publick Enemies and Beaſts of Prey, and doomed to the pains of Murder and Treaſon, with univerſal conſent and abhorrence.

SUCH a barbarous and unnatural inverſion of all Order, Law, and Righteouſneſs, accompanied the Sovereignty of the Ceſars. AUGUSTUS, reckoned the beſt and wiſeſt of them, tho' he affected to love and countenance men of parts and accompliſhments, yet limited his favours to ſuch of them as were devoted to Flattery and the Uſurpation. Hence the publick Honours conferred by him upon ATEIUS CAPITO, a new man, one of ſignal Abilities, but a notorious Flatterer: nay the Emperor raiſed him in oppoſition to ANTISTIUS LABEO, one who excelled in the ſame acquirements; one who never departed from a laudable freedom of ſpeech and ſpirit, and thence more applauded than the other, by the publick voice: whereas, the ſuppleneſs and ſubmiſſion of CAPITO rendered him more acceptable to thoſe who bore rule. The latter by this merit gained the dignity of Conſul; the other for having too much, was never ſuffered to riſe higher than that of Pretor: how much muſt the ſpirit of Imperial Jealouſy encreaſe afterwards?

EVERY thing gave theſe Tyrants fear and offence. Was a man nobly born and popular? He withdrew the affections of the People, rivalled the Prince, and threatned a Civil War: *ſtudia civium in ſe verteret;*

teret; ſeceſſionem jam & partes, & ſi multi idem audeant, bellum eſſe. Was he akin to AUGUSTUS? He had his eye upon the Sovereignty: *nobilem, & quod tunc ſpectaretur, e Cæſarum poſteris.* Had he a reputation for Arms? He was a living terror to the Prince: *Oſtorius multa militari fama — metum Neroni fecerat, ne invaderet pavidum ſemper — miſſus Centurio qui cædem ejus maturaret.* Was a great man afraid of popularity, and lived retired? He gained fame by ſhunning it, and ſtill was an eye-ſore: *quanto metu occultior, tanto plus famæ adeptus;* and his beſt fate was to leave his Country: *conſuleret quieti urbis; eſſe illi per Aſiam avitos agros:* but where the exile was a conſiderable man, the executioner generally followed. Was he virtuous, and his life and morals exact? He was another BRUTUS, and by the purity of his manners, upbraided the vitious behaviour of the Emperor: *gliſcere ac vigere Brutorum Æmulos — rigidi & triſtis, quo tibi laſciviam exprobrent.* Was a man ſad? 'Twas becauſe the adminiſtration proſpered: *hominem bonis publicis mæſtum.* Did he indulge himſelf in gayety and feaſting? 'Twas becauſe the Emperor was ill, and his end thought to be near; and *reddendam pro intempeſtiva lætitia mæſtam & funebrem noctem, qua ſentiat vivere Vitellium & imperare.* Was he rich? He was too wealthy for a ſubject, and great wealth in private hands boded ill to Princes: *Plautum magnis opibus — auri vim atque opes principibus infenſas.* Was he poor? He was thence the more enterprizing and deſperate: *Syllam inopem, unde præcipuam audaciam.* Was he a dull man, and unactive? He only put on the guiſe of ſtupidity and ſloth, till he found room for ſome bloody purpoſe: *ſimulatorem ſegnitiæ, dum temeritati locum reperiret.* Or had he a different Character, and was a lively and active man? Then it was plain he did not ſo much as feign a deſire of private life and receſs, but avowed a buſtling Republican Spirit, and to be meddling with the State: *Plautum ne fingere quidem cupidinem otii, ſed veterum Romanorum incitamenta præferre; aſſumpta etiam Stoicorum arrogantia ſectaque, quæ turbidos & negotiorum appetentes faciat.* Did he live in pomp and magnificence? He ſtudied to overſhadow the Emperor in ſeats and grandeur; *hortorum amœnitate & villarum magnificentia quaſi Principem ſupergrederetur.* Was he accompliſhed in ſcience, a Philopher, or maſter of Eloquence, and thence eſteemed? The luſtre of his Fame gave umbrage to the Prince: *Verginium & Rufum claritudo nominis expulit; nam Verginius ſtudia juvenum eloquentia, Muſonius præceptis ſapientiæ fovebat.*

IN ſhort, no man could poſſeſs any advantage or quality that rendered him acceptable to God or man, a bleſſing to his Country, to his friends or to himſelf, but ſuch quality and advantage was ſure to awaken the jealouſy and vengeance of theſe Tyrants, and procure his doom; *omni bona arte in exſilium acta, ne quid uſquam honeſtum occurreret.*

Sect. X. *Reflections upon the Spirit of a Tyrant. With what Wantonneſs the Roman Emperors ſhed the blood of the Roman People. The Blindneſs of ſuch as aſſiſted the Uſurpation of* CESAR *and* AUGUSTUS.

HOW miſerable muſt be the reflections of a Tyrant, if he has any reflections, that numbers muſt be wretched (for what wretchedneſs is not produced by Tyranny) that he may make a hideous figure, unſafe and deteſted? Every ſtep he takes for his grandeur and ſecurity, renders him more contemptible or abhorred, and therefore more inſecure; and the bloody end of moſt abundantly ſhews, that numerous Guards and Armies are ſo far from ſecuring him, that from them his greateſt dread accrues. What a curſe it is upon a thinking Being, to conſider himſelf as an obſtacle to every thing lovely and deſirable amongſt men; to the Virtue, Liberty and Happineſs of all men, to his own peace and ſtability, to his own innocence and true glory: that for every chain he puts upon his People he multiplies terrors and contempt upon his own head; and having forfeited their affections and living in diſtruſt of thoſe whom he ought chiefly to confide in, relies for his life upon hirelings, the ſons of vice and idleneſs, or forced from their honeſt labour to be made ſo, and often picked out of ſtreets and goals. He dreads every man who is great and brave; and one who fights for him, conquers for him, and ſaves him, does but expoſe himſelf to jealouſy, indignity and martyrdom. His own ſlaves ſpiritleſs and cowardly cannot ſerve him, and a man truly valiant is undone by ſerving him. The people are apt to admire and magnify military virtue, and thence the Tyrant hates and dreads ſuch as have it. CHARLES the fifth held it a greater honour, to be Count of CATALONIA, than King of the Romans: he had reaſon; the CATALANS were freedmen and valiant; the Romans poor monkridden ſlaves.

BUT I ſhall find another place in the courſe of theſe Obſervations to diſcourſe more fully of Armies and Conqueſts: I ſhall here only obſerve with what wantonneſs theſe Tyrants ſhed the blood of Roman Citizens; Citizens whoſe lives were once ſo valuable, fenced and ſecured by Laws ſo numerous ſo ſacred and ſtrong; lives ſo precious that nothing againſt the life and fortune of the meaneſt Roman could be determined, but by the Romans in general, aſſembled in Centuries. Theſe Romans who, while free, became the maſters of mankind, were by loſing their Liberty, become daily victims to their own domeſtick Traitors, and miſerable Traitors they were; to a CLAUDIUS, a CALIGULA, a NERO. By the ancient Conſtitution and Laws of Rome, theſe Uſurpers were the only perſons liable to be put to death, without proceſs, or form, or penalty. See the *Lex Valeria* in LIVY, and CICERO *Pro domo ſua*.

HAD ſuch as were Champions for the exaltation of CESAR and AUGUSTUS, foreſeen what their race and deſcendants were to ſuffer under the Succeſſors of theſe Uſurpers, would it not have quenched their zeal, would it not have ſtruck them with horror? Had they foreſeen their offspring ſtooping and groaning under a beaſtly bondage, not to the Emperor only, but to his ſlaves and ſtrumpets; living a precarious life at the mercy of ſycophants; under continual terrors of the Accuſers, or themſelves exerciſing the execrable occupation of ſuch; ſome endangered by the luſtre of their name; ſome by that of their virtue and capacity, others from that of their wealth; many become Pimps, Pathicks, and Paraſites to the Prince; ſeveral, upon his authority, proſtituting their perſons and quality upon the publick Stage; numbers doomed to exile upon deſolate Rocks and Iſlands; numbers ſlain outright, the carcaſes expoſed and denied the privilege of burial, their fortunes ſeized from their families; and all of them liable to the like tragical fate; their wives withal daily expoſed to the luſt of the

Tyrant, and afterwards made the ſubject of his Imperial Sport and Drollery, even before their injured and bluſhing huſbands, nay proſtituted in the Palace as in the publick Stews, and ſuch as paſſed by invited in to lie with theſe illuſtrious Ladies as with common harlots, for money.

HAD the Partizans of Uſurpation foreſeen theſe woful conſequences to their families from it, would it not have changed their hearts and their conduct? Yet what was eaſier to be foreſeen than the fury and ravages of a madman or fool unlimited, where chance, and not Law, directed the blind Succeſſion; as did blind will, and not reaſon, the Adminiſtration? But with the heat of party and preſent impulſe, cool reflection and foreſight are incompatible: it ſcarce ever happens, that for future conſiderations, however wiſe, the inſtant paſſion, however fooliſh, is ſmothered. The Adherents of CESAR and AUGUSTUS, had an immediate view of greatneſs, and would not diſturb ſo pleaſing an imagination by anxious care or fear for things future. All the world goes well, with thoſe that are well; and before men can be brought to believe propheſies of miſery, they muſt begin to feel it. What a child is Man; what a name is Reaſon! The moſt frequent uſe we make of it, is to reaſon ourſelves out of it, and from it to borrow arms againſt itſelf: juſt as we have ſeen Laws quoted to vindicate the ſubverſion of Law, and the Holy Goſpel of Peace and Love urged in defence of Perſecution and Enmity.

Sect. XI. *Why under ſuch Tyrants, the Senate continued to ſubſiſt.*

IT may be inquired why Tyrants ſo jealous and precipitate, did not aboliſh the Senate: and it was once the purpoſe of CALIGULA, as it was afterwards that of NERO, to have murdered all the Senators: but in truth it would have been an enterprize of infinite difficulty and danger, to have attempted the ſuppreſſion of that body. It is incredible what ſtubbornneſs and force there is in eſtabliſh'd Names, Cuſtoms and Forms, which often are harder to deſtroy than realities and ſubſtances; and ſigns and titles frequently remain, when the things ſignified and denominated by them are gone. Thus Popery has extirpated Chriſtianity, and is called Chriſtianity; and Evangelical Humility and Forbearance are preached and extolled in the midſt of Pride and Flames.

AS the Popes pretend to derive all power from the Goſpel, which they pervert and ſuppreſs, ſo did the other Roman Tyrants theirs from the Senate; as if the ancient free State had ſtill ſubſiſted, *tanquam vetere Republica;* and to have deſtroyed the Senate, would have been to have abrogated their own title to Sovereignty. They muſt likewiſe have deſtroyed the Conſulſhip, which was ſtill reckoned *ſummum Imperium,* the ſupreme Magiſtracy; with the Office of Pretor, and every Office great and ſmall in the State, with the title and ſtile of every Law of Rome, and every Tribunal of Juſtice there: for, every Law and every Office depended upon the Senate, or upon the Senate and People. They muſt have aboliſhed Learning, Hiſtory, Records, all Proceſs and Memory; nay the very Military Titles, and Laws of War and Negotiation; thoſe about the Colonies and Provinces, Cuſtoms and Trade; and have introduced abſolute Oblivion, a new Language and a new Creation.

Now what Power, what Genius upon earth, was equal to ſuch a prodigious deſign, that of vacating at once regulations and uſages ſo infinitely numerous, ſo long eſtabliſhed, become a great part of the publick Language, grown as it were to the minds and memories of men, and eſſential to Speech and Converſation, as well as to buſineſs and protection; and then to ſupply ſuch an immenſe void, with Ordinances, Offices, Terms and manner of Proceſs, ſo as to anſwer all the ends of Society in ſo vaſt an Empire? This was not to be done, nor was it needful: they found their account ſufficiently in breaking the Power and Spirit of the Senate, in reducing it to a ſkeleton and a name, and in exerciſing under that name all their own violences and exorbitances. The Senate and the People had a venerable ſound, and ſerved as a cloak for power when they themſelves had none, and the Emperor had all: *cuncta Legum & Magiſtratuum in ſe trahens Princeps.* The regiſtring of Edicts by the Parliament of Paris is become a matter of form; but without that form, the Court, as uncontrouled as it is, does not care to execute an Edict. The Romans ſtill preſerved a veneration for their Senate and Magiſtrates, and the ſame was often found in the Armies; inſomuch that as late as the Reign of COMMODUS, the ſoldiers were ſo enraged at the inſolence of PERENNIS, his Favourite and Miniſter, for diſcharging from their military commands ſuch as were Patricians and Senators, and for placing in their room others of Equeſtrian Rank, that they cut him in pieces.

Time however, with the continuance of Tyranny, and Barbarity its inſeparable companion, cancelled by degrees the old names and forms, after the eſſence had been long cancelled; and introduced a cloud of offices and words, of rumbling ſounds, and ſwelling titles, ſuitable to the genius of abſolute Rule, and as different from the purity of the old Republican Language, as are Liberty and Politeneſs from groſsneſs and bondage.

Sect. XII. *How the unrelenting Cruelty of the Emperors haſtned the Diſſolution of the Empire. The bad Reigns of* CONSTANTINE *and* CONSTANTIUS. *The good Reign of* JULIAN. *The indiſcreet behaviour of the Chriſtians. Continued Tyranny; and end of the Empire.*

TO reſume once more the ſubject of Accuſations and the abuſed Law of Majeſty; they were cankers in the heart of the Empire, which at laſt haſtned its Diſſolution. The Emperors to gratify their own cruelty, were continually waſting the publick Strength by ſacrifices noble and many; and, to ſatiate their avarice or that of their creatures, encouraged endleſs ſeizures and confiſcations. This crying Oppreſſion was by the Emperor CONSTANTINE, before mentioned, carried higher than any of the Pagan Emperors had ever carried it. Beſides his own rapine, which was mercileſs and exceſſive, he glutted his Favourites and Grandees with the ſpoil and fortunes of others: *proximorum fauces aperuit primus Conſtantinus,* ſays MARCELLINUS. His ſon CONSTANTIUS followed his example, and was a more conſuming Tyrant than the Father. I have already ſaid ſomething of his Character and Reign, which was chiefly conducted by inhuman villains, whoſe heads and hands were eternally engaged in the plunder and blood of his People. Such were his Counſellors, ſuch his Governors of Provinces, which were ſucked and devoured to the bone, and might ſay with truth, what a noble Dalmatian once told TIBERIUS; "inſtead of ſending us Shepherds to protect our flocks, you ſend us Wolves to devour them." How many Governors in all Countries have deſerved to be hanged, before they reached their Governments, becauſe they went with deſign to rob and oppreſs?

THESE depredations were reſtrained during the Reign of JULIAN, who had as much capacity, as many virtues and accompliſhments, as could well adorn private life or a crown: he was brave, generous, wiſe and humane; a Hero, a Philoſopher, a Politician, a Friend and Father to mankind. 'Tis pity ſuch an amiable Character ſhould have any blots; his had two: he was ſuperſtitious even to weakneſs, and had conceived an averſion to the Chriſtians altogether unſuitable to his remarkable candour and equity; an averſion which they themſelves improved too much, by a behaviour unworthy of ſo great a Prince, much more unworthy of ſo meek a Religion: they indeed treated him with eminent ſpite and outrage, traduced him, libelled him, and even mobbed him: nothing could be a ſharper Satyr upon them, for ſuch brutiſh conduct, than the ſingular meekneſs with which he bore it. The truth is, the Chriſtians were then ſtrangely degenerated from the primitive peaceableneſs and purity, become licentious and turbulent to the laſt degree, and perpetually inſtigated by the arrogance and ambition of the Biſhops, who were come to contend with arms as well as curſes, for the poſſeſſion of opulent Churches. It was not uncommon with theſe ambitious men, to affront and revile the Emperors to their faces, to publiſh Invectives againſt them, to break the publick Peace and to raiſe frequent Tumults and Seditions. As they were the moſt complaiſant Courtiers when pleaſed; ſo they were the moſt implacable Incendiaries when diſguſted. All this was enough to alarm any Prince, and to awaken reſentment in the moſt flegmatick. Moreover a great part of the wealth and revenue, which uſed to go towards the publick Charge, particularly to defend the Frontiers againſt the Barbarians, was diverted and appropriated to maintain the grandeur and pomp of the great Prelates: *Sacerdotes ſpecie religionis fortunas omnes effundebant*, as TACITUS ſays, upon another occaſion.

AS ſome parts of the behaviour of that great Prince, one wiſe and good in moſt things, but miſtaken and even unjuſt in others, chiefly towards the Chriſtians, ought to be cenſured and condemned; the behaviour of the Chriſtians towards him can never be juſtified. They inſulted him intolerably, with all the exceſſes of bitterneſs and ill breeding, while he lived, and ſlandered and blackened him ſhamefully when dead; as much as ſome of them baſely flattered and extolled other Emperors, who, though complaiſant and liberal to the Eccleſiaſticks, were conſuming Tyrants.

IT is the buſineſs of Truth and of true Religion, to give even enemies their due, and friends no more than their due. To give JULIAN his; if we lay aſide his Religion, I doubt whether we can find upon record one Prince that excelled him, or three that equalled him. He is indeed a pattern to Princes, in ſpite of the anger and obloquy of Writers who were apparently animated by a ſpirit then too common, a ſpirit altogether narrow, monkiſh, and vindictive; ſuch a one as the charitable Religion of JESUS diſclaims and wants not. To his benevolent Goſpel and Precepts I ſincerely wiſh all men to conform; but fewer ſigns of ſuch conformity, or rather greater ſigns of the want of it, have I no where ſeen, than in the Conduct, Diſcourſes, and Writings of ſuch as have railed at others for their religious ſentiments, real or imputed. I wiſh too that a temper ſo barbarous and Anti-chriſtian had been entirely confined to the days of that Emperor, whoſe Adminiſtration and Writings will for ever recommend him to all calm and impartial men, as an aſtoniſhing example of virtue and parts.

THE Reign of JOVIAN, whoſe intention ſeems to have been honeſt and good, was but ſhort, and followed by thoſe of VALENTINIAN and VALENS; Princes exceeding furious, ſuſpicious and ſanguinary: under them the old Accuſations, Confiſcations and Carnage were revived without mercy, and continued thenceforward with few intervals till the Roman Empire was quite overthrown. The people in every part of it being quite harraſſed and conſumed, finding no relaxation from Oppreſſors and Accuſations, no protection from Law, no refuge in the Clemency of the Emperors, grew deſperate, and revolted to the Goths, Huns, Vandals, and other Invaders.

Sect. XIII. *The Excellency of a limited Monarchy, eſpecially of our own.*

I Think it is MACHIAVEL who obſerves, that two or three weak and bad Princes ſucceeding each other, are ſufficient to ruin a State, where they govern by mere Will; but it may ſurvive a long ſucceſſion of fooliſh Princes limited by good Laws. VESPASIAN found three hundred millions (of our money) wanting to reſtore the Empire to a condition of ſubſiſting. Monarchy according to PLATO, is the beſt Government or the worſt: to which opinion I ſubſcribe; as I do to that of PHILIP DE COMINES, that England is the place in the world, where the Publick is moſt equally adminiſtered, and where the people ſuffer the leaſt violence. We are bleſſed with that form of Government which TACITUS mentions as the moſt perfect, and thinks the hardeſt to be framed; that happy ballance and mixture of intereſts which comprehends every intereſt: *cunctas nationes & urbes populus, aut primores, aut ſinguli regunt. Delecta ex his & conſtituta Reipub. forma laudari facilius quam evenire, vel ſi evenit, haud diuturna eſſe poteſt.*

AN Engliſh Monarch has one advantage which ſets him above any arbitrary Monarch upon earth: he obliges his ſubjects by being obliged to them. As he protects them by defending their Property and Laws; ſo they by ſupporting him, enable him to do it: while they give by choice and not by force, they give chearfully. Princes who take all themſelves, and leave nothing to their people to give, can never be beloved by their people. If it be true that we hate thoſe whom we have hurt, 'tis equally true, that we are apt to love thoſe whom we have obliged. Hence God is ſaid, not only to love doing good, but to love the good that he does.

ARBITRARY Princes would doubtleſs chuſe to have the love and affections of their people, were the ſame to be acquired by furious and unaccountable Rule; but this is impoſſible. Hence dread of their power is all the ſhare they can expect in the hearts of their ſubjects: and this is a complement which their ſubjects pay to things the moſt hideous and vile; to Serpents; to mad and wild Beaſts; to Plagues and Satan; to Pain and Poverty: but even this miſerable complement is not always paid them: they are not always dreaded. When their terrors are become habitual, they ceaſe in a good meaſure to be terrors: the people grow hardened and deſperate; they themſelves become ſcorned; and contempt, the moſt abject lot in life, becomes the portion of thoſe who poſſeſs the higheſt. When NERO aſked SUBRIUS FLAVIUS, one of the Conſpirators againſt his life, from what motives he had renounced his Allegiance; "It was becauſe I abhorred thee," ſaid he. The Conſul VESTINIUS too was known to NERO, to deſpiſe his vile and unmanly ſpirit; and in the whole detection of that Conſpiracy, and the puniſhment of the Conſpirators, nothing was ſo ſignal as the ſeries of contempt poured upon that brutal Tyrant, in the height of his Power, and amidſt the terrors of his Tyranny. Nothing, ſays TACITUS, mortified him ſo much. But when the Monſter was depoſed, he incurred ſuch Sovereign ſcorn, that he was doomed to be ſtripped naked, and ſcourged to death like a ſlave, with his head faſtened in a pillory; his carcaſs to be caſt afterwards from the Tarpeian Rock, and with a hook in his noſe to be dragged to the Tiber.

NOR could the great reputation of JULIUS CESAR, or that of AUGUSTUS, and all their Power, ſecure them from popular inſults and deſpight. The *mœchum calvum*, and *videſne ut cinædus orbem digito temperet;* were contumelies which even greatneſs could not eſcape. MITHRIDATES King of Armenia, when deſpoiled of his Kingdom, experienced by the behaviour of his People, how much they reverenced him: they even aſſaulted him with reproaches and blows: *vulgus duro imperio habitum, probra ac verbera intentabat.* When the Emperor VITELLIUS was led along to the ſlaughter, with his hands bound behind him, his habit all torne, and himſelf a filthy ſpectacle; he found much the like uſage: numbers wounded him with reproaches; but none was found to bewail him: and the populace railed at him when dead, with the ſame baſeneſs of heart, with which they had flattered him living: *vulgus eadem pravitate inſectabatur interfectum, qua foverat viventem.*

DISCOURSE VIII.

Of the general Debaſement of Spirit and Adulation which accompany Power unlimited.

Sect. I. *The motives of Flattery conſidered. Its vileneſs, and whence it begins.*

I SHALL now ſay ſomething of the extreme Debaſement of the Romans under the Emperors. Flattery ever riſes in proportion to Power and Fear. Where Law and Liberty reign, and men hold not their Property and Lives at the mercy of one or a few; this ſecurity begets in them a pride and ſtubbornneſs inconſiſtent with Servility and Adulation: men do not flatter ſuch as they dare own to be no better than themſelves, or ſuch as have no power to hurt them:

nor will they pay over-much reverence to great Titles which are not accompanied with great Power, nor ſupported by Superſtition: for Superſtition enſlaves as effectually as real Power, and therefore confers it: nor is Tyranny ever ſo complete as when the chief Magiſtrate is chief Pontiff, as were the Soldans of Egypt and Bagdat; or which is the next thing, can create and depoſe him, as do the Turkiſh Emperors. But where men hold their fortunes and lives at the mere mercy of another, they will fear him as much as they love themſelves, and flatter him, as much as they fear him; *omnis exuta æqualitate, juſſa Principis aſpectare:* if his Power be limited, their Flattery will be limited; but boundleſs, if his Authority be ſo. Thus court and ſycophancy prevail leſs under a mixt Monarch, than under one that is deſpotick; in an Ariſtocracy leſs than there; and leſs ſtill in a popular State. Perfect equality quite deſtroys it, a complete Sovereignty raiſes it to the higheſt.

THE more fooliſh and wicked a Prince is, the more Incenſe he will have: it is the ſureſt way of pleaſing a Tyrant, as it ſanctifies his Iniquities, and repreſents him to himſelf as worthy of all his Grandeur and equal to all the higheſt Offices of Empire. TIBERIUS, who was a Prince of great penetration, hated Flattery, becauſe he knew it to be ſo; as he knew that they who paid him moſt, the Senate and Grandees, dreaded and therefore hated his Power: as he, who underſtood perfectly the nature and bleſſing of Liberty, would have dreaded and hated any man in his place, had he been in theirs. He knew that Flattery and Hate often go together: ſo that they who poſſeſs the greateſt Hate, profeſs the greateſt Affection. It is as much as their lives are worth, to manifeſt any tokens of Averſion; and the ſtronger 'tis, it will require the more Art and Aſſiduity to hide it. JULIUS CESAR was loaded with all ſorts and every exceſs of Honours, ſome that were divine, with deſign to make him odious, while they who conferred them abhorred him, and were concerting ſchemes to deſtroy him: with the ſame view the like artifices were practiſed by the Senate towards his Succeſſor OCTAVIUS, afterwards AUGUSTUS, concerning whom the equivocal ſaying of CICERO, could not but be remembered by TIBERIUS, *ni juvenem laudarent & tollerent*, "they "ſhould extol the Youth and take him off." Hence tho' TIBERIUS was irreconcileable to publick Liberty, he abominated Flattery: *libertatem metuebat, adulationem oderat.* He ſaw that Flattery was the mere effect of Bondage, and ſuiting only with the ſpirit of Slaves; and tho' he would not part with the Sovereignty (notwithſtanding he often talked of it as well as pretended great backwardneſs to accept it) yet he was aſhamed of the vile and ſlaviſh abjectneſs of the Romans: *etiam illum, qui libertatem publicam nollet, tam projectæ ſervientium patientiæ tædebat.*

BUT neither under TIBERIUS was there any ſecurity in abſtaining from Flattery: he was a Prince infinitely jealous, and could brook no ſort of oppoſition, nor even independence; and 'twas both neceſſary and dangerous to flatter him, but, in my opinion, not ſo dangerous as neceſſary: I mean to ſuch as purely conſulted their own ſafety, and to eſcape the rage of the Tyrant. It is true he deſpiſed Flatterers; but he hurt them not: and 'twas natural for him to think (ſuſpicious as he was) that ſuch as would not flatter him ſcorned him. It is certain he never forgave free ſpeakers, never could endure men of bold ſpirit, but firſt or laſt purſued them to Deſtruction. It was perillous, ſays TACITUS, to practiſe no Flattery, and perillous to practiſe too much: *adulatione, quæ moribus corruptis, perinde anceps ſi nulla & ubi nimia eſt.* L. PISO had inveighed againſt the corruptions of the State, particularly againſt the peſtilent purſuits of the Impleaders, who were daily arraigning and circumventing and menacing all men; he even threatened to quit Rome. TIBERIUS bore this calmly, nay he deſcended to mollify him with kind words. But in a ſoul like his brooding over Vengeance, tho' he had ſuppreſſed the ſallies of Wrath the deep impreſſions remained: PISO was a good while afterwards charged with Treaſon, and but for a natural death which opportunely intervened, muſt have ſuffered the pains of Treaſon. ASINIUS GALLUS incurred his rage for a motion in Senate, which had really a complement in it. TIBERIUS had in a Letter to the Fathers complained, that from the plots and ſnares of his enemies, he led a life full of dread and apprehenſions. GALLUS propoſed to addreſs the Prince, that he would explain his fears to the Senate, and permit them to remove the cauſes: this incenſed him. GALLUS too had piqued him before, and was ſuſpected by him of aſpiring views; and tho' he had notoriouſly flattered him, he could not by it redeem his life.

As all Corruptions in a State begin commonly from the Grandees (or rather they are beginners of all Corruption) ſo the Grandees are the moſt ſignal Flatterers: they are moſt in the eye of a Prince, they are the moſt obnoxious to his jealouſy, and thence the moſt prone to flatter him: *ruere in ſervitium conſules, patres, eques; quanto quis illuſtrior, tanto magis falſi ac feſtinantes.* A Prince who governs or would govern by mere Will, muſt countenance and employ ſuch as aſk no reaſons for what he does, but commend all he does; and the more they have to get or loſe, the lower they muſt ſtoop, the more they muſt praiſe: *primores civitatis quorum claritudo ſua obſequiis protegenda erat.* For this vile ſervitude of theirs they make repriſals upon the people, and are as terrible to thoſe below them, as fawning to thoſe above them; for the moſt proſtitute Slaves, are the moſt inſolent Tyrants, and 'tis from the ſame baſeneſs of ſpirit that men oppreſs and flatter: 'twas truly ſaid of CALIGULA, "that there never "lived a more complaiſant Slave, nor a more cruel and deteſtable "Maſter." Thus Flattery is propagated, and infects all degrees of men. The Prince awes the Grandees, and by the Grandees is flattered: the Grandees oppreſs and terrify the people; and thence the people dread and adore the Grandees. The Baſhas are ſlaves to the great Turk; and the people ſlaves to the Baſhas.

THE inſolence of ſlaviſh ſpirits is by TACITUS exemplified in VITELLIUS, among many other inſtances. He was always the foremoſt in Flattery; ever aſſaulting every worthy Patriot with reproaches, and ever ſtruck ſilent when repulſed; agreeably to the genius of Sycophants, to be both inſulting and cowardly. This man however proſpered by Proſtitution. He had great employments under TIBERIUS, he was a great Favourite in the two ſucceeding Reigns, he was thrice Conſul and once Cenſor. Nor did the man want good talents and qualifications: in the Government of Provinces, ſays TACITUS, he exerciſed the integrity of a primitive Roman. But his dread of CALIGULA, and complaiſance to CLAUDIUS, changed him into a filthy Slave, and he is handed down to poſterity as a pattern of the moſt infamous Flattery. The juſt reward this of his ſervile ſubmiſſion. His firſt and beſt actions were forgot; his laſt and worſt remembered; and the excellencies of his younger years obliterated by an old age drenched in ſervitude and iniquity. Beſides his adoring CLAUDIUS as a God, he carried one of MESSALINA's ſandals in his boſom continually, frequently kiſſed it, and amongſt his houſhold Gods placed golden Statues of PALLAS and NARCISSUS, the Emperor's freed ſlaves. This man was, I think, father to VITELLIUS afterwards Emperor. Such men ſuch Princes delight in: *regibus boni quam mali ſuſpectiores ſunt ſemperque his aliena virtus formidoloſa eſt:* ſays SALLUST.

Sect. II. *Men of elevated Minds irreconcileable to Arbitrary Power, and thence ſuſpected by it. The Court paid to it always inſincere, ſometimes expedient, but ſeldom obſerves any bounds.*

AGRIPPA told AUGUSTUS, according to DION CASSIUS, that it was impoſſible for a man of great ſpirit and reſolution, to be other than a lover of Liberty, and an enemy in his heart to an abſolute maſter. AGRIPPA himſelf was that ſort of man; he had courage enough to adviſe that Prince to reſign the Sovereignty and reſtore publick Liberty: ſuch in truth was his credit and bravery, that AUGUSTUS thought himſelf no otherwiſe ſafe than either by killing him or taking him for his ſon-in-law. The Emperor did more than give him his daughter; he aſſumed him partner in the Tribunitial Power, which as that Uſurper and his Succeſſors managed it, was in effect the Dictatorial Power. The other great men of Rome he ſuſpected and hated; tho' in vanity and for the praiſe of Poſterity, he left them his heirs in the third degree: *tertio gradu primores civitatis ſcripſerat; plerique inviſos ſibi, ſed jactantia gloriaque apud poſteros.* AUGUSTUS and TIBERIUS judged too well, to imagine that the illuſtrious Senators and Chiefs of Rome, men who had ſcorned the alliance and affinity of Kings, nay treated Kings as their creatures and dependents, could like a blind dependence upon one of their own Citizens, who by uſurpation and violence had made himſelf an enemy to all. Even in the Reign of TIBERIUS there were Romans who thought themſelves as good as him; CNEIUS PISO, for example, ſcarce gave place to him, and deſpiſed his ſons, as men far beneath himſelf. But his haughty ſpirit coſt him his life; for tho' TIBERIUS uſed him as a proper inſtrument to thwart and overthrow GERMANICUS, he afterwards turned that very ſervice to the deſtruction of PISO.

AFFECTION can never accompany a ſubmiſſion which is forced, nor men ſubmit willingly to a Power which they think they have themſelves a right to exerciſe. Hence the complements and praiſes of theſe eminent Romans towards the Emperors, are generally by TACITUS derived from Flattery; tho' ſometimes neceſſary, and ſometimes well intended: neceſſary, when uſed for their own preſervation; and well intended, when employed to inſtill into the Prince virtuous leſſons of Government. MARCUS TERENTIUS was perhaps juſtifiable, when in defence of his life, which was at ſtake, he made that high flown complement to TIBERIUS: "To thee the Gods have granted the ſu-"preme diſpoſal of things, and to us have left the glory of obedience;" *tibi ſummum rerum judicium Dii dedere, nobis obſequii gloria relicta eſt.* The Senators alſo did well in magnifying ſome popular Acts of NERO, that his youthful mind being thus incited by the Glory ariſing from light things, might court it in things which were greater. And THRASEA PETUS was juſtifiable, when in his ſpeech about ANTISTIUS the Pretor, arraigned for Treaſon for lampooning the Emperor, he extolled that Prince's mercy, in order to make him merciful.

BUT as that which is only good in ſome certain degrees and exigences, ſeldom ſtops there; ſo this ſame Flattery, no wiſe blameable under ſome circumſtances, grew ſcandalous and exceſſive; it kept pace with all the phrenzy, and cruelties of theſe outrageous and inhuman Tyrants: and by it their cruelties and phrenzy were encouraged. The more miſchievous and vile they were, the more they were adored. Dread of their fury had ſeized the ſouls of men; nor was any remedy ſought againſt their fury but that of Flattery: *pavor internus occupaverat animos, cui remedium adulatione quærebatur:* men of ſlaviſh minds always began the deteſtable rout; their example drew others after them; the lovers of Liberty found it impoſſible to reſiſt the many, and unſafe to diſtinguiſh themſelves by oppoſition: intereſt ſwayed ſome, example others, fear all, and at laſt it became a common ſtrife who ſhould be foremoſt in the race to Servitude. All publick ſpirit, all regard to the glory and good of Rome, the inſeparable characteriſtick of the old free Romans, was now loſt and forgot; it was converted into fear and anxiety of every man for himſelf. This will ever be the caſe when a Prince armed with ſufficient powers ſets up his own intereſt againſt that of the State; particulars having no longer any thing to do with the publick, will ſtudy only to ſecure themſelves.

Sect. III. *The exceſſive Power of the Imperial freed Slaves; with the ſcandalous Submiſſion and Honours paid them by the Romans.*

AS Tyranny produces abject fear and anxiety in particulars for themſelves, ſo from this ſelfiſh fear and anxiety comes the beginning and progreſs of univerſal Servitude, the extinction of all Patriotiſm and honeſt zeal, the power of corruption, and the ſymptoms of a State haſtening to ruin and deſolation. All the good or evil which could befal any Roman, lay wholly in the breaſt and option of the Prince; and hence the ſtudy of every man to humour the Prince, or the Slaves who governed him: for governed he generally was by ſlaves the vileſt and moſt peſtilent; yes the whole Empire, that Empire that contained a great ſhare of the Globe, and terrified almoſt the whole, was ſwayed, ſold, oppreſſed, and exhauſted by ſlaves bought from the chain and the oar. CLAUDIUS not only declared that affairs adjudged by his Receivers ſhould be held equally valid with thoſe adjudged by himſelf, but got the ſame eſtabliſhed by a ſolemn Decree of Senate. Now theſe Receivers of the Emperors were his manumized Slaves, who under that title often governed Provinces: he raiſed the authority of theſe vermin to a pitch equal with that of the Sovereign and the Laws. FELIX Governor of Judea was a freed ſlave, the huſband of three Queens, and the brother of PALLAS another freed ſlave, who controlled the

Emperor, lay with the Empreſs, and was maſter of the Empire; ſo that NERO ſaid pertinently of him, when he turned him out of office, " that PALLAS went to abdicate the Sovereignty.

BEHOLD the debaſement of the great and venerable Roman Senate! It is not enough that they flatter the Emperor, and heap upon him Powers and Honours ſo great and manifold, that at laſt they have none for themſelves, hardly any for him: they muſt likewiſe adore, and enrich, and exalt the fugitives and off-ſcourings of the earth, inſects naturally doomed to the vileſt offices of the kitchen, ſtable, and privies. The Romans, Lords of the World, muſt put their necks under the feet of the dregs of human race. For a contemptible project of that ſame PALLAS, about puniſhing Ladies who married ſlaves, BAREAS SORANUS Conſul elect, the firſt Magiſtrate in the Roman world, moved the Senate to reward him with the ornaments of Pretor, the next Civil Office in the State, and a preſent of near an hundred thouſand pounds. To this motion it was added by CORNELIUS SCIPIO, that PALLAS ſhould have publick thanks, that he who was deſcended from the old Kings of Arcadia, ſhould to the ſervice of the publick thus poſtpone that his ancient Nobility, and deign to be reckoned amongſt the Emperor's Miniſters. But CLAUDIUS averred that PALLAS would reſt content with the honours of the Pretorſhip, and rejecting the preſent, chuſe to live in his uſual poverty. The Decree paſſed, was engraved in braſs, and publickly hung up; a pompous Decree, in which a fellow, lately a barefooted ſlave, now worth near eight millions, was magnified for obſerving the laudable ſelf-denial and parcimony of the primitive ages. Obſerve the ſtrange inverſion of all order and ſenſe! dignity debaſed; infamy exalted: how low the awful authority of the Senate deſcended! how vilely the function of a Conſul proſtituted! how ignominiouſly the glorious name of SCIPIO employed! how abominably the ornaments of Magiſtracy defiled! an ordinance of State big with ſervitude and lies! what ſtupidity in the Emperor, what inſolence in the ſlave, and what a melancholy failure of all Virtue, Truth, and Liberty amongſt all degrees of men! It was, in truth, a complement made to a ſlave by a body of ſlaves, as PLINY well obſerves. We may gueſs at the villany and evil deeds of the man by the enormous Honours that were paid him, tho' we had no other rule or proof, as we have proofs enough. No ſuch violent court was ever paid to SENECA; and TIGELLINUS had much more weight and authority than BURRUS.

REAL goodneſs and merit beget in all good men real friendſhip and affection; and real affection is never ſo loud nor ſhewy as affection aſſumed. Where we ſincerely like and eſteem we are not afraid of ſuſpicion in the perſon eſteemed, nor ſpend much breath and ceremony to convince him. But where we are conſcious of our own inſincerity, our profeſſions are pompous and wordy. It was abſolutely impoſſible that theſe vile Upſtarts ſhould love the Senate, or any great men, great in blood, or fortune or virtue; or the Senate or any great Roman could love ſuch vile Upſtarts: but we ſee what diſguiſes fear and falſhood can put on! Impartial poſterity, which neither fears the Senate nor PALLAS, can perceive nothing in the Honours by them conferred upon him, but the infamy of both perpetuated. Nor was CLAUDIUS the only Emperor who was thus led in bondage by his franchiſed bondmen: others ſubmitted to the ſame vaſſalage, to the ſame infamous Counſellors: *plerique principes* (ſays PLINY) *libertorum erant ſervi; horum conſiliis, horum nutu regebantur.* Was not the world finely governed, and humankind completely happy; when the univerſal Lord was ſwayed by the luſt and nod of creatures juſt redeemed from the infamy of whips and fetters? The mighty CESAR, to whom the Romans owed all their enſuing miſery and bondage, began the exaltation of ſuch ſons of earth; and in contempt of cenſure, declared that, “if he had employed Highwaymen and Aſſaſſins to ſupport his “grandeur, he would in return have honoured them with the ſame “favour.” A true confeſſion, but methinks not very politick: we have ſeen already whether his worthy Succeſſors did not actually do ſo, and what were the *Inſtrumenta regni,* the bloody tools and machinery of abſolute Rule. POLYCLETUS, a manumized ſlave of NERO's, when ſent by his maſter to inſpect the State of Britain, travelled with ſuch an immenſe train, that he was a burden to great nations, even thoſe of Italy and Gaul.

Sect. IV. *The exceſſive Flattery of the Senate, how ill judged.*

THERE was no mean in the Flattery of the Senate. They might have been good Courtiers, without being ſo abandoned Courtiers. There are inſtances of their carrying queſtions againſt the ſpirit of the Court and the efforts of Favourites, in the worſt Reigns. Thus in ſpight of all the power and caballing of AGRIPPINA, they expelled TARQUITIUS PRISCUS, a creature of hers, from the Senate, in deteſtation of his baſe attack upon the life of STATILIUS TAURUS, in ſubſerviency to the Empreſs, who yearned after the Wealth and fine Gardens of that illuſtrious Senator. Thus too in the caſe of ANTISTIUS the Pretor, who had compoſed ſome virulent Verſes againſt NERO, and expoſed them at a great entertainment; tho' he was impleaded of Treaſon by COSSUTIANUS CAPITO ſon-in-law to that powerful minion TIGELLINUS, and tho' JUNIUS MARULLUS, the Conſul elect, moved that he might be doomed to die after the rigorous manner of antiquity; the Senate followed the milder motion of THRASEA PETUS for confiſcation and exile. Nor would they depart from the ſentence even after they had received NERO's Letter about it, tho' in it he manifeſted high indignation.

THEY might have made ſome other efforts of this kind, where they made none; on the contrary, they gave away their Liberties and Voices faſter than they could have been taken. But the honeſt boldneſs of THRASEA broke the bondage which hung upon the minds of others: ſo much can the example of one worthy man do even in an aſſembly devoted to corruption and ſervitude! It is true THRASEA paid a ſevere after-reckoning, and 'twas the apprehenſion of that which ſtoped the mouths of others, or opened them only to fawn. But who would not chuſe the reputation, and integrity of a Patriot, that of a THRASEA, even at the expence of his fate; rather than the fortune and favour of the ſycophant VITELLIUS, with the abjectneſs of his life, and infamy of his name?

Sect. V. *The free Judgment of Poſterity a powerful warning to Princes, to reign with moderation and to deteſt Flatterers. The Name and Memory of the Roman Tyrants how treated.*

ALL men have ſome vanity, and thence ſome fondneſs for fame: if they would acquire it, and avoid infamy, they muſt ſquare their actions to the judgment of Poſterity: with Poſterity, little evaſions, falſe colourings, and chicane will not paſs for reaſons, tho' they may with our cotemporaries, who are often influenced by friendſhips, often engaged in parties, often warmed and miſled by paſſion and partiality. Death and time deſtroy all artifices, diſſipate all miſts, and unveil myſteries: the intentions of men with all their motives and purſuits are then ſcanned and laid open. The flights of Flattery, will not then be termed fondneſs for the Prince, nor the efforts of Ambition miſcalled publick zeal: CLAUDIUS and PALLAS, TIBERIUS and SEJANUS, NERO and TIGELLINUS; men ſo careſſed, applauded and worſhipped during their life and power, men who then employed all tongues in their praiſes, do now fill, and have long filled the mouths of all men with deteſtation, and their hearts with abhorrence. What avail now their craft and ſubornations, their power and high poſts? Does the awe of purple, or the violence of the ſword, do Pretorian Guards and perverted Laws, ſecure their memory as they did their perſons? Do I, for example, fear their charges of Treaſon, or the vile breath of their Informers, while I treat them as ſanguinary Monſters, as the Tyrants, Peſts and Oppreſſors of the earth, as publick Curſes and Murderers in cold blood?

THESE Tyrants and their Flatterers, tho' they puſhed both Tyranny and Flattery as far as they would go, have not been able, with all their Arts and Terrors, to ſtifle the memory of men, nor reſtrain the ſpeech. They are handed down to us under their proper titles: the *Emperor Nero* we ſeldom ſay; but the *Tyrant Nero*, is in every ones mouth: and the idea of a ſycophant ever accompanies the name of VITELLIUS. His great credit and offices are forgot, or remembered only to his infamy. What a check muſt Hiſtory and the Cenſure of Poſterity be to a Prince that has any reflection! Had TIBERIUS, CLAUDIUS, CALIGULA, and other Imperial Monſters conſidered what frightful lights they were like to be drawn in to future times, it would have ſpoiled their pleaſure in tyrannizing, and made them hate their Flatterers, who perſuaded them that all men, at leaſt the beſt men, ſpoke of them as they themſelves ſpoke. With regard to Fame and Poſterity it had been better for theſe wretches that they had never been born, as well as happy for humankind: yet no man was ever a greater drudge for Fame than NERO; *erat illi æternitatis perpetuæque famæ cupido, ſed inconſulta*, ſays SUETONIUS. Witneſs his laborious fatigues in the Theatre and Circus, continued day after day, and often nights and days, for the reputation of a good Singer, Harper and Coachman. CALIGULA aſpired to the like glory, and was a notable Fencer and aſſiduous Dancer, as well as a Charioteer: *Scenicas ſaltandi canendique artes ſtudioſiſſime appeteret —Thrax & auriga.* Laudable Ambition this for a Prince, and as juſt and high as that of many others!

Tiberius alſo wiſhed and prayed for the praiſes and affectionate remembrance of poſterity: *ut quandocunque conceſſero, cum laude & bonis recordationibus atque famam nominis mei proſequantur.* How well he ſucceeded we all know. He is deteſted as one of the moſt dangerous, falſe, and deliberate Tyrants that ever afflicted men: nay, he was no ſooner known to be dead, than the people broke forth into joy and execrations: ſome cried, "into the Tiber with **tiberius**: "others beſought mother earth and the infernal Gods to allot him "no manſion but amongſt the damned and accurſed:" others threatened to drag his body with hooks to the charnel of malefactors: and when his corps was going to be removed from Miſenum to Rome, every one cried aloud, that it ſhould rather be carried to the town of Atella to be in the Amphitheatre there thrown into a fire till 'twere half burned. Such were the marks of remembrance he had and deſerved from the people! The other two are treated as frantick butchers, or rather as two mad dogs delighted with carnage and worrying, bent and active to kill and deſtroy. What is it to us that they were Princes and Emperors? Men of ſenſe find no magick in names, but regard Monſters as Monſters, whatever titles Fortune or Flatterers gave them, or they themſelves took.

'Tis thus Tyrants ſuffer the vengeance of after-ages, and terrible vengeance 'tis to ſuch as are tender of their Renown and ſeek Immortality, as moſt Princes do; and indeed have it forced upon them, ſince they ſtand too high, and do too much not to be remembered. Hence they ought to be more afraid of future cenſure, which is generally well grounded and will certainly laſt, than of temporary praiſe, which is often falſe, conſequently fleeting, at beſt to be ſuſpected.

Sect. VI. *How lamentably Princes are debauched and miſled by Flatterers!*

NOW if Tyrants are abhorred, how much abhorrence is due to Flatterers, who often change Princes into Tyrants, and make Tyrants worſe than they would be. **Tiberius** aſſumed the Sovereignty with great diffidence; and his natural warineſs would have probably made him mild againſt his nature, had not the Romans ſo readily offered him their necks, and their perſons to bondage: but when he found them devoted to Slavery, he uſed them like Slaves, and having nothing to fear from them, he only followed the vile bent of his own ſpirit: *rupto pudore & metu, ſuo tantum ingenio utebatur.*

Domitian rejoiced when he found that **agricola** had left him coheir with his wife and daughter: he vainly thought it done out of judgment and choice, and in pure regard to his perſon. So much was he corrupted and blinded by continual Flattery, as to be utterly ignorant that no Prince but a bad one was ever by a father tender of his iſſue and family, aſſumed into heirſhip with them.

Nero was in terrible agonies after he had murdered his Mother, he dreaded the ſoldiery, the Senate and the people: but when inſtead of danger and reſentment he met with flattering ſpeeches from the Officers, flattering Decrees from the Senate, popular Proceſſions, Applauſes, publick Devotions paid to all the Deities, and univerſal acquieſcence: his native inſolence became more ſwelled, and from this general Servitude aſſuming the pride of victory, he aſcended the Capitol, offered ſacrifices, and thenceforth ſurrendered himſelf to the full ſway of all his exorbitant luſts. When he had cauſed theſe two noble Romans, PLAUTUS and SYLLA, to be aſſaſſinated, he wrote to the Senate without mentioning the execution, only that they were two men of turbulent ſpirits, and what mighty care it coſt him to ſecure the State: inſtantly the obſequious fathers from the Senate degraded theſe dead Senators, and ordained publick Prayers and Sacrifices. NERO, upon the receiving of this Decree, and finding that all his brutal iniquities and acts of blood paſſed for ſo many feats of renown, grew emboldened to do a thing which even NERO till then durſt not do, and turned away the virtuous OCTAVIA his wife, her by whom he held the Empire: *igitur accepto patrum conſulto, poſtquam cuncta ſcelerum ſuorum pro egregiis accipi videt, exturbat Octaviam.* Nay when ſoon after the Imperial butcher had ordered the blood of that illuſtrious Innocent to be ſhed, thanks and oblations were again preſented to the Deities, by an ordinance of Senate. A particular, ſays TACITUS, which with this view I recount, that whoever reads the events of thoſe times in this or any other Hiſtory, may take it for granted that as often as the Emperors commanded acts of cruelty, baniſhments and aſſaſſinations, ſo often thanks and ſacrifices were decreed to the Gods; and thoſe Solemnities which were of old the marks and conſequences of publick victories and publick felicity, were now ſo many ſad marks of publick ſlaughter and deſolation: *quod ad eum finem memoravimus, ut quicunque caſus temporum illorum nobis vel aliis auctoribus noſcent, præſumptum habeant, quotiens fugas & cædes juſſit princeps, totiens grates deis actas; quæque rerum ſecundarum olim, tum publicæ cladis inſignia fuiſſe.*

THIS was remarkably verified afterwards as well as now: when NERO, upon the diſcovery of PISO's conſpiracy, had ſpilt rivers of blood, and ſlain men by heaps; the fuller the City was of executions and funerals, the fuller too were the Temples of ſacrifices: one had loſt a ſon, one a brother, or kinſman, or friend in this general butchery; and the greater their loſs, the more gayety they ſhewed, adorned their houſes with Laurel, frequented the Temples with Thankſgiving, embraced the knees of the Tyrant, and worried his hand with kiſſes. NERO took all this for ſo many ſincere tokens of affection and joy: when in truth, their Congratulations and Flattery were juſt in proportion to their ſevere ſorrow.

Sect. VII. *The peſtilent tendency of flattering Counſels, and the Glory of ſuch as are ſincere.*

WHAT a poiſonous thing is this ſame Flattery? by it Princes are miſled into a perſuaſion that all their meaſures of Oppreſſion, all their acts of Frenzy and Rage, are juſt meaſures of Government, that forced praiſe is real affection, that they themſelves are popular when they are abhorred; and thus they are kept from repenting or mending, becauſe relying upon the aſſurances of Flatterers, they cannot find that they have done amiſs, or ſee any thing to be mended. The Flatterers of NERO ridiculed SENECA and railed at him and perſuaded that Prince he wanted no Tutors. The ſame did the Flatterers of COMMODUS in relation to the old Counſellors, which had been his fathers. NERO and COMMODUS followed the advice of their Flatterers, and reigned miſchievouſly and died tragically, and their memories are abhorred. Thus they are kept hoodwinked and ſecure, till the firſt thing they open their eyes upon is their Throne tottering or overturned, and perhaps an executioner's knife at their breaſt: and even when things are come to that extremity, there will be thoſe to miſrepreſent and flatter, as in the caſe of GALLA; a few moments before he was maſſacred, he was ſmoothed with falſe aſſurances of ſecurity: *quidam minora vero, ne tum quidem obliti adulationis.*

HOW pernicious too is ſuch falſification even to thoſe that practiſe it; ſince tho' they mean it out of ſelfiſhneſs and for ſecurity, yet by ſanctifying upon all occaſions the Oppreſſion and Deſtruction of others, they do but invite their own! Whereas were matters laid honeſtly before Princes, that this meaſure is a Grievance, that an Oppreſſion, and that whatever is unjuſt to others is dangerous to themſelves, they would prefer caution with ſafety, to humour and wilfulneſs accompanied with peril; they would grow into a habit of doubting, deliberating and enquiring; of ſubmitting their own judgment to that of others; of remembring that they are what they are for the ſake of their People, and that they ought to have no Will, nor Intereſt, but the publick Will and the publick Intereſt.

Had NERO purſued the good Rules of Government dictated by SENECA and BURRUS, and propoſed by himſelf in his firſt Speech to the Senate; had he avoided the counſels of that bloody and deteſtable ſycophant TIGELLINUS and of others like him, he might have ended his reign with as much renown as he began it, and left a memory revered as much as 'tis now deteſted. And would the Confidents of Princes, inſtead of debaſing themſelves into the characters of Paraſites, inſtead of abuſing their truſt, and bringing infamy upon their maſters and themſelves; would they inſtead of this give upright counſel, ſuch as conduced to the good of all men, they would, beſides the praiſe of well-doing, take the beſt method to ſecure themſelves, their fortunes and families in the general ſecurity: or ſhould they be rewarded with diſgrace, or even with death, they would have the approbation of their own Conſciences, the applauſes of the Living, and the praiſes of Poſterity. But while they ſooth the Prince in his jealouſies and violence, and encourage him in deſtroying ſuch as he, or ſuch as they fear or diſlike, they ſet him a leſſon and example for turning the edge of his fury upon themſelves, whenever he becomes prompted by his humour or caprice; a caſe often happening, and always to be apprehended. The Courtiers and Flatterers of the Emperor CARACALLA, to humour him, concurred with him in the murder of his brother GETA; and after that murder, though committed by his own hand, were themſelves murdered for their wicked complaiſance, and amongſt them LETUS his Favourite and Confident. Yet he was ſo far from remorſe for ſhedding his brother's blood, that he maſſacred every friend and adherent to his brother, to the number of twenty thouſand in a ſhort time. TIBERIUS, of all his Friends, Confidents and Counſellors, ſcarce let one eſcape a violent end, unleſs where by a natural death they prevented it: and they who had been the Miniſters of his Tyranny, hardly ever failed to fall by it. He indeed protected them from the reſentment and proſecution of others; but he generally poured vengeance upon them himſelf: *ſcelerum miniſtros, ut perverti ab aliis nolebat; ita plerumque ſatiatus, & oblatis in eandem operam recentibus, veteres & prægraves adflixit.* VESCULARIUS ATTICUS and

JULIUS MARINUS, were two of his moſt ancient intimates: they had accompanied him during his retirement at Rhodes, and never forſook him in his retreat at Capreæ: they had abetted his Tyranny, and aſſiſted him in his cruel Counſels, nor does it appear that they had ever offended him by any good Counſel: VESCULARIUS was his manager and inter-agent in the perfidious plot to deſtroy that noble Roman LIBO DRUSUS; and by the co-operation of MARINUS, SEJANUS had worked the overthrow of CURTIUS ATTICUS. Was not all this merit enough at leaſt, to have redeemed their own lives? It was not; they fell themſelves victims to his cruelty, as to ſatiate his cruelty they had made others fall: *ad mortem aguntur: quo lætius acceptum*, ſays TACITUS, *ſua exempla in conſultores recidiſſe:* their tragical end was followed with the more joy, for that upon their own heads had thus recoiled the precedents of their own traiterous deviſing. In truth, theſe inſtruments of cruelty are generally abhorred by the Princes that uſe them. ANICETUS Admiral of the Gallies to NERO, conducted and perpetrated the murder of his mother AGRIPPINA, and for a ſhort ſpace continued in ſome ſmall favour with the Prince, but was afterwards held in greater averſion; for, ſays TACITUS, the Miniſters of evil Counſels are by Princes beheld as men whoſe looks continually upbraid them; *ut exprobrantes aſpiciuntur*. Such too was the fate of CLEANDER under COMMODUS, who loved him; was governed by him, and cut off his head. How differently related is the fate of BURRUS, ſuſpected to have been by NERO poiſoned: *civitati grande deſiderium ejus manſit per memoriam virtutis:* mighty and laſting was the ſorrow of Rome for his death, for the Romans remembered his virtues: and a little before; *graveſcentibus in dies publicis malis, ſubſidia minuebantur, conceſſitque vita Burrus:* while the calamities of the Publick were growing daily more heavy and bitter, the reſources of the Publick were diminiſhed, and BURRUS died. How nobly too is the tragedy of SENECA recounted! 'tis too long to find room here.

I ſhall end this Diſcourſe with obſerving, that as Flattery is the effect of dread and falſhood; as the moſt tyrannical Princes are moſt flattered, and men of the falſeſt minds are the greateſt Flatterers; this conſideration ſhould be a leſſon to Princes and great men, to weigh the actions they do againſt the praiſes they receive; and if they find themſelves righteous, they may conclude their panegyricks to be ſincere. Let them reflect upon their acts of benevolence or oppreſſion, and how they have uſed their people. They would alſo do well to examine what ſort of men they are who praiſe them; whether men of virtue and honour, lovers of truth, lovers of their Country and of humankind; or whether they are thoſe unlimited Sycophants, whoſe cuſtom and rule it is to extol at random all the ſayings and doings of Princes, worthy and unworthy: *quibus omnia principis, honeſta atque inhoneſta laudare mos eſt.*

DIS-

DISCOURSE IX.

Upon Courts.

Sect. I. *Of Freedom of Speech; and how reaſonable it is.*

TO the foregoing Diſcourſe upon Flattery, I thought it might not be unſuitable to ſubjoin another upon Courts, the place where that peſtilent and unmanly practice is wont chiefly to prevail.

DURING thoſe Reigns which I have been deſcribing, when Power was eſtabliſhed in Terrors, and Subjection converted into Abaſement, ſmall was the wonder that reſtraint upon ſpeech was no inconſiderable link in the publick chain, and care taken that ſuch as preſumed to breathe ought but vaſſalage, ſhould not breathe at all. This was wretched policy, barbarous and impoſſible to be practiſed. The paſſions are not to be extinguiſhed but with life; and to forbid people, eſpecially a ſuffering people, to ſpeak, is to forbid them to feel.

IT is not indeed to be expected that men ſhould be ſuffered to meet together tumultuouſly, in order to publiſh their mutual Diſcontents and Wrongs, and to inflame one another: but complaints uttered in their families, or dropped occaſionally, or communicated to a friend, can never affect Authority. The more men expreſs of their hate and reſentment, perhaps the leſs they retain; and ſometimes they vent the whole that way: but theſe paſſions, where they are ſmothered, will be apt to feſter, to grow venomous, and to diſcharge themſelves by a more dangerous organ than the mouth, even by an armed and vindictive hand. Leſs dangerous is a railing mouth than a heart filled and enflamed with bitterneſs and curſes; and more terrible to a Prince ought to be the ſecret execrations of his people than their open revilings, or than even the aſſaults of his enemies. Of all the blood ſpilt under TIBERIUS and the following Tyrants for Words (and for no greater cauſe a deluge was ſpilt) how ſmall a part conduced to their ſecurity? none that I remember: but every drop was an indelible ſtain upon their perſons and upon their Government; every drop derived hatred, and conſequently weakneſs and danger upon it. Rigorous puniſhment for ſmall faults, or for ſuch as in the common opinion paſs for none, is a mark of ill Politics: it makes the ſpirit of the Adminiſtration look hideous and dreadful; and it renders every man, who finds himſelf liable to the like faults, a capital enemy. Surely it ought to be a maxim in Government, that errors which can have no conſequences, ought to have no puniſhment.

OLIVER CROMWELL, who ſeems to have ſeen far into the heart of man, was little affected with the hard words and invectives of particulars, and as high as he carried Authority, left people to talk and rail. The ſame is true of the late Regent of France, one who well knew human nature and the nature of power: it was then common to ſee Frenchmen ſwagger and ſtorm as freely as an old Roman would have done againſt an unpopular Magiſtrate. In truth, where no liberty is allowed to ſpeak of Governors, beſides that of praiſing them, their praiſes will be little believed. Their tenderneſs and averſion to have their conduct examined, will be apt to prompt people to think their conduct guilty or weak, to ſuſpect their management and deſigns to be worſe than perhaps they are, and to become turbulent and ſeditious rather than be forced to be ſilent. When nothing but incenſe and applauſe will be accepted or borne; all plain dealing, all honeſt counſel and true information, will be at an end and baniſhed, to make room for deceitful adorations, for pleaſing and pernicious falſhoods. If Princes whoſe memory is diſliked, had allowed their ſubjects and co-temporaries to have ſpoken truth to them or of them, probably Poſterity would not have ſpoke ſo much ill, as it is probable they would not then have deſerved it: and I am apt to believe that it had been better for all of them to have permitted, all that could have been ſaid, than to have miſſed hearing what it imported them to have heard; better to have heard the diſguſts and railings of their people, than that their people were armed againſt them, or revolted from them: a fate which has befallen ſome of them, who having had Courtiers over complaiſant, or ears over-tender, learnt that they were dethroned before they had learnt that they were not beloved; and found ſcarce any interval between the acclamations of Flatterers and the ſtrokes of an Executioner. Such is the genius of Courts, where ill tidings are generally concealed or diſguiſed; ſuch too often the ſilence and ſoothings of Courtiers, who tell only or chiefly what is pleaſing; and ſuch ſometimes the pride and impatience of Princes, that they will ſuffer nothing which ruffles their paſſions, to approach their underſtanding.

Sect. II. *The Spirit of Courtiers what: ſome good ones.*

IT is ſomething elſe than zeal for telling truth, that carries men to Court and keeps them in it: to raiſe an intereſt, or to preſerve it, is the more prevailing paſſion. And becauſe whoever ſets his foot there with any view to place and favour, is always ſure of competitors, be his perſon or pretences what they will, ever ſo conſiderable or inconſiderable; his chief care will be to conquer oppoſers and ſecure himſelf, and as there ever will be ſome oppoſition, real or apprehended, that care will be conſtant: hence the ſpirit of a Court, ſelfiſh, ſuſpicious and unfriendly; and hence the ſupple ſpirit of Courtiers, to love and hate, court and avoid, praiſe and perſecute the ſame perſon with notable ſuddenneſs, juſt as he is promoted or diſgraced, and can help or hurt, or is to be deprived of all capacity to do either. To be well with the ſubſiſting Power, with him who holds the reins of Authority, and diſtributes, or cauſes to be diſtributed the bleſſings and terrors of Power, is the main purſuit: his motions are chiefly watched, his affections and averſions are ſtudied and adopted; and thus a ſmile or a frown from the Throne, or from one who is next the Throne, is eagerly catched up, ſeizes the faces of a whole drawing-room in an inſtant, and is handed down with ſignal uniformity, through all claſſes of men, from a Grandee to the loweſt Clerk in an Office.

A Court is a great Exchange, where one or a few have favours to diſpoſe of, where many reſort to procure them, and where all therefore ſtrive to outgo in the ways of pleaſing every one who has the ſame aim, and ſtudy every method to render themſelves acceptable. Hence their obſequious Countenances, Flattery, Inſinuations, and Zeal, ſome paſſions concealed, ſome diſguiſed, and others perſonated: hence too their attachment to ſuch as can help to promote them, and their neglect of ſuch as cannot; hence with them good fortune, however unworthily placed, always paſſes for merit, and abilities ever ſink with power; and hence their falſhood, ingratitude and courteous behaviour.

THAT this is true of the herd of Courtiers, I believe will be allowed. Without doubt there are exceptions, and men of great honour, diſintereſtedneſs and friendſhip are often to be found there; men who ſcorn treachery and baſeneſs, and would riſk all rather than do a mean thing. Such were MANIUS LEPIDUS, SENECA, and BURRUS; ſuch COCCEIUS NERVA and JULIUS AGRICOLA, and ſuch were the Chancellor DE L'HOSPITAL, Chancellor HYDE, and the Earl of SOUTHAMPTON: all theſe great men were Courtiers, and lived in Courts full of corruption and dangerous deſigns; all practiſed ſome degrees of ſuppleneſs, ſubmitted their opinions to the neceſſity of the times, and by defeating many evil meaſures, were the Authors of much good, tho' not of all that they would.

Cardinal RICHELIEU makes heavy complaints of the oppoſition he found to his beſt deſigns from the credit and intrigues of Women, and the whiſpers and ill offices of malevolent Courtiers. Theſe great men abovementioned were likewiſe often wronged, bad counſels which they had heartily oppoſed, were imputed to them; and when they concurred with ſome exceſſes to obviate much greater, juſt allowances were not made, and their motives were ſpitefully conſtrued. Thus the Chancellor DE L'HOSPITAL was ſeverely cenſured by the Hugonots for paſſing the Edict of Romorantin, which bore hard upon them; tho' by that Edict he prevented their utter extirpation, and the miſery of all France, by hindering the introduction and eſtabliſhment of that monſtrous and bloody Tribunal the Inquiſition; in which deſign the Court and Parliament were already agreed, and I think the Edict for that deteſtable purpoſe was ready: for ſuch ſignal and glorious ſervice the Proteſtants firſt railed at him, and the Papiſts afterwards curſed him. Lord CLARENDON too was reproached with the ſale of Dunkirk, and for many other exorbitancies which the ſincere heart of that upright Miniſter abhorred. Nor could the good counſels of SENECA ſecure him from much envy and defamation: and many great Miniſters, thought to be the Authors of evil counſels, have fallen into diſgrace or periſhed for daring to offer ſuch as were benevolent and upright: *eſt vulgus ad deteriora promptum.*

Sect. III. *The Arts of Courtiers; their Cautiouſneſs, and its Cauſes.*

PLauſibleneſs and guiſes are inſeparable from Courts: men muſt not ſeem to underſtand all that they apprehend or know, no more than they muſt ſpeak all that they think or feel: *intelligebantur artes, ſed pars obſequii in eo ne deprehenderentur.* Princes often diſſemble with their ſubjects, their Miniſters with them, and all with one another; and every one talks as he appears, to the beſt advantage. Some diſſimulation there is abſolutely neceſſary, and therefore lawful. Men are not obliged upon all occaſions to ſpeak the truth, tho' whatever they ſpeak upon any occaſion ought to be true. Nor ought any one to be blamed for hiding his paſſions and ſentiments, when the diſcovery would only ſerve to hurt himſelf. But few people in private life can be truſted with ſecrets, which publiſhed would leſſen one's peace or fame; and in Courts there are much fewer, perhaps none. Particular intereſts and paſſions are often ſhifting there: men who were once cloſe united, become widely divided; friendſhips old and long, are turned into bitter and vindictive enmity; and he who would once have riſqued his life for the preferment of his friend, would venture as much, upon a diſguſt, to bring him to a ſcaffold. This might be exemplified by a thouſand inſtances in all Times and Hiſtories. Nothing keeps the paſſions more awake than the purſuit of power; nothing touches the pride of man more ſenſibly than neglect or diſappointment in that purſuit, and nothing is more tender and ſuſpicious than pride. Few have got ſo much as not to aim at more, or have had ever ſo much aſſiſtance but they expect further, even where the ſame is unreaſonable or perhaps impoſſible; and from diſappointment enſues diſguſt. Too rarely ſeen is that Gratitude which looks backward, and generouſly ſubſiſts upon favours paſt without freſh claims and aliment: how much more common is that which muſt be kept up by daily benefits, and when bereft of ſuch food, expires? Nor is the ceaſing of gratitude the worſt that is to be apprehended from ſelfiſh and ungenerous men: the room of it is too often ſupplied by ſpite and revenge; and if it be natural to hate ſuch as we have injured, this hate muſt be great in proportion to the injury done; and what injury can be greater than that of being barbarous to benefactors?

THESE conſiderations are ſufficient to make ſuch as frequent Courts and know men, ſlow and wary in confiding, and to put them under conſiderable reſerves even where they confide moſt. No one cares to be at the mercy of a friend that may be an enemy: hence in the making of friendſhip any where, it ought to be one of the firſt conſiderations, whether there be any probable cauſes which threaten a rupture; whether the buſineſs of love or power, or fame, or anger, or intereſt, be never likely to interfere, and produce the moſt bitter of all enmities, that of friends.

THIS warineſs at Court extends even to words and looks. The converſing with great men and great affairs, naturally produces ſecrecy and ſilence: for ſince ſuch is the folly of the world, that whatever a great man ſays, however light or accidental, ſhall be deemed deep and myſterious, if it has the leaſt alluſion to the tranſactions of the times, and ſince they who hear it will be apt, through vanity, to quote it; great men ſeldom ſay any thing upon ſuch ſubjects; and even when they hear the talk and ſentiments of others, they take care that neither their anſwers, nor their countenance, ſhall betray their own. Sometimes a word thoughtleſly dropped, or an unſeaſonable ſmile, or ſome mark of ſurprize, has given light into an important deſign and marr'd it intirely. The like circumſpection they obſerve in their diſcourſe upon particulars, becauſe their diſcourſe may be eaſily altered and poiſoned by the malice or folly of ſuch as hear it; a practice as uſual at Court as in any country village; and many a man has been diſgraced by his own words whiſpered and altered by a virulent breath: nay the very ſame thing reported with a different tone and action, has had the ſame effect; and where the alteration of the words was conſiderable, thoſe of them which were forged and criminal have been believed, becauſe the reſt that were true and innocent, were well atteſted.

I ſhall illuſtrate this by the ſtory of young NERO (the ſon of GERMANICUS) in the Court of TIBERIUS. It excellently ſhews the jealouſies of Princes and the ſpirit of Courts. That young Prince was intirely beloved of the Roman People, who had adored his father: hence the diſtaſte and dark ſuſpicions of the Emperor, his great uncle and grandfather by adoption. SEJANUS who had already poiſoned the Emperor's ſon DRUSUS, and was plotting the overthrow of the whole reigning Houſe, fed the hate and apprehenſions of the old Prince, by malignant reports and infuſions concerning the young, now the next in Succeſſion. This he did by the inter-agency of hollow whiſperers and talebearers, who related and blackened every thing that eſcaped NERO, who was alſo hard uſed and brow-beaten, on purpoſe to extort from him ſevere and unwary complaints, ſuch as might fill up the charge againſt him. Moreover his domeſticks and retainers, impatient to ſee him in power, that they might ſhine in its trappings, were continually exciting him to rouſe his courage and exert himſelf, to meet the zeal of the people, to gratify the paſſionate wiſhes of the army; as the only expedients to daunt and repulſe the inſolence of SEJANUS who now deſpiſed him as a boy, and his grandfather as ſuperannuate.

THE young Prince, however naturally modeſt, was yet by ſo many inſtigations tranſported beyond the circumſpection which the ſtation that he was in and the many eyes that were upon him required; and thence gave vent to words, which, tho' they betrayed no ſign of any treaſonable purpoſe, yet being ill guarded and ſavouring of contumacy, were, by the ſpies purpoſely placed about him, carried inſtantly, well heightened and imbittered, to TIBERIUS. Nor under all theſe imputations and aſperſions was he warned or admitted to vindicate himſelf, but beſet on the contrary with ſeveral melancholy and boding appearances. Some of the Court carefully ſhunned to meet him; others juſt greeted him and then inſtantly left him; many with whom he had begun a converſation, broke it off abruptly; while the creatures and adherents of SEJANUS looked on with a malicious laugh. TIBERIUS too always received him ſternly, or with a hollow and upbraiding ſmile; and whether the youth ſpoke or ſaid nothing, there were crimes in his words, crimes in his ſilence. Neither did his bedchamber and the ſhades of night ſecure him from his Enemies and Accuſers, for even his reſtleſsneſs and watchings, nay his ſighs and dreams were by his wife divulged to her mother LIVIA, and by her to her adulterer SEJANUS. DRUSUS alſo, his younger brother, was by this wicked Politician drawn to combine againſt him, as one who ſtood between himſelf and the Empire, and was better beloved by their common mother AGRIPPINA; a freſh cauſe this of emulation and prejudice. Yet at that very time was SEJANUS laying a deſign againſt the life of this ſame DRUSUS, whom he knew to be of a ſpirit tempeſtuous and fiery, and thence the more obnoxious to ſnares. Thus he began the Tragedy of theſe two youths, and that of their mother; but before he had finiſhed theirs, ſuffered his own, which was abundantly bloody, but abundantly juſt. Their brother CALIGULA was a better Courtier: he ſtudied the temper and manner of TIBERIUS, and in all things conformed to it; but was particularly a complete ſcholar of his in diſſimulation: *ſimulationum falſa in ſinu avi perdidiſcerat.* Upon the condemnation of his mother, upon the exile of his brothers, not a word, not a groan eſcaped him, nor any ſymptom of reſentment or pity. The paſſions are no where more agitated than at Court; yet no where are the ſigns of perturbation more ſuppreſſed.

Sect. IV. *Of Slanderers and Talebearers in Courts: the Folly of Craft.*

THE occupation of ſlander and whiſpering will, like other occupations, always thrive according to the encouragement given to it, and being eaſily exerciſed, will be ever engaging freſh adventurers. What requires leſs labour and conſcience than to find out, or frame, or invenom a ſtory to the prejudice of another, eſpecially when he is not to be heard in his own defence, nor ſuffered to confront his Accuſer, nor perhaps ever knows that he has one? There is an endleſs appetite in mankind for Intelligence and ſecret Hiſtory; and in proportion to that appetite, they who feed it are well received and encouraged. But of all places they fare beſt in Courts. Great men are in the power of ſuch people much more than they themſelves imagine or mean: theſe aſſiduous ſhadows of theirs, who have their ear, and know their tempers, watch their unwary moments and obſerve when they are gay and open, when diſobliged and angry, when full of thought and buſineſs; and will be ſure to improve the preſent temper and opportunity. They know the Characters of men; know whom their Patron loves, whom he diſlikes, to whom he is altogether indifferent, with what is likely to be believed of each. They extoll ſome, decry others, flatter him, miſrepreſent all; and ſooth, or alarm, or divert him, juſt as his humour and their drift requires. If with this they can play the droll, and make dry and malicious jeſts, they are accompliſhed in their way: but moſt villainous is that talent which is good for nothing but to do hurt; it is like death and poiſon, fit only to take away life. VATINIUS was a buffoon of this peſtilent caſt, and, from working in a ſtall, taken to Court, at firſt for jeſt and diverſion; but having a malicious ſpirit and a ſarcaſtical turn, ſoon became a terror to every worthy and illuſtrious man: inſomuch that in wealth and favour, and in power to do miſchief, he grew to exceed all the other Miniſters of iniquity in NERO's Court.

IN all Courts there are many who riſe into notice and preferment for no greater merit than that of officiouſneſs, buffoonery and talebearing; and Courts are the places in the world where bad and worthleſs people can do the moſt harm: a Barber, a Porter, a Valet de Chambre, and even a Child are all capable of doing notable miſchief there. Theſe inſtruments, let them be ever ſo mean, will find ſome or other to hear them; theſe will find others; and a ſtory that has run through a hundred hands, and can be traced to no original or to a very low one, perhaps the idle prattles of a Chambermaid, may for all that have no mean influence.

BUT whatever reaſon men have, upon all theſe accounts, to keep a guard upon their lips and behaviour at Court; there is ſtill room for great frankneſs and candour, and no neceſſity of illuſion and deceiving, tho' it be often neceſſary to let people deceive themſelves, and would be often imprudent and dangerous to undeceive them. It is certain that in the tranſacting of great Affairs, the rules of morality admit of ſome relaxation: this is to be lamented, but not to be helped. Such frequently are the exigencies of a State, and ſuch always the crookedneſs and depravity of the heart of man, that were you to deal openly, to tell all that you mean, all that you know and all that you aim at, you would expoſe your Country to ruin, and yourſelf to ſcorn, perhaps to the block. The moſt can be done is to ſave appearances, and be wary of what expreſſions are uſed: for upon theſe occaſions and many others, men are not to be upbraided for their ſilence. I know ſome who have gone through nice Embaſſies, ſome who have concluded intricate Negotiations, others who have adminiſtered the higheſt Offices, and ſtill preſerved the character of high Honour and untainted Veracity. This ſhews the thing to be poſſible: and a promiſe or aſſurance, juſt given to ſerve a turn, and therefore not obſerved afterwards, does often more injury to him who made it, than the ſerving that turn did good. Cardinal RICHELIEU was not liberal of money nor promiſes; but he always performed more than he undertook: hence the zeal and firm adherence of all who depended upon him. Cardinal MAZARIN denied nothing, performed nothing, was believed in nothing, and his ill faith was become proverbial: hence no man was evermore hated, no man in his ſtation more deſpiſed; he could never rely upon any party, for he deceived all parties and all particulars; and nothing could ſupport him but the blind obſtinacy of the Queen Regent, and the mere weight of Royal Power armed in his defence; but in ſpight of the Queen and the Authority Royal, he was forced to run and ſculk for his life. The Parliament ſet a price upon his head, and iſſued ordinances to the people to fall upon him as a publick Enemy. Yet he had never carried Sovereign Power ſo high as his Predeceſſor, nor ever exerted it ſo terribly: but he had no faith nor honour, and therefore no perſonal friends. To this hour, RICHELIEU is conſidered as a Miniſter, who tho' arbitrary and ſevere, was yet an elevated genius, and a man of veracity to particulars; MAZARIN, as a man not rigorous indeed, nor vindictive, but ſordid, addicted to low cunning and lies, and, with all the eclat of a great Miniſter, unable to hide the little tricking Italian.

CRAFTINESS is a deſpicable quality, and undoes itſelf: he who has it and acts by it, can never diſguiſe it long; and when it becomes apparent, it becomes impotent, arms every body againſt it, draws hatred or ridicule, at beſt is perfectly uſeleſs; and the man, even when he deals uprightly, is ſuſpected to mean knaviſhly. What got TIBERIUS by all his profound ſubtilty and wiles, but to have his beſt actions ill conſtrued, and his ſincereſt profeſſions to be diſbelieved? *ad vana & totiens inriſa revolutus, de reddenda Repub. &c. vero quoque & honeſto fidem dempſit.* What got PHILIP the ſecond of Spain by that ſtrange and intricate ſcene of falſe Politics, concerted to transfer his own guilt upon the head of his Miniſter ANTONIO PEREZ; but to bring home the juſt imputation of that guilt to his own door, and to produce full proof where before there was only ſuſpicion? Sincerity is very conſiſtent with human prudence, and often a part of it, conſidering the reputation that always attends it; and men even in Courts may be very upright, without being unguarded; nor can Courtiers ever do buſineſs with one and another without ſome openneſs and candour. I have ſeen it aſſerted ſomewhere, that people are oftner deceived by diſtruſt than by acts of confidence. I have obſerved as plain dealing in Courtiers as in any other ſort of men in the world. It is ridiculous to carry reſerve and deepneſs into every thing. I know not a more contemptible ſort of men than ſuch as mimick buſineſs and myſtery: I have ſeen ſome ſubaltern Courtiers look as important, demure and wary, as if they had carried great matters, and even the weight of the State upon their ſhoulders. This affectation ſerves to raiſe their credit amongſt their ſervants and artificers in town; and in the country amongſt their tenants and neighbours, and diverts better judges. There are others who really believe themſelves to be in ſecrets; who take ſhrugs and nods, mere words and ſhadows for real confidence and communication; and live in happy ignorance, under the conceit of high truſt and intelligence. Some few too there are, who, beſides deſpiſing the foppery of being thought truſted where they are not, are careful to hide it from the world when they are. 'Tis men of this turn who chiefly do credit to a Court; and whoever does it credit does it ſervice.

Sect. V. *How much worthleſs People abound in Courts, and why.*

AS in a great family, where there are numerous domeſticks, in ſpight of all the care that can be taken to examine the Characters of ſervants when they are admitted, or to regulate and watch their behaviour afterwards, there will ſtill be ſome unworthy of their places and a diſcredit to their maſter; how much more ſo muſt it be in a Court, where not only the officers, but even the offices are ſo numerous; where ſo many have a right to prefer or recommend, and where ſo many do both from ſtrange, wretched, and ſelfiſh motives, nay often for conſiderations altogether diſhonourable and ſcandalous? 'Tis therefore no wonder that tho' the politeſt men are always found at Court, ſo likewiſe are always a ſtrange rabble of creatures, ignorant, mercenary, ridiculous and diſagreeable, who owe their preferment to chance, whim, money, dirty ſervices, to names, affinities, nay to impudence and folly; and one who has no pretences to any thing elſe, neither to education, nor capacity, nor honour, nor ſpirit, nor even to good looks and common ſenſe, ſhall find pretences to a place, and probably get one. Nor is this to be remedied; ſince he who gives it does not chuſe, but take, and has often ſtronger reaſons to oblige the recommender than to reject the recommended. I have known a friend, nay a relation of a great Miniſter, diſappointed twice of an Office which was even intended for him, but by potent interceſſion was beſtowed elſewhere: the firſt time, upon one whom the Miniſter knew not, whom the Recommender knew not, nor whom even the Lady who ſpoke for him knew; but one who for a ſum of money engaged a Gentleman's Valet de Chambre to engage the Lady's Woman whom the Valet courted, to engage her Lady whom ſhe governed, to engage the laſt Recommender, who undertook it and ſucceeded: he who had the firſt pretences was again put by upon a vacancy, and a creature put in, whom the Miniſter was known to deſpiſe and almoſt to loath; but ſacrificed his opinion, his averſion and his friend to mediation not more honorably obtained. At ſo critical a juncture as that of a Rebellion, I have heard of one who by a Letter writ with the ſame pen which he had uſed in correſponding with the Rebels,

bels, procured a handſome proviſion for his brother, who wiſhed the Rebels as well as he, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very publick place by acts of diſaffection and diſloyal healths. Nor in this inſtance was there any money or intrigue at all: the Recommender had only once told a hearty lie for a great man in a nice caſe, and ſworn to it; hence his merit and influence: for an act of honour or ſpirit, done to ſerve the Publick, he might perhaps have found leſs regard, perhaps not ſo much as acceſs; as befel ſome who did. But we muſt ſpare the *manes* of the illuſtrious dead.

IT is certain great men often prefer ſuch as they diſlike, and ſuch as do them no credit, ſometimes with their eyes open, frequently through miſinformation, and in both caſes through ſollicitation and importunity. Men of merit often want intereſt, often application and boldneſs: whereas one who has no one worthy qualification, is the more likely to have importunity and ſhameleſsneſs. It has indeed been often a notable advantage to a man, that he had not ſenſe enough to be aſhamed nor baulked; nay I have known ſuch a negative accompliſhment to be the making of his fortune. A rational man will take a rational anſwer, or even a trifling one, when he ſees it meant for a rebuke or a refuſal; or perhaps he has too much pride to preſs and beſeech, or to aſk above once: but he who has no underſtanding to miſlead him from his intereſt, or to apprehend what is ſaid to him; he who is incapable of a repulſe, or to be aſhamed of begging and teaſing; but has an unchangeable front and unwearied nonſenſe, ſtands in a fair light to have his pretences conſidered. Tho' he cannot perſuade, he can tire: he finds the fruit and advantage of talents in the abſolute want of them; he is deſpiſed and promoted: a little ſhare of good ſenſe and modeſty, would have ruined him, and he might then have been neither diſliked nor minded.

SUCH is the force of recommendation without reaſon, or againſt it; and ſuch too the power of aſſiduity unincumbered with parts! There are ſtrange inconſiſtencies in the make and turn and education of men. There are thoſe who can calmly encounter death and terrors in any ſhape, yet ſhall tremble in ſpeaking two or three words to a Secretary of State; a taſk which would not baulk a common Footman: others can harangue readily and boldly before a great Aſſembly, yet are ſtruck dumb in the company of Women, a place where a Page or an ignorant Beau can be entertaining and eloquent: ſome have talents, but not the uſe of them: many have capacity, but want application; many are hurt by too much application not directed by capacity; ſeveral have good ſenſe and activity, and can apply both to ſerve a friend, but neither to do good to themſelves. In ſome you find excellent parts fruſtrated by predominant paſſions; in others eminent courage and ſpirit drowned and depreciated by a modeſty almoſt childiſh: and numbers there are who under a notorious defect of ability, acquirements, and every amiable quality, are puſhed up as high as any of theſe could have puſhed them, perhaps much higher than all of them would. So that, in the odd aſſortment of human things, Fortune would ſeem to correſpond with the caprice and wontonneſs of Nature.

I have already owned that it is impoſſible to keep many worthleſs people out of a Court, conſidering how many ways there are to get in: but owing to ſuch is a good meaſure of the obloquy uſually thrown upon Courts and Miniſters; as the falſhood, the low tricks and ſpirit of theſe Underlings, are all aſcribed to the genius of the place and of power; and under the character of inſincerity and ingratitude, it is uſual in popular diſcourſe and opinion, tho' 'tis really very unjuſt, to throw all Courtiers together: I even believe that there are ſome of them fooliſh and baſe enough to like the reputation of ſlipperineſs and deceiving, for the ſake of being thought good Courtiers. From the numbers too and little minds of ſuch, we may account for the general outcry and reproach which from that quarter uſually follow any worthy Miniſter fallen into diſgrace: they are for the Powers that be; and tho' they be the work of his hands, were thruſt into place by his late might, and are ſtill baſking in the Sun-ſhine which he let in upon them; yet they are ready not only to leave a falling houſe, but to help pull it down. 'Tis the temper of Renegadoes. The celebrated SANCHO was firſt warmly in the intereſt of the injured BASIL, one who had loſt his Miſtreſs, for no want of merit, but through the ſuperiour wealth of his rival GAMACHO; yet the ſavoury ſkimmings and loaded ladles out of GAMACHO's kettles, ſo effectually turned the ſupple ſpirit of that courtly Squire, that without more ceremony he began to juſtify and extoll the happy ſupplanter, and to rail plentifully at poor BASIL under misfortune and diſgrace.

WHAT can Miniſters expect, when they have raiſed ſuch duſt, but that with the firſt contrary wind, it will be blown into their eyes? Mean ſpirits, ſelfiſh and impudent, can never take the impreſſions of gratitude and honour; no more than ſuch as are modeſt and generous can ever be ungrateful or baſe. Yet hard is the taſk to weed a Court of ſuch; not only becauſe the ſame intereſt that recommends, does likewiſe protect; but becauſe there are ſo many Candidates ready to fill their places, and ſupported by ſo many Patrons and Interceſſors, that more will be diſobliged than can be gratified by the change; and after all perhaps the freſh comer may not prove the more deſerving man. Neither can the great Officers eaſily cure the exorbitances and exactions of the inferiour; eſpecially when the ſame are become common and inveterate: all men, even the greateſt men deſire to live eaſy with thoſe they have daily to do with, and will not care to incurr the clamour and curſes of Subalterns; who, tho' they are but ſmall men, yet being numerous, and ſupported by all who are intereſted in corruption, are able by continual complaints and noiſe, to weaken the credit of the moſt puiſſant Miniſter, and to make him very uneaſy.

Sect. VI. *The remarkable Fickleneſs and Inſincerity of Courtiers.*

I Had once an opportunity of ſeeing the ſteadineſs and gratitude of Courtiers put to trial; upon an apprehenſion of a change in the Miniſtry. I was ſtrictly curious in my obſervations and inquiries; and my diſcoveries were ſuch, as have fully confirmed me in all my former and preſent ſentiments of theſe people: there were ſome who gave proofs of ſignal friendſhip and conſtancy to the ſtanding Miniſtry; ſeveral were wary and ſilent, but many made prepoſterous haſte to ſhew their levity and ſelfiſhneſs; and from the behaviour of moſt, there aroſe warning enough, even to greatneſs itſelf, to rely for its beſt ſecurity upon wiſdom and innocence.

A little before the death of TIBERIUS, then paſt hopes, he was reported to be dead. Inſtantly the Courtiers crowded about CALIGULA the next heir, with a torrent of congratulations and zeal; and he was going forth, thus attended, to aſſume the pomp and exerciſe of Sovereignty, when ſudden tydings came, that the Emperor, who had lain ſome time in a ſwoon, was revived, and calling for ſome refreſhment to ſtrengthen his ſpirits. Inſtant terror ſeized all; moſt of them diſperſed and fled; ſome aſſumed an air of mourning; many feigned utter ignorance: CALIGULA was ſtruck ſpeechleſs, and from the higheſt hopes, expecting his laſt doom: MACRO only remained undaunted; he commanded the ancient Emperor to be ſmothered with a great weight of coverings, having firſt ordered every body to quit the chamber.

AMONGST the many good things and excellent ſenſe in the Memoirs of Cardinal DE RETZ, there occurr frequent pictures of the Court, particularly upon the beginning of the Commotions in Paris. At the Palace Royal, and eſpecially in the Cabinet, upon that occaſion, every individual aſſumed a perſon and acted a part. The Coadjutor acted the innocent and the dupe, but was not ſo: MAZARIN affected to appear reſolute, but appeared more ſo than he was. By ſtarts and intervals the Queen counterfeited great temper and gentleneſs; yet had been at no time more bitter and enraged. The Duke DE LONGUEVILLE feigned extreme affliction, yet felt a ſenſible joy, as he was the man in the world the moſt delighted with the beginnings of all Affairs. The Duke of ORLEANS, in ſpeaking to the Queen, ſhewed great warmth and vehemence, but preſently after fell a whiſtling (a uſual habit of his) with all the indolence in the world. The Marſhal DE VILLEROY diſplayed gayety and unconcern, to make his Court to MAZARIN; but to the Coadjutor he owned with tears in his eyes, that the State was upon the brink of a precipice. Mr. DE BEAUTRU and Mr. DE NOGENT, played the buffoons, to humour the Queen, and drolled upon the commotion; tho' both theſe men knew well, that in all probability, this farce of theirs would too ſoon be followed by a Tragedy. The Abbé DE LA RIVIERE only, tho' the moſt notorious poltroon of the age, was perſuaded that this popular inſurrection was but ſmoke: this he maintained ſtiffly to the Queen, and this pleaſed her. To fill up the complement of Actors, the Marſhal DE LA MEILLERAIE, who had hitherto joined with the Coadjutor in repreſenting the terrors and conſequences of the tumult, all on a ſudden changed his paſt part, and took that of the Champion, with a different tone and other ſentiments: in an inſtant he was all rage, and contempt, and defiance. *Mem.* DE RETZ, vol. I. p. 122.

IN ſhort, the Queen and the Cardinal took every one who told them truth, for a certain enemy to themſelves, and for a promoter, at leaſt a ſecret well-wiſher, of the revolt. When this was the reward of plain dealing, who would venture his place and favour by dealing plainly? Thus for want of honeſt information and ſincere adviſers, and by ſuſpecting or diſbelieving ſuch as were ſo, the State had nigh periſhed. The whole detail in DE RETZ is full of curious incidents, full of ſtrong and juſt reflections; as is almoſt the whole Book.

DISCOURSE X.

Of Armies and Conqueſt.

Sect. I. *The Burden and Danger of maintaining great Armies.*

TOO many Princes are infatuated with falſe notions of Glory, and thence delight in War. Without doubt 'tis true Glory to excel in war, where war is neceſſary: but in the whole courſe of Hiſtory, where one has been ſo, twenty have been otherwiſe: and to engage in it from the wantonneſs of ambition, or for the ſake of Laurel, or through peeviſhneſs and humour, is to riſque the blood, and treaſure, and people, and being of a State, for the foppery of falſe Heroiſm; or to ſacrifice the ſame to the ſelfiſh and inglorious view of making a Country (either that which conquers, or that which is conquered, or both) the prey of the Hero: for ſuch has been generally the logick of the ſword, that becauſe it has ſaved, it may therefore oppreſs and enthral, and for defending a part, take the whole. Wars beget great Armies; Armies beget great Taxes; heavy Taxes waſte and impoveriſh the Country, even where Armies commit no violences; a caſe ſeldom to be ſuppoſed, becauſe it has ſeldom happened. But where great Armies are, they muſt be employed, and do miſchief abroad, to keep them from doing it at home; ſo that the people muſt be exhauſted and oppreſſed to keep the men of the ſword in exerciſe.

THE great Turk, to keep the ſwords of the Janizaries from his own throat, is forced to plague his neighbours, even where he earns nothing but blows and diſgrace; and thence encreaſes the danger which he would avert: for, as by his Armies he makes all men ſlaves, he himſelf is a ſlave to his Armies, and often their victim; or, to eſcape himſelf, is frequently forced to ſatiate their fury, by the blood of his braveſt Officers and beſt Counſellors. If it be the Glory of his Monarchy, that he can put the greateſt men and all men to death, without reaſon, or form, or proceſs; he is ſubject in his own perſon to the ſame lawleſs and expeditious butchery, from his own outrageous ſlaves, who being not accuſtomed to receive any Law from him, give him none, whenever he is in their power, which is as often as they think fit: and he who is a Prince of ſlaves, is adjudged by ſlaves, and dies like the meaneſt ſlave. What is there to ſave him? his people who are oppreſſed, want the inclination, and being unarmed, the power. So that he lives in perſonal ſervitude to thoſe who are the inſtruments of publick Servitude; and as others muſt die to pleaſe him, ſo muſt he to pleaſe them. It is the Law of retaliation, and operates as often as its cauſes operate, namely, caprice, or rage, or fear. This is the bleſſing of being abſolute, and unfettered by human conſtitutions: the ſame ſword which is lifted up for you, at the command of whim or paſſion, is with the like wantonneſs lifted up againſt you; if you reign in blood, you muſt not think it ſtrange to die in it.

Sect.

Sect. II. *Great Armies the beſt diſciplined, whether thence the leſs formidable to a Country. Their Temper and Views.*

IN regard to publick Liberty, Armies the beſt diſciplined are not leſs to be dreaded than the worſt, but I think, more; ſince their relaxation of diſcipline takes away from their union and ſufficiency; it renders them weaker and leſs equal to mighty miſchief: but where they are ſtrict and united, the higheſt iniquities are not too big for them. Diſorderly Troops may rob particulars, ravage towns, and harraſs a Country; but if you would ſubdue Nations, commit univerſal ſpoil, and enſlave Empires, your forces muſt be under the beſt regulations. It was with an Army victorious and brave; and conſequently well diſciplined, that AGATHOCLES ſlaughtered all the Nobles of Syracuſe, and brought that illuſtrious State (the nobleſt of all the Greek Cities) under bondage: CROMWELL's conqueſt of his Country was made by Troops the moſt ſober and beſt diſciplined that this, or perhaps any other nation, had ever ſeen. And 'twas with the beſt of all the Roman Armies, that CESAR eſtabliſhed himſelf Tyrant of Rome.

SOLDIERS know little elſe but booty and blind obedience; whatever their intereſt, or rapacity dictates, they generally will do; and whatever their officers command, they muſt do. It is their profeſſion to diſpute by force and the ſword; they too ſoon learn their own power, and where 'tis an over-ballance for the Civil Power, it will always controul the Civil Power, and all things: *ſua in manu ſitam rem Romanam; ſuis victoriis augeri Rempublicam.* They find readily ſomewhat to ſay; the ſtrongeſt is ever the beſt diſputant, when he carries his reaſons upon the point of his ſword: *preces erant, ſed quibus contradici non poſſet.* They have done great ſervices, they have ſuffered great wrongs, and will therefore reward and redreſs themſelves: 'tis the reaſoning of CESAR: *hæc voluerunt: tantis rebus geſtis, C. Cæſar condemnatus eſſem, niſi ab exercitu auxilium petiſſem.* It is nothing to the purpoſe to ſay, that an Army liſted amongſt the natives, eſpecially the officers being natives, and many of them men of fortune, will never hurt or oppreſs their Country: for ſuch were CROMWELL's Army, ſuch were CESAR's, and many other enſlaving Armies: beſides Armies are ſoon modelled, and Officers who are obnoxious are ſoon changed.

NO Government can ſubſiſt but by force, and wherever that force lies, there it is that Government is or ſoon will be. Free States therefore have preſerved themſelves and their Liberties, by arming all their people, becauſe all the people are intereſted in preſerving thoſe Liberties; by drawing out numbers of them thus armed, to ſerve their Country occaſionally, and by diſſolving them, (when that occaſion was over) into the maſs of the people again; by often changing the chief Officers, or if they continued the ſame, by letting their commiſſions be temporary, and always ſubject to the controul of the ſupreme Power, often to that of other co-ordinate Power, as the Dutch Generals are to the Deputies. 'Tis indeed but rare, that States who have not taken ſuch precaution, have not loſt their Liberties: their Generals have ſet up for themſelves, and turned the Arms put into their hands againſt their Maſters. This did MARIUS, SYLLA, CESAR, DIONYSIUS, AGATHOCLES, CHARLES MARTEL, OLIVER CROMWELL, and many others; and this they all did by the ſame means: it is ſtill frequently done in the Eaſtern Monarchies; and by the ſame means all the Chriſtian Princes of Europe, who were arbitrary became ſo. For as the experience of all ages ſhews us, that all men's views are to attain dominion and riches, it is ridiculous to hope, that they will not uſe the means in their power to attain them, and madneſs to truſt them with thoſe means. They will never want pretences, either from their own ſafety or the publick Good to juſtify the meaſures which have ſucceeded; and they know well, that the ſucceſs will always juſtify itſelf; that great numbers will be found to ſanctify their power; moſt of the reſt will ſubmit to it, and in time will think it juſt and neceſſary; perhaps at laſt believe it to be obtained miraculouſly, and to have been the immediate act of Heaven.

Sect. III. *Princes ruling by military Power, ever at the Mercy of military Men.*

AS by theſe means private men often come at Sovereign Power: ſo limited Princes often become arbitrary: but, one miſchief is inſeparable from this ſort of Government; they generally loſe their Authority by the ſame method they get it. For, having attained it by violence, they are obliged to keep it by violence; and that cannot be done but by engaging in the intereſt of their Oppreſſion a body of men, ſtrong enough to maintain it; and it will for the moſt part happen, that as theſe men have no intereſt but their own in ſerving a Tyrant, ſo when that intereſt ceaſes, and they can ſerve themſelves better in deſtroying him, they ſeldom fail of doing it. In fact we find that, in all the great deſpotick Governments in the world the Monarchs are ſlaves to their ſoldiery, and they murther and depoſe their Princes juſt according to their caprices. The General ſets up any of the Princes of the blood, whom he thinks moſt for his intereſt, and oftentimes upon the death of the Poſſeſſor they are all ſet up, by one part of the Army or other, (if one cannot get all the reſt into his power and murther them) and the Civil War continues, till one has ſlaughtered all his rivals.

IF this is not done in the modern abſolute Governments of Europe, it is becauſe deſpotick Power is not ſo thoroughly eſtabliſhed there, and the people have yet ſome ſhare of Property, and conſequently of Power: but ſtill they do it as much as they dare; in ſome inſtances they have ſet up themſelves, and in almoſt all have been the principal engines and inſtruments in working about Revolutions, according to their own inclinations and diſguſts. Of this we had many inſtances in our own Country, within the compaſs of not many years.

HOW much eaſier is it to corrupt a few leading Officers, often neceſſitous, generally ambitious, than to perſuade a whole Kingdom, if they are well governed, to deſtroy themſelves? Some will be diſobliged becauſe not preferred to their wiſhes, or becauſe others are preferred before them: they will differ according to their Countries or their intereſts about the perſon to be their General, and to have the power of preferring or recommending Officers; and that part which is diſappointed ſhall be a faction againſt that which ſucceeds. Wherever Commiſſions are venal, there will be no difficulty of buying thoſe who are diſaffected

fected into them, if they can diſguiſe their diſaffection till a proper opportunity. In a Country where factions abound, and thoſe at the helm can find any account in keeping meaſures with a contrary faction, Officers will be put in to oblige that faction, ſometimes to gratify friends or favourites: at different times, others will be diſcarded, to oblige one party, or to mortify the other. New men, by private recommendation or money, ſhall ſupercede old Officers: this will create new diſſatisfactions and diſguſts, as ſoon as they dare ſhew them. When the Adminiſtration is changed, and another party gets uppermoſt, all thoſe things ſhall be done over again; ſo that at laſt an Army ſhall be a medley of all the factions of a Kingdom: and all their preferments and expectations depending upon the ſucceſs of thoſe factions; each individual will take every ſafe opportunity to advance his own; and for the moſt part one or other of theſe factions, ſometimes all, are ready to joyn in ſhuffling the cards anew; the ſure prelude of a Civil War.

THIS is and ever muſt be the caſe of all Countries which ſubſiſt by ſtanding Armies. For there are few inſtances in Hiſtory, to be given of Armies who did not play their own game, in times of diſtreſs; few inſtances of diſobliged or unpreferred Officers, who did not change ſides; too many have made their peace by ſome remarkable act of treachery; very often they have done it only from the motives of ambition and avarice. I wiſh that we never had had inſtances amongſt our ſelves of any who have done the ſame; or even of Generals who played a double game. What OLIVER CROMWELL, MONK, and very many both of the King's and of the Parliament Officers did in the Civil War, we all know, as well as what King JAMES's Army did more lately: I wiſh we equally knew what intrigues of this kind have been carrying on ſince. In Civil Wars amongſt men of the ſame Country, the communication is ſo eaſy between friends, relations and former acquaintance, that there is a very ready tranſition from one ſide to another; and a little ſucceſs, ſmall intrigues, and a few advantages generally make that tranſition.

Sect. IV. *Inſtances of the Boldneſs and Fury of the Roman Soldiery.*

IT is aſtoniſhing from what light and wanton motives, by what vile and contemptible Inſtruments, Armies are often inſtigated to violence and ravages. The ſedition of that in Pannonia, after the death of AUGUSTUS, was raiſed by one common ſoldier, inflamed by another; rapine and maſſacres were committed or defended by almoſt all; they murdered their Officers; even their General had like to have been murdered, upon the credit of an impudent lie told by one of theſe vile Incendiaries, who yet could ſcarce alledge any other grievance than that they had not too much pay and too little diſcipline. Nor was the inſurrection, excited by theſe two vulgar rogues, reſtrained to the Pannonian Legions only, but extended to thoſe in Germany, who waxed into fury rather greater, and outraged all things human and divine.

IT was one common ſoldier who gave the Empire to CLAUDIUS, while the poor daſtardly wretch was lurking in a corner, and expecting Death inſtead of Sovereignty. Under GALBA two private Centinels undertook to tranſfer the Empire to another, and actually tranſferred it. It is ſhocking to reflect with what eagerneſs theſe bloodthirſty villains haſted to murder that good old Prince, for no charge of miſ-government, nor for defrauding them of their pay; but becauſe he would not exhauſt the Publick to glut them with bounties. They were ſuch abandoned Ruffians, that they ſought to kill MARIUS CELSUS, purely becauſe as he was an able and virtuous man, they judged him an enemy to themſelves, who delighted only in blood and wickedneſs and ſpoil. It would require a volume to recount the behaviour, the treacherous and inhuman exploits of theſe ſons of violence thenceforward; their murdering and promoting of Emperors, ſometimes two or three, ſometimes more, once thirty at a time; their ſelling the Empire for money; their beſieging and threatning to maſſacre the Senate; their burning the Capitol, ſetting fire to the Imperial City, pillaging and butchering its inhabitants, and uſing them like ſlaves and captives; with other inſtances of their inſolence, barbarity, and miſ-rule. In the ſecond Volume of this Work much of this will be ſeen, recounted by TACITUS.

THE Gothick Governments were military in their firſt ſettlement: the General was King, the Officers were the Nobles, and the Soldiers their Tenants: but by the nature of the ſettlement, out of an Army a Country Militia was produced. The Prince had many occaſional troops, but no ſtanding troops: hence he grew not abſolute, like the Great Turk; who having cantoned out the conquered Countries amongſt his horſemen, muſt by doing it have loſt his arbitrary Power, but that he kept a large body of men in arms, called the Janizaries.

GREAT BRITAIN has preſerved its Liberties ſo long, becauſe it has preſerved itſelf from great ſtanding Armies; which, wherever they are ſtrong enough to maſter their Country, will certainly firſt or laſt maſter it. Some troops we muſt have for guards and garriſons, enough to prevent ſudden Inſurrections and ſudden Revolutions. What numbers are ſufficient for this, the experience of paſt times and the ſenſe of our Parliaments, have ſhewn.

Sect. V. *The Humour of Conquering, how injudicious, vain, and deſtructive.*

THE Athenians began the ruin of their State, by a mad and expenſive War upon Sicily; and from an ambition of conquering a people who had never offended them, expoſed themſelves to the attacks of the Lacedemonians, to the revolt of their own ſubjects, to domeſtick diſorders and the change of their Government. And tho' upon the recalling of ALCIBIADES, they won ſome victories, and for a while made ſome figure; they were at laſt conquered intirely by LYSANDER, their walls thrown down, the States ſubject to them ſet at Liberty, and they themſelves ſubjected to the domination of thirty Tyrants. They never after recovered their former Glory. The Lacedemonians fell afterwards into the ſame warlike folly, and their folly had the ſame fate. By lording over Greece they drew upon themſelves a combination of Greek Cities, which together (eſpecially the Thebans under the famous EPAMINONDAS) deſpoiled them of their Authority, ſoon after their triumph over Athens. The Thebans too abuſed their good fortune; they were equally fond of fighting and conqueſt, and by it drew another confederacy againſt them. In truth, every one of theſe States had been ſo long weakning themſelves and one another by their propenſity to War, that at laſt they fell under ſervitude to the Kings of Macedon, a Country formerly depending upon, or rather under vaſſalage to Athens and Sparta.

These States acted like ſome of the Princes of our time: by truſting to their own ſuperior Proweſs, they invaded their neighbours, and taught them Art enough to beat themſelves. Thus the Muſcovite, by falling upon the late King of Sweden, yet in his minority, rouſed a tempeſt that had well nigh overturned his Throne: and thus that King, by refuſing the moſt honourable conditions of peace, and by urging his fate and revenge too far, taught the Ruſſians that bravery and diſcipline which nothing could ever teach them before; ſaw his own brave Army utterly routed by forces that he deſpiſed; himſelf driven from his dominions, and a fugitive in a Country of Infidels; and his Provinces cantoned out amongſt enemies, who, before he had tempted his good fortune to leave him, would have been glad to have compounded with him for a moyety of their own dominions.

Charles Duke of Burgundy had his head ſo turned with gaining the battel of Montl'hery, that he never liſtened afterwards to any counſel, but that of his own headſtrong humour; nor ceaſed plunging himſelf into Wars, till in that againſt the Swiſſers, who had given him no juſt provocation, he loſt his Army, his dominions and his life. If Philip the ſecond had kept his oath with the Low Countries, he might have preſerved his Authority over them all. But nothing leſs would humour his pride than the ſubduing of their Liberties and Conſcience; and in defence of their Conſcience and Property, he drove them to the uſe of Arms, which a people employed in trade and manufacture, as they were, had no liſt to, nor ſkill in. Every body knows the iſſue: he loſt the ſeven Provinces and their Revenue for ever, with many millions of money, and almoſt half a million of lives thrown away to recover them. By his mighty and boaſted Armada deſigned to conquer England, what elſe did he conquer but his own Power at ſea? He had prepared, he had been for ſome years preparing a naval force mighty as his own arrogance: but it all proved to be only meaſures taken for baffling his arrogance, and for deſtroying the maritime force of Spain; and all the while that he was vainly meditating the deſtruction of England, he was in reality taking the part of England againſt himſelf, and, with all his might, weakning its greateſt enemy. Had he huſbanded that mighty ſtrength; had he employed it at times and in parcels againſt theſe dominions, he might have had ſome ſucceſs: but he combined againſt his own hopes.

How fooliſh is the reaſoning of paſſion! It leads men to throw away ſtrength to gain weakneſs. Even where theſe ſons of violence ſucceed, they may be juſtly ſaid to acquire nothing, beyond the praiſe of miſchief. What is the occupation and end of Princes and Governors, but to rule men for their good, and to keep them from hurting one another? Now what Conqueror is there who mends the condition of the conquered? Alexander the Great, tho' he well knew the difference between a limited and a lawleſs Monarchy, did not pretend that his invaſion of Perſia, was to mend the condition of the Perſians. It was a pure ſtruggle for dominion: when he had gained it, he aſſumed the Throne upon the ſame arbitrary terms upon which their own Monarchs had held it, nor knew any law but his will. The ſubject only felt the violence of

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the change, without any benefit or ralaxation from ſlavery. His Glory therefore is all falſe and deceitful, as is all Glory which is gained by the blood of men, without mending the ſtate of mankind. This ſpirit of fighting and conquering continued in his Succeſſors, who plagued the earth as he had done, and weltered in the blood of one another, till they were almoſt all deſtroyed by the ſword or poiſon, with the whole family of ALEXANDER. It was was no part of the diſpute amongſt them, which of them could beſtow moſt happineſs upon the afflicted world, about which they ſtrove, but who ſhould beſt exalt himſelf and enſlave all.

THE State of Carthage after many Countries conquered, but not bettered by her Arms, was almoſt diſſolved by her own barbarous Mercenaries, and at laſt conquered and deſtroyed by the Romans; who were in truth the moſt generous conquerors that the world has known; and moſt Countries found the Roman Government better than their own. This continued for ſome time, till their Provincial Magiſtrates grew rapacious, and turned the Provinces into ſpoil. Rome itſelf periſhed by her conqueſts, which being made by great Armies, occaſioned ſuch power and inſolence in their Commanders, and ſet ſome Citizens ſo high above the reſt, an inequality pernicious to free States, that ſhe was enſlaved by ingrates whom ſhe had employed to defend her. Rome vanquiſhed foreign nations; foreign luxury debauched Rome, and traiterous Citizens ſeized upon their mother with all her acquiſitions. All her great blaze and grandeur, ſerved only to make her wretchedneſs more conſpicuous and her chains more intenſely felt. Upon her thraldom there enſued ſuch a ſeries of Tyranny and miſery, treachery, oppreſſion, cruelty, death and affliction, in all ſhapes; that her agonies were ſcarce ever ſuſpended till ſhe finally expired. When her own Tyrants, become through Tyranny impotent, could no longer afflict her, for protection was none of their buſineſs; a hoſt of Barbarians, only known for ravages and acts of inhumanity, finiſhed the work of deſolation, and cloſed her civil doom. She has been ſince racked under a Tyranny more painful, as 'tis more ſlow; and more baſe, as 'tis ſcarce a domination of men: I mean her vaſſalage to a ſort of beings of all others the moſt mercileſs and contemptible, Monks and Spectres.

Sect. VI. *The Folly of conquering further urged and exemplified.*

THE Turks, like other Conquerors, know not when to leave off. They ſacrifice the people to gain more territories; and the more they conquer the greater is their loſs. They laviſh men and treaſure, to gain waſte ground. What is the uſe of earth and water, where there are no Inhabitants for theſe elements to ſupport? The ſtrength of a Government conſiſts in numerous ſubjects induſtrious and happy; not in extent of territory deſolate or ill peopled, or peopled with inhabitants poor and idle. It is incredible what a profuſion of wealth and lives their attempts upon Perſia have coſt them, always with fatal ſucceſs, even under their wiſeſt and moſt warlike Princes; and at a time when their Empire flouriſhed moſt. Yet theſe attempts are continued, at a ſeaſon when their Affairs are at the loweſt; their Provinces exhauſted, their people and revenue decayed, their ſoldiery diſorderly, and all things conſpiring to the final diſſolution of their Empire.

THOSE who will be continually exerting their whole ſtrength, whether they be ſocieties or particular men, will at laſt have none to exert. The Turks have been for ages waſting their vitals to widen their extremities, and to extend their limbs; which by being unnaturally ſtretched, are quite disjoynted and benummed for want of nouriſhment from the ſeat of life; and muſt therefore like mortified members, ſoon drop off: they have been long ſpinning out their own vitals. Now if they had conquered Perſia, what benefit would the conqueſt have derived to the Perſians? None at all; but on the contrary, freſh oppreſſion, and probably perſecution; ſince the Turks deem them Hereticks for the colour of their caps, and for their obſtinate refuſal to change one name for another in the liſt of Mahomet's Succeſſors.

THUS theſe Barbarians deſtroy themſelves to deſtroy others; and Chriſtian Princes imitate theſe Barbarians. The Spaniard, to ſecure to himſelf the poſſeſſion of America, deſtroyed more lives than he had ſubjects in Europe; and his mighty Empire there, with his mountains of treaſure, bears indeed an awful ſound: yet it is allowed he has loſt much more than he got, beſides the crying guilt of murdering a large part of the globe. His conqueſts there, together with his expulſion of the Moors at home, have diſpeopled Spain; and the inhabitants who remain truſting to their American wealth, are too proud and lazy to be induſtrious; ſo that moſt of their gold goes to other nations for the manufactures wanted in the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies. Hence multitudes and diligence (and diligence often creates multitudes, as by multitudes diligence is created) are better than mountains of gold, and will certainly attract ſuch mountains; tho' others have the name and firſt property. Had he kept the induſtrious Moors, and expelled the barbarous Inquiſitors; encouraged Liberty and Trade, and conſequently Liberty of Conſcience, Spain would have been a more powerful nation, and he conſequently a greater King, than all his wide and guilty conqueſts have made him. SIR WALTER RALEIGH ſays, that the Low Countries alone did, for revenue, equal his Weſt-Indies. Notwithſtanding his many Kingdoms, his Empire in both Hemiſpheres, and that the ſun never ſets upon all his dominions at once, the ſmall Republick of Holland, ſmall in compaſs of territory, has been an overmatch for him.

A late neighbouring Prince was a buſy Conqueror. But did his People and Country gain by his conqueſts? He drained them of men and money by millions, only to add to their poverty ſervitude and wretchedneſs, and from their chains and miſery derived his own Glory. Nor do I know any reaſon why a Prince, who reduces his People, his Nobles, and all degrees of men in his Dominions, to poverty and littleneſs, ſhould have the title of Great, unleſs for the greatneſs of the evils which he brought upon his own Kingdom and all Europe. Let the late and preſent condition of that Monarchy declare, what advantages that noble Country owes to his Glory and Victories. Had it not been for his wanton Wars and oppreſſive Taxes, there is no pitch of felicity which the goodneſs of their ſoil and climate, the number and induſtry of the natives, their many manufactures, and the advantage of their ſituation, might not have raiſed them to. But all was ſacrificed to the Ambition and Bigotry of one. How many reſources that Kingdom has within itſelf; and to what happineſs it is capable of riſing under a juſt and gentle Adminiſtration, is manifeſt from the ſuddenneſs with which it recovered itſelf under the good Government of HENRY the fourth; how many millions it paid, how many put into the Exchequer; and what a flouriſhing condition it was arrived to, after ſo fierce, ſo long and ſo conſuming a Civil War, and after two ſuch profuſe and profligate Reigns, as that of CHARLES the Ninth, and that of HENRY the Third. But what avails all this when one ſhort Edict, and the maggot of a minute, can diſſipate all its wealth and all its happineſs?

I might here diſplay what ridiculous cauſes do often pique and awaken the vanity and ambition of Princes, and prompt them to laviſh lives and treaſure, and utterly undo thoſe whom they ſhould tenderly protect. For a beaſt of burden, or even for the tooth of a beaſt; for a miſtreſs, for a river, for a ſenſeleſs word haſtily ſpoken, for words that had a fooliſh meaning, or no meaning at all; for an empty ſepulchre or an empty title; to dry the tears of a coquette, to comply with the whims of a pedant, or to execute the curſes of a bigot; important Wars have ſometimes been waged, and nations animated to deſtroy one another: nor is there any ſecurity againſt ſuch deſtructive follies, where the ſenſe of every man muſt acquieſce in the wild paſſion of one; and where the intereſt and peace, and preſervation of a State, are found too light to ballance his rage or caprice. Hence the policy of the Romans to tame a people not eaſy to be ſubdued: they committed ſuch to the domination of Tyrants. Thus they did in Armenia, and thus in Britain: *quædam civitates regi Cogiduno donatæ; vetere ac jampridem recepta populi Romani conſuetudine, ut haberet inſtrumenta ſervitutis & reges.* And theſe inſtruments did not only enſlave their ſubjects, but by continual fighting with one another, conſume them.

NECESSARY Wars are accompanied with evils more than enow: and who can bear or forgive calamities courted and ſought? The Roman State owed her greatneſs in a good meaſure to a misfortune: it was founded in War and nouriſhed by it: the ſame may be ſaid of the Turkiſh Monarchy. But States formed for peace, tho' they do not arrive to ſuch immenſity and grandeur, are more laſting and ſecure: witneſs Sparta and Venice. The former laſted eight hundred years, and the other has laſted twelve hundred, without any Revolution: what errors they both committed, were owing to their attempts to conquer, for which they were not formed; tho' the Spartans were exceeding brave and victorious: but they wanted the *Plebs ingenua*, which formed the ſtrength of the Roman Armies; as the Janizaries, a militia formerly excellently trained and diſciplined, formed thoſe of the Turk. With the latter, fighting and extending their dominions, is an article of their Religion, as falſe and barbarous in this as in many of its other principles, and as little calculated for the good of men.

G.R III. BRITISH MUSEUM

THE ANNALS OF TACITUS.

BRITISH MUSEUM

BOOK I.

KINGS were the original Magiſtrates of Rome: LUCIUS BRUTUS founded Liberty and the Conſulſhip: Dictators were choſen occaſionally, and uſed only in preſſing exigencies. Little more than two years prevailed the ſupream power of the Decemvirate, and the conſular juriſdiction of the military Tribunes not very many. The domination of CINNA was but ſhort, that of SYLLA not long. The authority of POMPEY and CRASSUS was quickly ſwallowed up in CESAR; that of LEPIDUS and ANTHONY in AUGUSTUS. The Commonwealth then long diſtreſſed and exhauſted by the rage of her civil diſſentions, fell eaſily into his hands, and over her he aſſumed a ſovereign dominion; yet ſoften'd with a venerable name, that of Prince or Chief of the Senate. But the ſeveral revolutions in the ancient free ſtate of Rome, and all her happy or diſaſtrous events, are already recorded by Writers of ſignal renown. Nor even in the reign of AUGUSTUS were there wanting Authors of diſtinction and genius to have compoſed his ſtory, till by the prevailing ſpirit of fear, flattery, and abaſement, they were check'd. As to the ſucceeding Princes, TIBERIUS, CALIGULA, CLAUDIUS and NERO; the dread of their tyranny, whilſt they yet reigned, falſified their hiſtory; and after their fall, the freſh deteſtation of their cruelties inflam'd their Hiſtorians. Hence my own deſign of recounting briefly certain incidents in the reign of AUGUSTUS, chiefly towards his latter end, and of entring afterwards more fully into that of TIBERIUS and the other three; unbiaſſed as I am in this undertaking by any reſentment, or any affection; all the influences of theſe perſonal paſſions being far from me.

WHEN after the fall of BRUTUS and CASSIUS there remained none to fight for the Common-wealth, and her arms were no longer in her own hands; when SEXTUS POMPEIUS was utterly defeated in Sicily, LEPIDUS bereft of his command, MARC ANTHONY ſlain; and of all the chiefs of the late Dictator's party, only OCTAVIUS his nephew was left; he put off the invidious name of Triumvir, and ſtiling himſelf Conſul, pretended that the juriſdiction attach'd to the Tribuneſhip was his higheſt aim, as in it the protection of the populace was his only view: but when once he had laid his foundations wider, ſecured the Soldiery by liberality and donations, gain'd the People by ſtore of proviſions, and charmed all by the bleſſings and ſweetneſs of publick peace, he began by politick gradations to exalt himſelf, to extend his domination, and with his own power to conſolidate the authority of the Senate, juriſdiction of the Magiſtrate, and weight and force of the Laws; uſurpations, in which he was thwarted by no man: all the braveſt Republicans and his moſt daring foes, were ſlain in battle, or gleaned up by the late ſanguinary Proſcriptions; and for the ſurviving Nobility, they were covered with wealth, and diſtinguiſhed with publick honours, according to the meaſure of their debaſement, and promptneſs to bondage. Add, that all the creatures of this new Power, who in the loſs of publick freedom had gained private fortunes, preferred a ſervile condition, ſafe and poſſeſſed, to the revival of ancient Liberty with perſonal peril. Neither were the Provinces averſe to the preſent Revolution, and Sovereignty of one; ſince under that of the People and Senate they had lived in conſtant fear and miſtruſt, ſorely rent and harraſs'd as they were by the raging competition amongſt our Grandees, as well as by the grievous rapine and exactions of our Magiſtrates: in vain too, under theſe their oppreſſions, had been their appeal to the protection of the Laws, which were utterly enfeebled and born down by might and violence,

lence, by faction and parties; nay, even by ſubornation and money.

Moreover, AUGUSTUS, in order to fortify his domination with collateral bulwarks, rais'd his ſiſter's ſon CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS, a perfect youth, to the dignity of Pontiff and that of Edile; preferred MARCUS AGRIPPA to two ſucceſſive Conſulſhips, a man in truth meanly born but an accompliſh'd ſoldier, and the companion of his victories; and MARCELLUS, the husband of JULIA ſoon after dying, choſe him for his ſon-in-law. Even the ſons of his wife, TIBERIUS NERO, and CLAUDIUS DRUSUS, he dignified with high military titles and commands; though his houſe was yet ſupported by deſcendants of his own blood. For into the JULIAN family and name of the CESARS he had already adopted LUCIUS and CAIUS, the ſons of AGRIPPA; and though they were but children neither of them ſeventeen years old, vehement had been his ambition to ſee them declared Princes of the Roman Youth and even deſign'd to the Conſulſhip; while openly he was proteſting againſt admitting theſe early honours. Preſently upon the deceaſe of AGRIPPA, were theſe his children ſnatched away, either by their own natural but haſty fate, or by the deadly fraud of their ſtep-mother LIVIA; LUCIUS on his journey to command the armies in Spain, CAIUS in his return from Armenia, ill of a wound: and as DRUSUS, one of her own ſons, had been long ſince dead, TIBERIUS remain'd ſole candidate for the ſucceſſion. Upon this object center'd all princely honours: he was by AUGUSTUS adopted for his ſon, aſſum'd Collegue in the Empire, partner in the juriſdiction tribunitial, and preſented under all theſe dignities to the ſeveral armies: inſtances of grandeur which were no longer deriv'd from the ſecret ſchemes and plottings of his mother, as in times paſt, while her husband had unexceptionable heirs of his own, but thenceforth beſtowed at her open ſuit. For as AUGUSTUS was now very aged, ſhe had over him obtain'd ſuch abſolute ſway, that for her pleaſure he baniſhed into the Iſle of Planaſia his only ſurviving grandſon AGRIPPA POSTUMUS; one, in truth, deſtitute of laudable accompliſhments, in his temper untractable, and ſtupidly conceited of his mighty ſtrength, but branded with no miſdemeanour or tranſgreſſion. The Emperour

perour had withal ſet GERMANICUS, the ſon of DRUSUS, over eight legions quarter'd upon the Rhine, and oblig'd TIBERIUS to adopt him, though TIBERIUS had then a ſon of his own, one of competent years: but it was the ſtudy of AUGUSTUS, to ſecure himſelf and the ſucceſſion by variety of ſtays and engraftments. War at that time there was none, except that in Germany, kept on foot rather to aboliſh the diſgrace ſuſtain'd by QUINCTILIUS VARUS, there ſlain with his army, than from any ambition to enlarge the Empire, or for any other valuable advantage. In profound tranquillity were affairs at Rome. To the Magiſtrates remain'd their wonted names; of the Romans the younger ſort had been born ſince the battle of Actium, and even moſt of the old during the civil wars: how few were then living who had ſeen the ancient free ſtate!

THE frame and economy of Rome being thus totally overturn'd, amongſt the Romans were no longer found any traces of their primitive ſpirit, or attachment to the virtuous inſtitutions of antiquity. But as the equality of the whole was extinguiſhed by the ſovereignty of one, all men regarded the orders of the Prince as the only rule of conduct and obedience; nor felt they any anxiety, while AUGUSTUS yet retain'd vigour of life, and upheld the credit of his adminiſtration with publick peace, and the imperial fortune of his houſe. But when he became broken with the preſſure of age and infirmities; when his end was at hand, and thence a new ſource of hopes and views was preſented, ſome few there were who began to reaſon idly about the bleſſings and recovery of Liberty; many dreaded a civil war, others longed for one; while far the greater part were uttering their ſeveral apprehenſions of their future maſters; "that naturally ſtern and ſavage was the temper of AGRIPPA, and "by his publick contumely enrag'd into fury; and neither "in age nor experience was he equal to the weight of Empire. TIBERIUS indeed had arriv'd at fulneſs of years, and "was a diſtinguiſh'd captain, but poſſeſs'd the inveterate "pride entail'd upon the CLAUDIAN race; and many indications of a cruel nature eſcap'd him, in ſpight of all his "arts to diſguiſe it: beſides that from his early infancy he "was train'd up in a reigning houſe, and even in his youth "inur'd to an accumulation of power and honours, conſulſhips

“ ſhips and triumphs: nor during the ſeveral years of his “ abode at Rhodes, where under the plauſible name of retirement, a real baniſhment was cover'd, did he exerciſe “ other occupation than that of meditating future vengeance, “ ſtudying the arts of treachery, and practiſing ſecret and “ abominable ſenſualities: add to theſe conſiderations, that “ of his mother, a woman inſpir'd with all the tyranny of “ her ſex; yes, the Romans muſt be under bondage to a “ woman, and moreover enthrall'd by two youths, who “ would firſt combine to oppreſs the State, and then falling into diſſenſion, rend it piece-meal ”.

WHILE the publick was engag'd in theſe and the like debates, the illneſs of AUGUSTUS wax'd daily more grievous, and ſome ſtrongly ſuſpected the peſtilent practices of his wife. For there had been, ſome months before, a rumour abroad, That AUGUSTUS having ſingled out a few of his moſt faithful ſervants, and taken FABIUS MAXIMUS for his only companion, had with no other retinue ſail'd ſecretly over to the Iſland of Planaſia, there to viſit his Grandſon AGRIPPA; that many tears were ſhed on both ſides, many tokens of mutual tenderneſs ſhewn, and hopes from thence conceiv'd, that the unhappy youth would be reſtor'd to his own place in his Grandfather's family: That MAXIMUS had diſclos'd it to MARTIA, ſhe to LIVIA; and thence the Emperor knew that the ſecret was betray'd: That MAXIMUS being ſoon after dead (dead, as it was doubted, through fear, by his own hands) MARTIA was obſerv'd, in her lamentations and groans at his funeral, to accuſe her ſelf as the ſad cauſe of her husband's deſtruction. Whatever truth was in all this, TIBERIUS was ſcarce enter'd Illyrium but he was haſtily recall'd by his mother's letters: nor is it fully known whether at his return to Nola, he found AUGUSTUS yet breathing, or already breathleſs. For LIVIA had carefully beſet the palace and all the avenues to it, with detachments of the guards; and good news of his recovery were from time to time given out. When ſhe had taken all meaſures neceſſary in ſo great a conjuncture, in one and the ſame moment was publiſh'd the departure of AUGUSTUS, and the acceſſion of TIBERIUS.

THE firſt feat of this new reign was the murther of young AGRIPPA: the aſſaſſin, a bold and determin'd Centurion found him deſtitute of arms, and little apprehending ſuch a deſtiny, yet was ſcarce able to diſpatch him. Of this tranſaction TIBERIUS avoided any mention in the Senate: he would have it paſs for done by the commands of AUGUSTUS; as if he had tranſmitted written orders to the Tribune who guarded AGRIPPA, "to ſlay him the inſtant "he heard of his Grandfather's deceaſe". It is very true, that AUGUSTUS had made many and vehement complaints of the young man's obſtinate and unruly demeanour, and even ſolicited from the Senate a Decree to authorize his baniſhment: but he never harden'd himſelf againſt the ſentiments of nature, nor in any inſtance dipt his hands in his own blood; neither is it credible that he would barbarouſly ſacrifice the life of his grandſon for the ſecurity and eſtabliſhment of his ſtep-ſon. More probable it is that this haſty murther was purely the work of TIBERIUS and LIVIA; that the young Prince, hated and dreaded by both, fell thus untimely, to rid the one of his apprehenſions and a rival, and to ſatiate in the other the rancorous ſpirit of a ſtepmother. When the Centurion, according to the cuſtom of the army, acquainted TIBERIUS, "that his commands "were executed"; he anſwered, "he had commanded "no ſuch execution, and the Centurion muſt appear be- "fore the Senate, and for it be anſwerable to them". This alarm'd SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS, who ſhar'd in all his ſecret counſels, and had ſent the Centurion the warrant: he dreaded that he ſhould be arraign'd for the aſſaſſination, and knew it equally perilous either to confeſs the truth, and charge the Emperor; or falſly to clear the Emperor, and accuſe himſelf. Hence he had recourſe to LIVIA, and warn'd her, "never to divulge the ſecrets of the palace, "never to expoſe to publick examination the miniſters "who adviſ'd, nor the ſoldiers who executed: TIBERIUS "ſhould beware of relaxing the Authority of the Prince, "by referring all things to that of the Senate; ſince it was "the indiſpenſable Prerogative of Sovereignty, for all men "to be accountable only to one".

Now at Rome, Conſuls, Senators, and Roman Knights, were all ruſhing with emulation into bondage, and the higher the quality of each the more falſe and forward the men; all careful ſo to frame their faces, as to reconcile falſe joy for the acceſſion of TIBERIUS, with feign'd ſadneſs for the loſs of AUGUSTUS: hence they intermingled fears with gladneſs, wailings with gratulations, and all with ſervile flattery. SEXTUS POMPEIUS and SEXTUS APULEIUS, at that time Conſuls, took firſt the oath of fidelity to TIBERIUS; then adminiſter'd it to SEIUS STRABO and CAIUS TURRANIUS; the former Captain of the Pretorian Guards; the other Intendant of the publick ſtores. The oath was next given to the Senate, to the people, and to the ſoldiery; all by the ſame Conſuls: for TIBERIUS affected to derive all publick tranſactions from the legal miniſtry of the Conſuls; as if the ancient Republick ſtill ſubſiſted, and he were yet unreſolv'd about embracing the ſovereign rule: he even own'd in his Edict for ſummoning the Senate, that he iſſued it by virtue of the Tribunitial power, granted him under AUGUSTUS. The Edict too was ſhort and unexceptionably modeſt. It imported that, "they were to conſider of the funeral honours pro-
"per to be paid his deceas'd Father: for himſelf he would
"not depart from the corps; and further than this e-
"dict implied, he claim'd no ſhare in the publick admini-
"ſtration". Yet from the moment AUGUSTUS was dead, he uſurp'd all the prerogatives of imperial State, gave the word to the Pretorian Cohorts; had ſoldiers about the palace, guards about his perſon, went guarded in the ſtreet, guarded to the Senate, and bore all the marks of Majeſty: nay, he writ Letters to the ſeveral Armies in the undiſguis'd ſtyle of one already their Prince: nor did he ever heſitate in expreſſion, or ſpeak with perplexity, but when he ſpoke to the Senate. The chief cauſe of his obſcurity there proceeded from his fear of GERMANICUS: he dreaded that he, who was maſter of ſo many Legions of numberleſs Auxiliaries, and of all the Allies of Rome; he, who was the darling of the people, might wiſh rather to poſſeſs the Empire, than to wait for it: he likewiſe, in this myſterious way of dealing with the Senate, ſought falſe glory, and would rather ſeem by the Com-

monwealth choſen and call'd to the Empire, than to have crept darkly into it by the intrigues of a woman, or by adoption from a ſuperannuated Prince. It was alſo afterwards found, that by this abſtruſeneſs and counterfeit irreſolution he meant to penetrate into the deſigns and inclinations of the great men: for his jealous ſpirit conſtru'd all their words, all their looks into crimes, and ſtor'd them up in his heart againſt a day of vengeance.

When he firſt met the Senate, he would bear no other buſineſs to be tranſacted but that about the Funerals of AUGUSTUS. His laſt will was brought in by the Veſtal Virgins: in it TIBERIUS and LIVIA were appointed his heirs, LIVIA adopted into the JULIAN Family, and dignify'd with the name of AUGUSTA: into the next and ſecond degree of heirſhip he adopted his grandchildren and their children; and in the third degree he named the great men of Rome, moſt of them hated by him: but out of vain-glory he nam'd them, and for future renown. His legacies were not beyond the uſual bounds; only he left to the Roman people four hundred thouſand great Seſterces, to the Populace or common ſort, thirty five thouſand: to every common Soldier of the Pretorian Guards a thouſand ſmall Seſterces, and to every Soldier of the Roman Legions three hundred. The funeral Honours were next conſider'd. The chief propos'd were theſe: ASINIUS GALLUS mov'ed, that "the Funeral ſhould paſs through the Triumphal "gate": LUCIUS ARRUNTIUS, "that the Titles of all "the Laws which he had made, and the names of all the "Nations which he had conquer'd, ſhould be carried before "the corps": VALERIUS MESSALA added that, "the "Oath of Allegiance to TIBERIUS ſhould be renew'd "every year"; and being ask'd by TIBERIUS, "whether "at his inſtigation he had made that motion? I ſpoke it as "my opinion, ſays MESSALA; nor will I ever be determin'd by any but my own, in things which concern "the Commonweal; let who will be provok'd by my "freedom". Only this new turn was wanting to compleat the prevailing flattery of the time. The Senators then concurr'd in a loud cry, "that upon their own ſhoulders "they muſt bear the body to the pile". But TIBERIUS declin'd the offer from an arrogant ſhew of moderation.

ration. Moreover he cautioned the people by an Edict, "not to diſturb the funeral functions with a zeal over-paſſionate, as they had thoſe of JULIUS CESAR; nor to inſiſt that the Corps of AUGUSTUS ſhould be burnt rather in the Forum, than in the field of Mars, which was the place appointed". On the funeral day the Soldiers under arms kept guard; a mighty mockery this to thoſe who had either ſeen, or heard their fathers deſcribe, the day when CESAR the Dictator was ſlain: ſervitude was then new, its ſorrows yet freſh and bitter; and liberty unſucceſsfully retriev'd by a deed which, while it ſeem'd impious to ſome, was thought altogether glorious by others, and hence tore Rome into tumults and the violence of parties: they who knew that turbulent day, and compar'd it with the quiet exit of AUGUSTUS, ridicul'd the foppery of "calling an aid of ſoldiers to ſecure a peaceable burial to a Prince, who had grown old in peace and power, and even provided againſt a relapſe into liberty, by a long train of ſucceſſors".

HENCE much and various matter of obſervation concerning AUGUSTUS: the ſuperſtitious multitude admir'd the fortuitous events of his fortune; "that the laſt day of his life, and the firſt of his reign, was the ſame; that he died at Nola, in the ſame village, in the ſame houſe, and in the ſame chamber, where his father OCTAVIUS died. They obſerv'd to his glory, his many Conſulſhips equal in number to thoſe of VALERIUS CORVINUS and of CAIUS MARIUS, join'd together: that he had exercis'd the power of the Tribuneſhip ſeven and thirty continued years: that he was one and twenty times proclaim'd *Imperator*; with many other numerous honours repeated to him, or created for him". Men of deeper diſcernment enter'd further into his Life, but diſfer'd about it. His admirers ſaid, that his filial piety to his "father CESAR, and the diſtractions of the Republick, where the laws no longer govern'd, had driven him into a civil war; which, whatever be the firſt cauſe, can never be begun or carried on by juſt and gentle means. Indeed, to be reveng'd on the murtherers of his father, he had made many great ſacrifices to the violent Genius of ANTHONY; many to LEPIDUS: but when LE-

PIDUS was become ſunk and ſuperannuated in ſloth; when ANTHONY was loſt headlong in ſenſuality, there was then no other remedy for the diſtracted State, rent piecemeal by its chiefs, but the Sovereignty of one: AUGUSTUS, however, never had aſſum'd to be over his Country King, or Dictator; but ſettled the Government under the legal name of Prince, or chief of the Senate: he had extended the Empire, and ſet for its bounds the diſtant Ocean and rivers far remote; the ſeveral parts and forces of the State, the Legions, the Provinces, the Navy, were all properly balanc'd and connected; the Citizens liv'd dutifully under the protection of the law, the Allies in terms of reſpect, and Rome it ſelf was adorn'd with magnificent ſtructures: indeed in a few inſtances, he had exerted the arbitrary violence of power; and in but a few, only to ſecure the peace of the whole.

IN anſwer to all this, it was urg'd, that “his filial piety, and the unhappy ſituation of the Republick, were pure pretences; but the ardent luſt of reigning, his true and only motive: with this ſpirit he had ſolicited into his ſervice, by bribery, a body of veteran ſoldiers: and tho' a private youth, without poſt or magiſtracy, but, in defiance of Law, levied an Army: with this ſpirit he had debauch'd, and bought the Roman Legions under the Conſuls, while he was falſly feigning a coalition with POMPEY's republican party: that ſoon after, when he had procur'd from the Senate, or rather uſurp'd the honours and authority of the Pretorſhip; and when HIRTIUS and PANSA, the two Conſuls, were ſlain, he ſeiz'd both their Armies: that it was doubted whether the Conſuls fell by the enemy, or whether PANSA was not kill'd by pouring poyſon into his wounds; and HIRTIUS ſlain by his own ſoldiers; and whether the young CESAR was not the black contriver of this bloody treaſon: that by terror he had extorted the Conſulſhip in ſpight of the Senate; and turn'd againſt the Commonwealth the very arms with which the Commonwealth had truſted him for her defence againſt ANTHONY. Add to all this his cruel Proſcriptions, and the Maſſacre of ſo many citizens, his ſeizing from the publick and diſtribut-

“ ing to his own creatures ſo many lands and poſſeſſions ; a “ violation of property not juſtified even by thoſe who gained by it. But, allowing him to dedicate to the Manes of “ the Dictator the Lives of BRUTUS and CASSIUS (tho' “ more to his honour had it been to have poſtpon'd his own “ perſonal hate to publick good), did he not betray the “ young POMPEY by an inſidious peace, betray LEPIDUS by “ a deceitful ſhew of friendſhip ? Did he not next enſnare “ MARK ANTHONY, firſt by treaties, thoſe of Tarentum “ and Brunduſium; then by a Marriage, that of his ſiſter “ OCTAVIA? And did not ANTHONY, at laſt, pay with his “ life the penalty of that ſubdolous alliance? After this, no “ doubt there was Peace, but a bloody Peace ; bloody in “ the tragical defeat of LOLLIUS, and that of VARUS, in “ Germany, and at Rome, the VARRONES, the EGNATII, “ the JULII, (thoſe illuſtrious names) were put to death ”. Nor was his domeſtick life ſpar'd upon this occaſion. “ He “ had arbitrarily rob'd NERO of his wife big with child by “ her husband ; and mock'd the Gods by conſulting the “ Prieſts, whether Religion permitted him to marry her before her delivery, or obliged him to ſtay till after. His minions, TEDIUS, and VEDIUS POLLIO, had liv'd in ſcandalous and exceſſive luxury: his Wife LIVIA, who wholly controul'd him, had prov'd a cruel governeſs to the “ Commonwealth ; and to the Julian houſe a more cruel “ ſtep-mother : he had even invaded the incommunicable “ honours of the Gods, and ſetting up for himſelf Temples “ like theirs, would like them be ador'd in the image of a “ Deity, with all the ſacred ſolemnity of Prieſts and Sacrifices : nor had he adopted TIBERIUS for his ſucceſſor, “ either out of affection for him, or from concern for the “ publick welfare ; but having diſcover'd in him a ſpirit “ proud and cruel, he ſought future glory from the blackeſt “ oppoſition and compariſon ”. For, AUGUSTUS, when, a few years before, he ſolicited the Senate to grant to TIBERIUS another term of the authority of the Tribuneſhip, tho' he mention'd him with honour, yet taking notice of his odd humour, behaviour, and manners, dropt ſome expreſſions, which, while they ſeem'd to excuſe him, expos'd and upbraided him.

As ſoon as the funeral of AUGUSTUS was over, a Temple and divine worſhip were forthwith decreed him. The Senate then turn'd their inſtant ſupplications to TIBERIUS, to fill his vacant place; but receiv'd an abſtruſe anſwer, touching the greatneſs of the Empire and his own diſtruſt of himſelf; he ſaid that, "nothing but the divine genius of AUGUSTUS was equal to the mighty task: that for himſelf, who had been call'd by him into a participation of his cares, he had learnt by feeling them, what a daring, what a difficult toil was that of Government, and how perpetually ſubject to the caprices of fortune: that in a State ſupported by ſo many illuſtrious Patriots they ought not to caſt the whole adminiſtration upon one; and more eaſy to be adminiſter'd were the ſeveral offices of the Government by the united pains and ſufficiency of many". A pompous and plauſible ſpeech, but in it little faith and ſincerity. TIBERIUS even upon ſubjects which needed no diſguiſes, us'd words dark and cautious; perhaps from his diffident nature, perhaps from a habit of diſſembling: at this juncture indeed, as he labour'd wholly to hide his heart, his language was the more carefully wrapt up in equivoques and obſcurity: but the Senators, who dreaded nothing ſo much as to ſeem to underſtand him, burſt into tears, plaints and vows: with extended arms they ſupplicated the Gods, invok'd the image of AUGUSTUS, and embrac'd the knees of TIBERIUS. He then commanded the imperial Regiſter to be produced and recited. It contain'd a ſummary of the ſtrength and income of the Empire, the number of Romans and auxiliaries in pay, the condition of the navy, of the ſeveral Kingdoms paying tribute, and of the various provinces and their revenues, with the ſtate of the publick expence, the iſſues of the exchequer, and all the demands upon the publick. This Regiſter was all writ by the hand of AUGUSTUS; and in it he had ſubjoin'd his counſel to poſterity, that the preſent boundaries of the Empire ſhould ſtand fixt without further enlargement: but, whether this counſel was dictated by fear for the publick, or by envy towards his ſucceſſors, is uncertain.

Now when the Senate was ſtooping to the vileſt importunity and proſtrations, TIBERIUS happen'd to ſay, that, “ as he was unequal to the weight of the whole government ; ſo if they entruſted him with any particular part, whatever it were, he would undertake it ”. Here ASINIUS GALLUS interpos'd. “ I beg to know, CESAR, ſays he, what part of the government you deſire for your ſhare ” ? He was aſtonied with the unexpected queſtion, and, for a ſhort ſpace, mute ; but recovering himſelf, anſwer'd, that “ it ill became his modeſty to chuſe or reject any particular branch of the adminiſtration, when he deſir'd rather to be excus'd from the whole ”. GALLUS, who in his face conjectur'd ſullen ſigns of diſpleaſure, again accoſted him, and ſaid, “ by this queſtion I did not mean that you ſhould do an impracticable thing, and ſhare that power which cannot be ſeparated ; but I meant to reaſon you into a confeſſion that the Commonwealth is but one body, and can be govern'd only by one ſoul ”. He added an encomium upon AUGUSTUS, and reminded TIBERIUS himſelf of his many victories, of the many civil employments which he had long and nobly ſuſtained: nor even thus could he mollify the wrath of TIBERIUS, who had long hated him, for that GALLUS had married VIPSANIA, daughter of MARCUS AGRIPPA, and formerly wife to TIBERIUS, who thence ſuſpected that by this match he meant to ſoar above the rank of a ſubject, and poſſeſs'd too the bold and haughty ſpirit of ASINIUS POLLIO his father.

LUCIUS ARRUNTIUS incurr'd his diſpleaſure next, by a ſpeech not much unlike that of GALLUS: it is true, that towards him TIBERIUS bore no old rancour ; but ARRUNTIUS had mighty opulence, prompt parts, noble accompliſhments, with equal popularity, and hence was mark'd by him with a fell eye of ſuſpicion. For, as AUGUSTUS, ſhortly before his deceaſe, was mentioning thoſe among the great men, who were capable of the ſupream power, but would not accept it ; or unequal to it, yet wiſh'd for it ; or ſuch as had both ambition and ſufficiency ; he had ſaid, that “ MARCUS LEPIDUS was qualified, but would reject it ; ASINIUS would be aſpiring, but had inferiour talents ; and that LUCIUS ARRUNTIUS wanted no ſufficiency, and upon a proper occaſion, would attempt it ”. That he ſpoke thus of LEPIDUS and ASINIUS, is agreed ; but, inſtead of ARRUNTIUS, ſome writers have tranſmitted the name of CNEIUS PISO: and every one of theſe great men, except LEPIDUS, were afterwards cut off, under the imputation of various crimes, all darkly fram'd by TIBERIUS. QUINTUS HATERIUS, and MAMERCUS SCAURUS did thereaſter incenſe his diſtruſtful ſpirit; the firſt by asking him, "how long, CESAR, wilt thou ſuffer the Commonwealth "to remain deſtitute of a head"? SCAURUS, becauſe he had ſaid, "there was room to hope that the prayers of the "Senate would not prove abortive, ſince he had not oppos'd "as Tribune, nor render'd invalid, as he might, the motion "of the Conſuls in his behalf". With HATERIUS he fell into inſtant rage: towards SCAURUS his reſentment was more deep and implacable, and in profound ſilence he hid it. Wearied at laſt with publick importunity and clamour, and with particular expoſtulations, he began to unbend a little; not that he would own his undertaking the Empire, but only avoid the uneaſineſs of perpetually rejecting endleſs ſolicitations. It is known how HATERIUS, when he went next day to the Palace to implore pardon, and throwing himſelf at the feet of TIBERIUS embrac'd his knees, narrowly eſcap'd being ſlain by the ſoldiers; becauſe TIBERIUS, who was walking, tumbled down, whether by chance, or whether his legs were entangled in the arms of HATERIUS: neither was he a jot mollified by the danger which threaten'd ſo great a man, who was at length forced to ſupplicate AUGUSTA for protection; nor could even ſhe obtain it, but after the moſt labour'd entreaties.

Towards LIVIA too exorbitant was the flattering Court of the Senate. Some were for decreeing her the general title of MOTHER; others the more particular one of MOTHER OF HER COUNTRY; and almoſt all mov'd, that to the name of TIBERIUS ſhould be added, THE SON OF JULIA: TIBERIUS urg'd in anſwer, that "publick honours to women "ought to be warily adjudg'd, and with a ſparing hand; "and that with the ſame meaſure of moderation he would "receive ſuch as were preſented to himſelf". In truth, full of envy as he was, and anxious leſt his own grandeur ſhould ſink as that of his mother roſe, he would not ſuffer ſo much as a Lictor to be decreed her, and even forbid the raiſing her an Altar upon her late adoption, or paying her any ſuch ſolemnities. But, for GERMANICUS he ask'd the Proconſular power; and to carry him that dignity, honourable deputies were ſent, as alſo to mollify his ſorrow for the death of AUGUSTUS. If for DRUSUS he demanded not the ſame honour, it was becauſe DRUSUS was preſent and already Conſul deſign'd. He then nam'd twelve candidates for the Pretorſhip; the ſame number ſettled by AUGUSTUS; and tho' the Senate requeſted him to increaſe it, by an oath he bound himſelf never to exceed.

THE privilege of creating Magiſtrates was now firſt tranſlated from the aſſemblies of the people to the Senate: for tho' the Emperor had before conducted all affairs of moment at his pleaſure; yet till that day, ſome were ſtill tranſacted by the Tribes, and carried by their bent and ſuffrages. Neither did the regret of the people for the ſeizure of theſe their ancient rights, riſe higher than ſome impotent grumbling: the Senate too lik'd the change; as by it they were releas'd from the charge of buying votes, and from the ſhame of begging them: and ſo moderate was TIBERIUS, that, of the twelve Candidates he only reſerv'd to himſelf the recommendation of four, to be accepted without oppoſition or caballing. At the ſame time, the Tribunes of the people ask'd leave to celebrate at their own expence certain plays in honour of AUGUSTUS, ſuch as were to be called after his name, and inſerted in the calendar. But it was decreed, that out of the Exchequer the charge ſhould be defray'd, and the Tribunes ſhould in the Circus wear the triumphal robe; but to be carried in chariots was denied them: the annual celebration of theſe plays was, for the future, transferr'd to one of the Pretors, him in particular to whom ſhould fall the juriſdiction of deciding ſuits between citizens and ſtrangers.

THUS ſtood affairs at Rome when a ſedition ſeiz'd the Legions in Pannonia; without any freſh grounds, ſave that from a change of Princes they meant to aſſume a warrant for licentiouſneſs and tumult, and from a civil war hop'd great earnings and acquiſitions: they were three Legions encamp'd together, all commanded by JUNIUS BLESUS, who upon notice of the death of AUGUSTUS and the acceſſion of TIBERIUS, had granted the ſoldiers a receſs from their wonted duties for ſome days, as a time either of publick mourning or feſtivity. From being idle they wax'd wanton, quarrelſom, and turbulent; greedily liſten'd to mutinous diſcourſes; the moſt profligate amongſt them had moſt credit with them, and at laſt they became paſſionate for a life of ſloth and riot, utterly averſe to all military diſcipline and every fatigue of the camp. In the camp was one PERCENNIUS; formerly a buſy leader in the embroilments of the theatre, and now a common ſoldier; a fellow of a petulant declaiming tongue, and by inflaming parties in the playhouſe, well qualified to excite and infatuate a crowd. This incendiary practis'd upon the ignorant and unwary, ſuch as were ſolicitous what might prove their future uſage, now AUGUSTUS was dead. He engag'd them in nightly confabulations, and by little and little incited them to violence and diſorders; and towards the evening, when the ſobereſt and beſt affected were withdrawn, he aſſembled the worſt and moſt turbulent. When he had thus ripen'd them for ſedition, and other ready incendiaries were combin'd with him, he perſonated the character of a lawful Commander, and thus queſtioned and harangu'd them:

WHY did they obey, like ſlaves, a few Centurions and a " fewer Tribunes? when would they be bold enough to de- " mand redreſs of their heavy grievances, unleſs they ſnatch'd " the preſent occaſion, while the Emperor was yet new and " his authority wavering, to prevail with him by petition, " or by arms to force him? They had already by the miſery " of many years, paid dear for their patient ſloth and ſtupid " ſilence, ſince decrepid with age and maim'd with wounds, " after a courſe of ſervice for thirty or forty years, they were " ſtill doom'd to carry arms: nor even to thoſe who were diſ- " charg'd, was there any end of the miſery of warfare; they " were ſtill kept tied to the colours, and under the credita- " ble title of Veterans, endured the ſame hardſhips, and un- " derwent the ſame labours. But ſuppoſe any of them eſcap'd " ſo many dangers, and ſurviv'd ſo many calamities, where " was their reward at laſt? Why, a long and weary march " remain'd yet to be taken into countries far remote and " ſtrange, where, under the name of Lands given them to " cultivate, they had unhoſpitable boggs to drain, and the " wild waſtes of mountains to manure. Severe and ungain- " ful of it ſelf was the occupation of war: ten Aſſes a day " the poor price of their perſons and lives; out of this they " muſt buy clothes, and tents, and arms; out of this bribe " the cruel Centurions for a forbearance of blows, and occa-

" ſional exemption from hard duty: but ſtripes from their " officers, and wounds from their enemies, hard winters and " laborious ſummers, bloody wars and barren peace, were " miſeries without end: nor remain'd there other cure or re- " lief than to refuſe to liſt but upon conditions certain, and " fix'd by themſelves; particularly, that their pay be a De- " narius or ſixteen Aſſes a day, ſixteen years be the utmoſt " term of ſerving; when diſcharg'd, to be no longer oblig'd " to follow the colours, but have their reward in ready mo- " ney, paid them in the camp where they earn'd it. Did " the Pretorian guards, they who had double pay, they " who after ſixteen years ſervice were paid off and ſent home, " bear ſeverer difficulties, undergo ſuperiour dangers? He " did not mean to detract from the merit of their brethren " the City guards; their own lot however it was, to be pla- " ced amongſt horrid and barbarous nations, nor could they " look from their tents, but they ſaw the foe".

THE whole crowd receiv'd this harangue with ſhouts of applauſe; but from various inſtigations. Some diſplay'd upon their bodies the obvious impreſſions of ſtripes, others their hoary heads, many their veſtments ragged and curtail'd, with backs utterly bare, as did all their various griefs in the bitterneſs of reproach: at length to ſuch exceſſive fury they grew, that they propos'd to incorporate the three Legions into one; nor by ought but emulation was the project defeated: for to his own Legion every man claim'd the perogative of ſwallowing and denominating the other two. They took another method, and placed the three Eagles of the Legions, with the Standards of the ſeveral Cohorts, altogether without rank or priority; then forthwith digg'd turf and were rearing a Tribunal, one high enough to be ſeen at a diſtance. In this hurry arriv'd BLESUS, who falling into ſore rebukes, and by force interrupting particulars, call'd with vehemence to all; "Dip your hands rather in my blood: to murder your Ge- " neral will be a crime leſs ſhameful and heinous, than to re- " volt from your Prince: for determin'd I am, either to pre- " ſerve the Legions in their faith and obedience, if you kill " me not for my intended good office; or my death, if I fall " by your hands, ſhall haſten your remorſe".

For all this, turfs were accumulated, and the work was already breaſt high, when, at laſt, overcome by his ſpirit and perſeverance, they forbore. Blesus was an able ſpeaker: he told them, "that ſedition and mutiny were not the methods "of conveying to the Emperor the pretenſions of the ſoldiers; "their demands too were new and ſingular; ſuch as neither "the ſoldiers of old had ever made to the ancient Generals, "nor they themſelves to the deified Augustus: beſides "their claims were ill tim'd, when the Prince, juſt upon his "acceſſion, was already embaraſs'd with the weight and variety of other cares. If however they meant to try to gain "in full peace thoſe conceſſions, which, even after a civil "war, the conquerors never claim'd; yet why trample upon "duty and obedience, why reject the laws of the army, and "rules of diſcipline? And if they meant to petition, why meditate violence? They might at leaſt appoint deputies; and "in his preſence truſt them with their pretenſions". Here they all cried out, "that the ſon of Blesus, one of their Tribunes ſhould execute that deputation; and demand in their "name that, after ſixteen years ſervice they ſhould be diſcharg'd: they ſaid they would give him new orders, when "he had ſucceded in theſe". After the departure of the young officer, a moderate receſs enſued: the ſoldiers however exulted to have carried ſuch a point: the ſending the ſon of their General, as the publick advocate for their cauſe, was to them full proof, that they had gain'd by force and terror that, which by modeſty and gentle means they would never have gain'd.

In the mean time thoſe companies, which, before the ſedition began, were ſent to Nauportum, to mend roads and bridges, and upon other duties, no ſooner heard of the uproar in the camp, but they caſt off all obedience, tore away the enſigns and plunder'd the neighbouring villages; even Nauportum it ſelf, which for greatneſs reſembled a municipal town, was plunder'd. The endeavours of the Centurions to reſtrain this violence, were firſt return'd with mockery and contempt, then with invectives and contumelies, at laſt with outrage and blows. Their vengeance was chiefly bent againſt the Camp-Marſhal, Aufidienus Rufus: him they dragg'd from his chariot, and loading him with baggage, drove him before the firſt ranks: they then inſulted him, and ask'd in ſcorn, "whether he would gladly bear ſuch enormous bur-"thens; whether endure ſuch immenſe marches"? **Rufus** had been long a common ſoldier, then became a Centurion, and afterwards Camp-Marſhal; a ſevere reſtorer of primitive ſtrictneſs and diſcipline; an indefatigable obſerver of every military duty, which he exacted from others with the more rigour, as he had himſelf undergone them all with patience.

By the arrival of this tumultuous band, the ſedition was again awaken'd to its former outrage, and the ſeditious roving abroad without controul, ravaged the country on every ſide. **Blesus**, for an example of terror to the reſt, commanded thoſe who were moſt laden with plunder, to be puniſh'd with ſtripes and caſt into priſon: for the General was ſtill dutifully obey'd by the Centurions, and by all the ſoldiers of any merit: but the criminals refus'd to ſubmit, and even ſtruggled with the guard who were carrying them off: they claſp'd the knees of the by-ſtanders, implor'd help from their fellows; now calling upon every individual, and conjuring them by their particular names; then appeal'd to them in a body, and ſupplicated the company, the Cohort, the Legion, to which they belong'd; warning and proclaiming, that the ſame ignominy and chaſtizement hung over them all: with the ſame breath they heap'd invectives without meaſure upon their General, and call'd upon heaven and all the Gods to be their witneſſes and avengers: nor left they ought unattempted to raiſe effectual hatred, compaſſion, terrour, and every ſpecies of fury. Hence the whole body ruſh'd to their relief, burſt open the priſon, unbound and reſcu'd the priſoners: thus they own'd for their brethren, and incorporated with themſelves, infamous revolters, and traitors convict and condemn'd.

Hence the violence became more raging, and hence more ſedition from more leaders. There was particularly one **Vibulenus** a common ſoldier, who, exalted on the ſhoulders of his comrades, before the tribunal of **Blesus**, thus declaim'd in the ears of a multitude already outragious, and eager to hear what he had to ſay. "To theſe innocents, ſays he, "to theſe miſerable ſufferers, our fellow ſoldiers, you have "indeed reſtor'd breath and liberty: but, who will reſtore "life to my poor brother; who my poor brother to me? He "was ſent hither by the German armies, with propoſitions "for our common good; and for this, was laſt night butcher'd by that ſame BLESUS, who in the murther employ'd his gladiators, bloody men, whom he purpoſely entertains and arms for our common execution: where, oh where, BLESUS, haſt thou thrown his unoffending and mangled corps? Even open enemies do not inhumanly deny burial to the ſlain: when I have ſatiated my ſorrow with a thouſand kiſſes, and a flood of tears; command me alſo to be murther'd, that theſe our brethren may together bury my poor brother and me, ſlaughter'd both as victims, yet both guiltleſs of any crime, but that of ſtudying the common intereſt of the Legions".

HE inflam'd thoſe his complaints and expoſtulations, with affecting ſighs and lamentations, beat his breaſt, tore his face, and ſhew'd all the ſymptoms of anguiſh. Then thoſe who carried him giving way, he throw'd himſelf headlong at the feet of his companions; and thus proſtrate and ſupplicating, in them rais'd ſuch a ſpirit of commiſeration and ſuch a ſtorm of vengeance, that one party of them inſtantly ſeiz'd and bound the General's gladiators; another, the reſt of his family; while many run and diſpers'd themſelves to ſearch for the corps: and, had it not been quickly manifeſt, that there was no corps to be found, that the ſlaves of BLESUS had upon the rack clear'd themſelves, and that VIBULENUS never had any brother; they had gone nigh to have ſacrific'd the General: as it was, they expuls'd the Camp-Marſhal and Tribunes, and as they fled, plunder'd their baggage: they likewiſe put to death LUCILIUS the Centurion, whom they had ſarcaſtically nam'd *Cedo alteram,* becauſe when upon the back of a ſoldier he had broken one wand, he was wont to call for another, and then a third. The other Centurions lurk'd in concealment, all but JULIUS CLEMENS, who for his prompt capacity, was ſav'd in order to manage the negociations of the Soldiers: even two of the Legions, the eighth and the fifteenth, were ready to turn their ſwords upon each other; and had, but for the ninth: one SIRPICUS, a Centurion, was the ſubject of the quarrel: him the eighth requir'd to be put to death, and the fifteenth protected him; but the ninth interpos'd with entreaties to both, and with threats to thoſe who would not liſten to prayers.

TIBERIUS, however, cloſe and impenetrable, and ever labouring to ſmother all melancholy tidings, was yet driven by thoſe from Pannonia, to diſpatch his ſon DRUSUS thither, accompanied by the principal nobility and guarded by two Pretorian cohorts; but charg'd with no preciſe inſtructions, only to adapt his meaſures to the preſent exigency: the cohorts were ſtrengthen'd with an extraordinary addition of choſen men, with the greateſt part of the Pretorian horſe, and main body of the German then the Emperor's guards. ELIUS SEJANUS lately join'd with his father STRABO in the command of the Pretorian bands, was alſo ſent, not only as governor to the young Prince, but as his credit with the Emperor was known to be mighty, to deal with the revolters by promiſes and terrors. When DRUSUS approach'd, the Legions, for ſhew of reſpect, march'd out to meet him; not with the uſual ſymptoms and ſhouts of joy, nor with gay enſigns and arms glittering, but in a dreſs and accoutrements hideous and ſqualid: in their countenances too, tho' compos'd to ſadneſs, were ſeen greater marks of ſullenneſs and contumacy.

As ſoon as he was within the camp, they ſecured the entrances with guards, and in ſeveral quarters of it placed parties upon duty: the reſt crouded about the Tribunal of DRUSUS, who ſtood beckoning with his hand for ſilence: here as often as they ſurvey'd their own numbers and met one another's reſentful looks, they utter'd their rage in horrible cries: again, when upon the Tribunal they beheld CESAR, awe and trembling ſeiz'd them: now, there prevail'd an hollow and inarticulate murmur; next, a furious clamour; then, ſuddenly, a dead ſilence: ſo that, by a haſty ſucceſſion of oppoſite paſſions, they were at once diſmay'd and dreadful. When, at laſt, the uproar was ſtaid, he read his father's letters, who in them declar'd, "that he would take an affectionate care of the brave and invincible legions, by whom "he had ſuſtain'd ſucceſsfully ſo many wars; and, as ſoon "as his grief was a little abated, deal with the Senate about "their demands; in the mean time he had ſent them his ſon, "on purpoſe to make them forthwith all the conceſſions, "which could inſtantly be made them: the reſt were to be "reſerved for the Senate, the proper diſtributors of rewards "and puniſhments by a right altogether unalienable".

The aſſembly anſwer'd that, to JULIUS CLEMENS they had intruſted what to ſpeak in their name: he began with their demands, "to be diſcharg'd after ſixteen years ſervice, "to have the reward which, for paſt ſervices upon that diſcharge, they claim'd; their pay to be increas'd to a Roman Denarius; the veterans to be no longer detain'd under "their enſigns". When DRUSUS urg'd, that wholly in the judgment of the Senate and his father theſe matters reſted; he was interrupted by their clamours: "To what purpoſe came "he; ſince he could neither augment their pay, nor alleviate "their grievances? and while upon them every officer was "allow'd to inflict blows and death, the ſon of their Emperor wanted power to relieve them by one beneficent action. "The policy this of the late reign, when TIBERIUS fruſtrated "every requeſt of the ſoldiers, by referring all to AUGUSTUS; "now DRUSUS was come, with the ſame artifices to delude "them: were they never to have a higher viſit than from the "children of their Prince? It was, indeed, unaccountable, "that to the Senate the Emperor ſhould leave no part in the "direction of the army, only the rewarding of the ſoldiery: "ought not the ſame Senate to be conſulted as often as a battle was to be fought, or a private man to be puniſh'd? or, "were their recompences to be adjudg'd by many maſters, "but their puniſhments to remain without any reſtraint or "moderator whatſoever"?

At laſt, they abandon'd the Tribunal, and with menaces and inſults fell upon all they met, belonging to DRUSUS either as guards or friends; meditating thus to provoke a quarrel, and an introduction to blood. Chiefly enrag'd they were againſt CNEIUS LENTULUS, as one for years and warlike renown, ſuperiour to any about the perſon of DRUSUS, and thence ſuſpected to have harden'd the Prince, and been himſelf the foremoſt to deſpiſe theſe outrages in the ſoldiery: nor was it long after, that as he was leaving DRUSUS, and from the foreſight of danger returning to the winter quarters, they ſurrounded him and demanded "whither he went? "to the Emperor or Senate? there alſo to exerciſe his enmity to the legions, and oppoſe their intereſt"? and inſtantly aſſaulted him with ſtones. He was already cover'd with wounds and blood, and awaiting certain aſſaſſination, when the troops attending DRUSUS flew to his aſſiſtance and ſaved him.

THE following night had a formidable aſpect, and threaten'd the ſpeedy eruption of ſome tragical vengeance, when a phenomenon interven'd and aſſwaged all. The Moon, in the midſt of a clear sky, ſeem'd to the ſoldiers ſuddenly to ſicken; and they who were ignorant of the natural cauſe, took this for an omen foreboding the iſſue of their preſent adventures: to their own labours they compar'd the eclipſe of the planet, and propheſied, " that, if to the diſtreſſed " Goddeſs ſhould be reſtored her wonted brightneſs and vi- " gour, equally ſucceſsful would be the iſſue of theſe their ſtruggles ": hence they ſtrove to charm and revive her with ſounds, and by ringing upon braſen metal, and an uproar of trumpets and cornets, made a vehement bellowing: as ſhe appear'd brighter or darker, they exulted or lamented: but when gathering clouds had utterly bereſt them of her ſight, and they believ'd her now buried in everlaſting darkneſs; then, as minds once throughly diſmay'd are pliant to ſuperſtition, they bewail'd " their own eternal ſuffer- " ings thus portended, and that againſt their miſdeeds the " angry deities were contending ". DRUSUS, who thought it behov'd him to improve this diſpoſition of theirs, and to reap the fruits of wiſdom from the operations of chance; order'd certain perſons to go round, and apply to them from tent to tent. For this purpoſe, he call'd and employ'd the Centurion JULIUS CLEMENS, and whoever elſe were by honeſt methods acceptable to the multitude. Theſe inſinuated themſelves every where, with thoſe who kept watch, or were upon patroll, or guarded the gates, ſoothing all with hopes, and by terrors rouſing them: " How long, ſaid " they, ſhall we hold the ſon of our Emperor thus beſieg'd? " Where will our broils and wild contentions end? Shall " we ſwear allegiance to PERCENNIUS and VIBULENUS? " Will VIBULENUS and PERCENNIUS ſupport us with pay " during our ſervice, and reward us with lands when diſ- " miſs'd? In ſhort, ſhall two common men diſpoſſeſs the " NEROS and the DRUSI, and to themſelves aſſume the Em- " pire of the Roman people? Let us be wiſer; and as we " were the laſt to revolt, be the firſt to relent. Such demands " as comprize terms for all, are ever ſlowly accorded: but " particulars may, when they pleaſe, merit inſtant favour, " and inſtantly receive it ". Theſe reaſonings alarm'd them, and fill'd them with mutual jealouſies. Preſently the freſh ſoldiers forſook the Veterans, and one Legion ſeparated from another: then by degrees return'd the love of duty and obedience. They relinquiſh'd the guard of the gates: and the Eagles and other enſigns, which in the beginning of the tumult they had thrown together, were now reſtor'd each to its diſtinct ſtation.

DRUSUS, as ſoon as it was day, ſummon'd an aſſembly, and tho' unskill'd in ſpeaking, yet with a haughtineſs inherent in his blood, rebuk'd their paſt and commended their preſent behaviour: "with threats and terrors, he ſaid, it "was impoſſible to ſubdue him; but if he ſaw them re"claim'd to ſubmiſſion, if from them he heard the language "of ſupplicants, he would ſend to his father to accept with "a reconcil'd ſpirit the petitions of the Legions". Hence, at their entreaty, for their deputy to TIBERIUS, the ſame BLESUS was again diſpatch'd, and with him LUCIUS APRONIUS, a Roman Knight of the Cohort of DRUSUS, and JUSTUS CATONIUS, a Centurion of the firſt order. There followed great debates in the council of DRUSUS, while ſome adviſ'd "to ſuſpend all proceeding till the return of the de"puties, and by a courſe of courteſy the while to ſooth the "ſoldiers; others maintain'd, that remedies more potent "muſt needs be applied: in a multitude was to be found no"thing on this ſide extremes; always imperious where they "are not aw'd, and to be without danger deſpiſ'd when "frighten'd: to their preſent terror from ſuperſtition was "to be added the dread of their General, by his dooming "to death the authors of the ſedition". Rather prompt to rigorous counſels was the genius of DRUSUS: VIBULENUS and PERCENNIUS were produced, and by his command executed: it is by many recounted, that in his own tent they were ſecretly diſpatch'd and buried; by others, that their bodies were ignominiouſly thrown over the entrenchments, for a publick ſpectacle of terror.

SEARCH was then made for other remarkable incendiaries. Some were caught skulking without the camp, and there by the Centurions or Pretorian ſoldiers ſlain: others were by their ſeveral companies deliver'd up, as a proof of their own ſincere faith. The conſternation of the ſoldiers was heighten'd by the precipitate acceſſion of winter, with rains inceſſant and ſo violent, that they were unable to ſtir from their tents, or maintain common intercourſe, nay ſcarce to preſerve their ſtandards, aſſaulted continually by tempeſtuous winds and raging floods. Dread beſides of the angry Gods ſtill poſſeſs'd them; “ nor was it at random, they thought, that “ ſuch profane traitors were thus viſited with black eclipſes “ and roaring tempeſts; neither againſt theſe their calamities “ was there other relief than the relinquiſhing of a camp by “ impiety contaminated and accurſed, and after expiation “ of their guilt returning to their ſeveral garriſons”. The eighth legion departed firſt; and then the fifteenth: the ninth, with earneſt clamours, preſs'd for continuing there till the letters from TIBERIUS arriv'd; but when deſerted by the other two, their courage fail'd, and by following of their own accord, they prevented the ſhame of being forced. DRUSUS ſeeing order and tranquillity thus reſtor'd, without ſtaying for the return of the Deputies, return'd himſelf to Rome.

ALMOST at the ſame time, and from the ſame cauſes, the legions in Germany rais'd an inſurrection, with greater numbers, and thence with more fury. Paſſionate too were their hopes that GERMANICUS would never brook the rule of another, but yield to the ſpirit of the legions, who had force ſufficient to bring the whole Empire under his ſway. Upon the Rhine were two armies; that call'd the higher, commanded by CAIUS SILIUS, Lieutenant-General; the lower, by AULUS CECINA: the command in chief reſted in GERMANICUS, then buſy collecting the tribute in Gaul: the forces however under SILIUS, with cautious ambiguity, watch'd the ſucceſs of the revolt which others began: for the ſoldiers of the lower army had broken out into open outrages, which took its riſe from the fifth legion, and the one and twentieth, who after them drew the firſt and twentieth. Theſe were altogether upon the frontiers of the Ubians, paſſing the campaign in utter idleneſs or light duty: ſo that upon the news that AUGUSTUS was dead, the whole ſwarm of new ſoldiers lately levied in the city, men accuſtomed to the effeminacies of Rome, and impatient of every military hardſhip, began to poſſeſs the ignorant minds of the reſt with many turbulent expectations, “ that now was preſented the lucky juncture for “ Veterans to demand intire diſmiſſion; the freſh ſoldiers,

“ larger

" larger pay; and all, ſome mitigation of their miſeries; as " alſo to return due vengeance for the cruelties of the Cen- " turions". Theſe were not the harangues of a ſingle incendiary, like PERCENNIUS amongſt the Pannonian legions; nor utter'd, as there, in the ears of men, who while they ſaw before their eyes armies greater than their own, mutinied with awe and trembling: but here was a ſedition of many mouths, filled with many boaſts, "that in their hands " lay the power and fate of Rome; by their victories the " Empire was enlarg'd, and from them the CESARS took, as " a compliment, the ſir-name of GERMANICUS".

NEITHER did CECINA ſtrive to reſtrain them. A madneſs ſo extenſive had bereſt him of all his bravery and firmneſs. In this precipitate frenzy they ruſh'd at once, with ſwords drawn, upon the Centurions, the eternal objects of their reſentment, and always the firſt victims to their vengeance. Them they dragg'd to the earth, and upon each beſtow'd a terrible portion of ſixty blows; a number proportion'd to that of Centurions in a legion. Then bruis'd, mangled, and half expiring, as they were, they caſt them all out of the camp, ſome into the ſtream of the Rhine. SEPTIMIUS, who had for refuge fled to the tribunal of CECINA, and lay claſping his feet, was demanded with ſuch imperious vehemence, that he was forced to be ſurrender'd to deſtruction. CASSIUS CHEREA (afterwards famous to poſterity for killing CALIGULA) then a young man of undaunted ſpirit, and one of the Centurions, boldly opened himſelf a paſſage with his ſword through a crowd of armed foes ſtriving to ſeize him. After this no further authority remain'd to the Tribunes, none to the Camp-Marſhals. The ſeditious ſoldiers were their own officers; ſet the watch, appointed the guard, and gave all orders proper in the preſent exigency: hence thoſe who dived deepeſt into the ſpirit of the ſoldiery, gathered a ſpecial indication how powerful and obdurate the preſent inſurrection was like to prove; for in their conduct were no marks of a rabble, where every man's will guides him, or the inſtigation of a few controuls the whole. Here, all at once they rag'd, and all at once kept ſilence; with ſo much concert and ſteadineſs, that you would have believ'd them under the ſovereign direction of one.

To GERMANICUS the while, then receiving, as I have ſaid, the tribute in Gaul, news were brought of the deceaſe of AUGUSTUS, whoſe grand daughter AGRIPPINA he had to wiſe, and by her many children: he was himſelf the grandſon of LIVIA, by her ſon DRUSUS the brother of TIBERIUS; but ever under heavy anxiety from the ſecret hate which his uncle and grandmother bore him: hate the more virulent as its grounds were altogether unrighteous: for, dear and ador'd was the memory of his father DRUSUS amongſt the Roman people, and from him was firmly expected that had he ſucceeded to the Empire, he would have reſtor'd publick liberty: hence their zeal for GERMANICUS, and of him the ſame hopes conceiv'd; as from his youth he poſſeſs'd a popular ſpirit, and marvellous affability utterly remote from the comportment and addreſs of TIBERIUS, ever haughty and myſterious: the animoſities too between the ladies adminiſter'd freſh fuel, while towards AGRIPPINA, LIVIA was actuated by the deſpight natural to ſtep-mothers: and over-tempeſtuous was the indignation of AGRIPPINA; only that her known chaſtity and love for her husband, always gave her mind however vehement, a virtuous turn.

BUT GERMANICUS, the nearer he ſtood to ſupreme rule, the more vigour he exerted to ſecure it to TIBERIUS: to him he oblig'd the Sequanians, a neighbouring people, as alſo the ſeveral Belgick cities, to ſwear preſent allegiance; and the moment he learnt the uproar of the legions, poſted thither: he found them advanced without the camp to receive him, with eyes caſt down, in feign'd token of remorſe. After he enter'd the entrenchments, inſtantly his ears were fill'd with plaints and grievances, utter'd in hidious and mixt clamours: nay, ſome catching his hand, as if they meant to kiſs it, thruſt his fingers into their mouths, to feel their gums deſtitute of teeth; others ſhew'd their limbs enfeebled, and bodies ſtooping under old age. As he ſaw the aſſembly mixt at random, he commanded them, “ to range themſelves into “ companies, thence more diſtinctly to hear his anſwers; as “ alſo to place before them their ſeveral Enſigns; that the “ cohorts at leaſt might be diſtinguiſh'd ”. With ſlowneſs and reluctance it was that they obey'd him; then beginning with an encomium upon the “ venerable memory of AUGU- “ STUS”, he proceeded to the “ many victories and many tri-

“ umphs of TIBERIUS”, and with peculiar praiſes celebrat-
“ ed the glorious and immortal deeds, which with theſe
“ very legions in Germany, he had accompliſh'd ”, he next boaſted the quiet ſtate of things, the conſent of all Italy, the loyal faith of both the Gauls: and every quarter of the Roman ſtate exempt from diſaffection and turbulence.

THUS far they liſten'd with ſilence, at leaſt with moderate murmuring; but the moment he touch'd their ſedition and queſtioned, “ where now was the wonted modeſty of
“ ſoldiers? where the glory of ancient diſcipline? whither
“ had they chas'd their Tribunes, whither their Centu-
“ rions”? to a man, they ſtripp'd themſelves to the skin, and there expoſed the ſeams of their wounds and bruiſes of their chaſtiſements, in the rage of reproach. Then in the undiſtinguiſh'd voice of uproar, they urg'd, “ the exa-
“ ctions for occaſional exemptions; their ſcanty pay; and
“ their rigorous labours ”; which they repreſented in a long detail; “ ramparts to be rear'd; entrenchments digg'd; trees
“ fell'd and drawn; forrage cut and carried; fuel pre-
“ par'd and fetch'd”; with every other article of toil requir'd by the exigencies of war, or to prevent idleneſs in the ſoldiery. Above all, from the Veterans aroſe a cry moſt horrible: they enumerated thirty years or upwards undergone in the ſervice,
“ and beſought that to men utterly ſpent he would admi-
“ niſter reſpite, nor ſuffer them to be beholden to death for
“ the laſt relief from their toils; but diſcharge them from a
“ warfare ſo laſting and ſevere, and grant them the means of
“ a comfortable receſs ”. Nay, ſome there were who of him required the mony bequeath'd them by AUGUSTUS; and towards GERMANICUS uttering zealous vows, with omens of happy fortune, declar'd their cordial attachment to his cauſe, if he would himſelf aſſume the Empire. Here, as if already ſtain'd with their treaſon, he leap'd headlong from the Tribunal; but with ſwords drawn they oppos'd his departure, and threaten'd his life, if he refus'd to return: yet, with paſſionate proteſtations, that “ he would rather die than be
“ a traitor ”, he ſnatch'd his ſword from his ſide, and aiming full at his breaſt, would have buried it there, had not thoſe who were next him ſeiz'd his hand and by force reſtrain'd him. A cluſter of ſoldiers in the extremity of the aſſembly, exhorted him, nay what is incredible to hear, ſome particulars

ticulars advancing nearer, exhorted him, *to ſtrike home:* in truth one CALUSIDIUS, a common ſoldier, preſented him his naked ſword, and added, " it is ſharper than your own "; a behaviour which to the reſt, outrageous as they were, ſeem'd ſavage, and of horrid example: hence, the friends of GERMANICUS had time to ſnatch him away to his tent.

IT was here conſulted what remedy to apply: for it was adviſ'd, that " miniſters of ſedition were preparing to be diſ-" patch'd to the other army, to draw them too into a con-" federacy in the revolt; that the capital of the Ubians was " deſtin'd to be ſack'd; and if their hands were once inur'd " to plunder, they would break in, and ravage all Gaul ". This dread was augmented by another: the enemy knew of the ſedition in the Roman army, and were ready to invade the Empire, if its barrier the Rhine were left unguarded. Now, to arm the allies and the auxiliaries of Rome, and lead them againſt the departing Legions, was to rouſe a civil war: ſeverity was dangerous: the way of largeſſes infamous; and alike threatning it was to the ſtate, to grant the turbulent ſoldiers nothing, or yield them every thing. After revolving every reaſon and objection, the reſult was, to feign letters and directions from TIBERIUS, " that thoſe who had ſerv'd twenty " years ſhould be finally diſcharg'd; ſuch as ſerv'd ſixteen be " under the enſign and privileges of Veterans, releas'd from " every duty, but that of repulſing the enemy; and the le-" gacy which they demanded, ſhould be paid and doubled ".

THE ſoldiers, who perceiv'd that, purely to evade preſent difficulty, the conceſſions were forg'd, inſiſted to have them forthwith executed; and inſtantly the Tribunes diſpatch'd the diſcharge of the Veterans: that of the money was adjourn'd to their ſeveral winter-quarters: but the fifth Legion, and the one and twentieth, refus'd to ſtir, till in that very camp they were paid; ſo that out of the money reſerv'd by himſelf and his friends for travelling expences, GERMANICUS was oblig'd to raiſe the ſum. CECINA Lieutenant-General, led the firſt Legion and twentieth, back to the capital of the Ubians: an infamous march, when the plunder of their General's coffers was carried amidſt the Enſigns and Roman Eagles. GERMANICUS, the while, proceeding to the army in higher Germany, brought the ſecond, thirteenth and ſixteenth Legions to ſwear allegiance without heſitation: to the fourteenth who manifeſted ſome ſhort ſuſpence, he made unask'd a tender of their money, and a preſent diſcharge.

BUT a party of Veterans which belong'd to the diſorderly Legions, and then in garriſon among the Chaucians, as they began a ſedition there, were ſomewhat quell'd by the inſtant execution of two of their body: an execution this, commanded by MENNIUS, Camp-Marſhal, and rather of good example, than done by competent authority: the tumult however ſwelling again with freſh rage, he fled, but was diſcover'd: ſo that, finding no ſafety in lurking, from his own bravery he drew his defence, and declar'd, "that to himſelf, "who was only their Camp-Marſhal, theſe their outrages "were not done, but done to the authority of GERMANI-"CUS their General, to the Majeſty of TIBERIUS their Em-"peror". At the ſame time, braving and diſmaying all that would have ſtopp'd him, he fiercely ſnatch'd the colours, fac'd about towards the Rhine, and pronouncing the doom of traytors and deſerters to every man who forſook his ranks, brought them back to their winter-quarters, mutinous, in truth, but not daring to mutiny.

IN the mean time the deputies from the Senate met GERMANICUS at the altar of the Ubians, whither in his return he was arriv'd. Two Legions winter'd there, the firſt, and twentieth, with the ſoldiers lately plac'd under the ſtandard of Veterans; men already under the diſtractions of guilt and fear: and now a new terror poſſeſs'd them, that theſe Senators were come arm'd with injunctions to cancel every conceſſion which they had by ſedition extorted; and, as it is the cuſtom of the crowd to be ever charging ſome body with the crimes ſuggeſted by their own falſe allarms, the guilt of this imaginary decree they laid upon MINUTIUS PLANCUS, a Senator of conſular dignity, and at the head of this deputation. In the dead of night, they began to clamour aloud for the purple ſtandard plac'd in the quarters of GERMANICUS, and ruſhing tumultuouſly to his gate, burſt the doors, dragg'd the Prince out of his bed, and with menaces of preſent death, compell'd him to deliver the ſtandard. Then, as they rov'd about the camp, they met the Deputies; who having learnt the outrage, were haſtning to GERMANICUS: upon them they pour'd a deluge of contumelies, and to preſent ſlaughter were devoting them, PLANCUS chiefly, whom the dignity of his character had reſtrain'd from flight: nor in this mortal danger had he other refuge than the quarters of the firſt Legion, where, embracing the Eagle and other enſigns, he ſought ſanctuary from the religious veneration ever paid them. But, in ſpight of religion, had not CALPURNIUS the Eagle-bearer, by force defeated the laſt violence of the aſſault, in the Roman camp had been ſlain an Ambaſſador of the Roman people, and with his blood had been ſtained the inviolable altars of the Gods; a barbarity rare even in the camp of an enemy. At laſt, day returning, when the General, and the ſoldiers, and their actions could be diſtinguiſh'd, GERMANICUS enter'd the camp, and commanding PLANCUS to be brought, ſeated him by himſelf upon the tribunal: he then inveigh'd againſt the late "pernicious frenzy, "which in it, he ſaid, had fatality, and was rekindled by "no deſpight in the ſoldiers, but by that of the angry "Gods". He explain'd the genuine purpoſes of that Embaſſy, and lamented with affecting eloquence "the outrage "committed upon PLANCUS, altogether brutal and unpro-"vok'd; the foul violence done to the ſacred perſon of an "Ambaſſador, and the mighty diſgrace from thence deriv'd "upon the Legion". Yet as the aſſembly ſhew'd more ſtupefaction than calmneſs, he diſmiſs'd the Deputies under a guard of auxiliary horſe.

DURING this affright, GERMANICUS was by all men cenſur'd, "that he retir'd not to the higher army, whence "he had been ſure of ready obedience, and even of ſuccour "againſt the revolters: already he had taken wrong meaſures "more than enow, by diſcharging ſome, rewarding all, and "other tender counſels: if he deſpis'd his own ſafety; yet "why expoſe his infant-ſon, why his wife big with child, to "the fury of outragious traitors, wantonly violating all the "moſt ſacred rights amongſt men? It became him at leaſt to "reſtore his wife and ſon ſafe to TIBERIUS and to the ſtate". He was long unreſolv'd; beſides AGRIPPINA was averſe to leave him, and urg'd, that "ſhe was the grand-daughter "of AUGUSTUS, and it was below her ſpirit to ſhrink in a "time of danger". But embracing her and their little ſon, with great tenderneſs and many tears, he prevail'd with her to depart. Thus there march'd miſerably along a band of helpleſs women: the wife of a great commander fled like a fugitive,

tive, and upon her boſom bore her infant-ſon: about her a troop of other ladies, dragg'd from their husbands, and drown'd in tears, uttering their heavy lamentations: nor weaker than theirs was the grief felt by all who remain'd.

THESE groans and tears, and this ſpectacle of woe, the appearances rather of a city ſtorm'd and ſack'd, than of a Roman camp, that of GERMANICUS CESAR victorious and flouriſhing, awaken'd attention and enquiry in the ſoldiers: leaving their tents, they cried, " whence theſe doleful wailings? " what ſo lamentable! ſo many ladies of illuſtrious " quality, travelling thus forlorn; not a Centurion to attend " them; not a ſoldier to guard them; their General's wife " amongſt them, undiſtinguiſh'd by any mark of her princely dignity; " deſtitute of her ordinary train; frighten'd from " the Roman Legions, and repairing, like an exile, for shelter " to Treves, there to commit her ſelf to the faith of foreigners". Hence ſhame and commiſeration ſeiz'd them, and the remembrance of her illuſtrious family, with that of her own virtues; the brave AGRIPPA her father; the mighty AUGUSTUS her grand-father; the amiable DRUSUS her father in law, her ſelf celebrated for a fruitful bed, and of ſignal chaſtity: add the conſideration of her little ſon, born in the camp, nurs'd in the arms of the Legions, and by themſelves named CALIGULA, a military name from the boots which of the ſame faſhion with their own, in compliment to them, and to win their affections, he frequently wore: but nothing ſo effectually ſubdu'd them as their own envy towards the inhabitants of Treves: hence they all beſought, all adjur'd, that ſhe would return to themſelves, and with themſelves remain: thus ſome ſtopp'd AGRIPPINA; but the main body return'd with their entreaties to GERMANICUS; who, as he was yet in the tranſports of grief and anger, addreſs'd himſelf on this wiſe to the ſurrounding crowd.

" To me neither is my wife or ſon dearer than my father " and the commonwealth. But him doubtleſs the majeſty " of his name will defend; and there are other armies, loyal " armies, to defend the Roman State. As to my wife and " children, whom for your glory I could freely ſacrifice; I " now remove them from your rage, that by my blood alone " may be expiated whatever further miſchief your fury meditates; " and that the murder of the great grandſon of AUGUSTUS,

“ GUSTUS, the murder of the daughter-in-law of TIBERIUS,
“ may not be added to mine, nor to the blackneſs of
“ your paſt guilt. For, during theſe days of phrenſy, what
“ has been too horrid for you to commit? What ſo ſacred
“ that you have not violated? To this audience what name
“ ſhall I give? Can I call you *ſoldiers*? you who have
“ beſet with arms the ſon of your Emperor, confin'd him in
“ your trenches, and held him in a ſiege? *Roman citizens*
“ can I call you? you who have trampled upon the
“ ſupreme authority of the Roman Senate? Laws religiouſly
“ obſerv'd by common enemies, you have profan'd; violated
“ the ſacred privileges, and perſons of Ambaſſadors; broken
“ the laws of nations. The deified JULIUS CESAR
“ quell'd a ſedition in his army by a ſingle word: he call'd
“ all who refus'd to follow him, *townſmen*. The deified
“ AUGUSTUS, when after the battle of Actium, the Legions
“ who won it laps'd into mutiny, terrify'd them into ſubmiſſion
“ by the dignity of his preſence and an awful look.
“ Theſe it is true are mighty and immortal names, whom I
“ dare not emulate: but, as I am their deſcendent, and inherit
“ their blood, ſhould the armiesi n Syria and Spain reject
“ my orders, and contemn my authority, I ſhould think
“ their behaviour ſtrange and baſe: are not the preſent Legions
“ under ſtronger ties than thoſe in Syria and Spain?
“ You are the firſt and the twentieth Legions; the former enrowl'd
“ by TIBERIUS himſelf; the other his conſtant companions
“ in ſo many battels, his partners in ſo many victories,
“ and by him enrich'd with ſo many bounties! Is this
“ the worthy return you make your Emperor, and late Commander,
“ for the diſtinction he has ſhewn you, for the favour
“ he has done you, and for his liberalities towards you?
“ And ſhall I be the author of ſuch tidings to him; ſuch heavy
“ tidings in the midſt of congratulations and happy accounts
“ from every province in the empire? Muſt it be my
“ ſad task to acquaint him that his own new levies, as well as
“ his own Veterans who long fought under him; theſe not
“ appeas'd by their diſcharge, and neither of them ſatiated
“ with the money given them, are both ſtill combin'd in a
“ furious mutiny? muſt I tell him that here and only here
“ the Centurions are butcher'd, the Tribunes driven away,
“ the Ambaſſadors impriſon'd; that with blood the Camp is

ſtain'd, and the rivers flow with blood; and that for me his ſon, I hold a precarious life at the mercy of men, who owe me duty, and practiſe enmity?

"WHY did you the other day, oh unſeaſonable and too officious friends! why did you leave me at their mercy by ſnatching from me my ſword, when with it I would have put my ſelf out of their power? He who offer'd me his own ſword, ſhew'd greater kindneſs and was more my friend. I would then have fallen happy; happy that my death would have hid from mine eyes ſo many horrible crimes ſince committed by my own army: and for you, you would have choſen another General, ſuch a general, no doubt, as would have left my death unpuniſh'd, but ſtill one who would have ſought vengeance for that of VARUS and the three Legions: for, the Gods are too juſt to permit that ever the Belgians, how ever generouſly they offer their ſervice, ſhall reap the credit and renown of retrieving the glory of the Roman name, and of reducing in behalf of Rome the German nations her foes. Fill'd with this paſſion for the glory of Rome, I here invoke thy ſpirit now with the Gods, o deified AUGUSTUS; and thy image interwoven in the enſigns, and thy memory, o deceas'd father. Let thy rever'd ſpirit, o AUGUSTUS, let thy lov'd image and memory, o DRUSUS, ſtill dear to theſe Legions, vindicate them from this guilty ſtain, this foul infamy of leaving to foreigners the honour of defending and avenging the Roman ſtate. They are Romans; they already feel the remorſes of ſhame; they are already ſtimulated with a ſenſe of honour: improve, o improve this generous diſpoſition in them; that thus inſpir'd they may turn the whole tide of their civil rage to the deſtruction of their common enemy: and for you, my fellow-ſoldiers, in whom I behold all the marks of compunction, other countenances, and minds happily chang'd; if you mean to reſtore to the Senate it's Ambaſſadors; to your Emperor your ſworn obedience; to me your General, my wife and ſon; be it the firſt inſtance of your duty, to fly the contagious company of incendiaries, to ſeparate the ſober from the ſeditious: this will be a faithful ſign of remorſe, this a firm pledge of fidelity".

THESE words ſoften'd them into ſupplicants: they confeſs'd that all his reproaches were true; they beſought him to puniſh the guilty and malicious, to pardon the weak and miſled, and to lead them againſt the enemy; to recall his wife, to bring back his ſon, nor to ſuffer the foſterling of the Legions to be given in hoſtage to the Gauls. Againſt the recalling of AGRIPPINA he alledg'd the advance of winter, and her approaching delivery; but ſaid, that his ſon ſhould return, and that to themſelves he left to execute what remain'd further to be executed. Inſtantly, with chang'd reſentments, they ran, and ſeizing the moſt ſeditious, dragg'd them in bonds to CAIUS CETRONIUS, commander of the firſt Legion, who judg'd and puniſh'd them in this manner. The Legions, with their ſwords drawn, ſurrounded the Tribunal, from thence the priſoner was by a Tribune expos'd to their view, and if they proclaim'd him guilty, caſt headlong down, and executed even by his fellow-ſoldiers, who rejoiced in the execution, becauſe by it they thought their own guilt to be expiated: nor did GERMANICUS reſtrain them, ſince on themſelves remain'd the cruelty and reproach of the ſlaughter committed without any order of his. The Veterans follow'd the ſame example of vengeance, and were ſoon after order'd into Rhetia, in appearance to defend that province againſt the invading Suevians; in reality, to remove them from a Camp ſtill horrible to their ſight, as well in the remedy and puniſhment, as from the memory of their crime. GERMANICUS next paſs'd a ſcrutiny upon the conduct and characters of the Centurions: before him they were cited ſingly; and each gave account of his name, his company, country, the length of his ſervice, exploits in war, and military preſents, if with any he had been diſtinguiſh'd: if the Tribunes, or his Legion bore teſtimony of his diligence and integrity, he kept his poſt; upon concurring complaint of his avarice or cruelty, he was degraded.

THUS were the preſent commotions appeas'd; but others as great ſtill ſubſiſted, from the rage and obſtinacy of the fifth and twenty firſt Legions. They were in winter-quarters ſixty miles off, in a place call'd the Old Camp, and had firſt began the ſedition: nor was there any wickedneſs ſo horrid that they had not perpetrated; nay at this time, neither terrified by the puniſhment, nor reclaim'd by the reformation of their fellow-ſoldiers, they perſever'd in their fury: GERMANICUS therefore determin'd to give them battle, if they perſiſted in their revolt, and prepar'd veſſels, arms, and troops to be ſent down the Rhine.

Before the iſſue of the ſedition in Illyricum was known at Rome, tidings of the uproar in the German Legions arriv'd: hence the city was fill'd with much terror, and hence againſt TIBERIUS many complaints, "that while with "feign'd conſultations and delays he mock'd the Senate and "people, once the great bodies of the eſtate, but now bereft "of power and armies, the ſoldiery were in open rebellion, "one too mighty and ſtubborn to be quell'd by two Princes "ſo young in years and authority: he ought at firſt to have "gone himſelf, and aw'd them with the majeſty of imperial "power; as doubtleſs they would have return'd to duty "upon the ſight of their Emperor, a Prince of conſummate experience, the ſovereign diſpoſer of rewards and "ſeverity. Did AUGUSTUS, even under the preſſures of old "age and infirmities, take ſo many journies into Germany? and ſhould TIBERIUS in the vigour of his life, "when the ſame or greater occaſions call'd him thither, ſit "lazily in the Senate, to watch Senators and cavil at words? "He had fully provided for the domeſtick ſervitude of "Rome; he ought next to cure the licentiouſneſs of the "ſoldiers, to reſtrain their turbulent ſpirits and reconcile "them to a life of peace".

But all theſe reaſonings and reproaches mov'd not TIBERIUS: he was determin'd not to depart from the Capital, the center of power and affairs, nor to chance or peril expoſe his perſon and empire: in truth many and contrary difficulties preſs'd and perplex'd him: "the German "army was the ſtronger; that of Pannonia nearer; the "power of both the Gauls ſupported the former; the latter was at the gates of Italy. Now to which ſhould he "repair firſt? and would not the laſt viſited be inflam'd, "by being poſtpon'd? But by ſending one of his ſons to "each, the equal treatment of both was maintain'd; as "alſo the majeſty of the ſupreme power, which from diſtance ever deriv'd moſt reverence. Beſides, the young "Princes would be excus'd, if to their father they referr'd "ſuch demands as were for them improper to grant; and "if they diſobey'd GERMANICUS and DRUSUS, his own "authority remain'd to appeaſe or puniſh them: but if "once they had contemn'd their Emperor himſelf, what "other reſſource was behind"? However, as if he had been upon the point of marching, he choſe his attendance, provided his equipage, and prepar'd a fleet: but by various delays and pretences, ſometimes that of the winter, ſometimes buſineſs, he deceiv'd for a time even the wiſeſt men, much longer the common people, and the provinces for a great while.

GERMANICUS had already drawn together his army, and was prepar'd to take vengeance on the ſeditious: but judging it proper to allow ſpace for trial, whether they would follow the late example, and conſulting their own ſafety do juſtice upon one another; he ſent letters to CECINA, " that he himſelf approach'd, with a powerful force; " and if they prevented him not, by executing the guilty, " he would put all indifferently to the ſlaughter ". Theſe letters CECINA privately read to the principal Officers, and ſuch of the camp as the ſedition had not tainted; beſought them, " to redeem themſelves from death, and all from " infamy; urg'd that in peace alone reaſon was heard, " and merit diſtinguiſh'd; but in the rage of war, the " blind ſteel ſpar'd the innocent no more than the guilty ". The Officers having tried thoſe they believ'd for their purpoſe, and found the majority ſtill to perſevere in their duty, did in concurrence with the General, ſettle the time for falling with the ſword upon the moſt notoriouſly guilty and turbulent: upon a particular ſignal given, they ruſh'd into their tents, and butcher'd them; void as they were of all apprehenſion: nor did any but the Centurions and executioners know whence the maſſacre began, or where it would end.

THIS had a different face from all the civil ſlaughters that ever happen'd: it was a ſlaughter not of enemies upon enemies, nor from different and oppoſite camps, nor in a day of battle; but of comrades upon comrades, in the ſame tents where they eat together by day, where they ſlept together by night. From this ſtate of intimacy, they fly into mortal enmity; and friends launch'd their darts at friends: wounds, outcries, and blood were open to view; but the cauſe remain'd hid: wild chance govern'd the reſt, and ſeveral innocents were ſlain. For, the criminals, when they found againſt whom all this fury was bent, had alſo betaken themſelves to their arms: nei-

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ther did CECINA, nor any of the Tribunes, intervene to ſtay the rage: ſo that the ſoldiers had full permiſſion of vengeance, and a licentious ſatiety of killing. GERMANICUS ſoon after enter'd the camp now full of blood and carcaſſes, and lamenting with many tears, that "this was "not a remedy, but cruelty and deſolation", commanded the bodies to be burnt. Their minds ſtill tempeſtuous and bloody, were tranſported with ſudden eagerneſs to attack the foe; as the beſt expiation of their tragical fury: nor otherwiſe, they thought, could the ghoſts of their butcher'd brethren be appeas'd, than by receiving in their own profane breaſts a chaſtiſement of honourable wounds. GERMANICUS fell in with the ardour of the ſoldiers, and laying a bridge upon the Rhine, march'd over twelve thouſand Legionary ſoldiers, twenty ſix cohorts of the allies, and eight regiments of horſe; men all untainted in the late ſedition.

THE Germans rejoic'd, not far off, at this vacation of war, occaſioned firſt by the death of AUGUSTUS, and afterwards by inteſtine tumults in the camp: but the Romans by a haſty march paſs'd through the Ceſian woods, and levelling the barrier formerly begun by TIBERIUS, upon it pitch'd their camp. In the front and rear they were defended by a paliſade; on each ſide by a barricade of the trunks of trees fell'd: from thence, beginning to traverſe gloomy foreſts, they ſtopp'd to conſult which of two ways they ſhould chuſe, the ſhort and frequented, or the longeſt and leaſt known, and therefore unſuſpected by the foe: the longeſt way was choſen; but in every thing elſe diſpatch was obſerv'd: for, by the ſcouts intelligence was brought, that the Germans did, that night, celebrate a feſtival, with great mirth and revelling. Hence CECINA was commanded to advance with the cohorts without their baggage, and to clear a paſſage through the foreſt: at a moderate diſtance follow'd the Legions: the clearneſs of the night facilitated the march; and they arriv'd at the villages of the Marſians, which with guards they preſently inveſted. The Germans were even yet under the effects of their debauch, ſcatter'd here and there, ſome in bed, ſome lying by their tables; no watch placed, no apprehenſion of an enemy. So utterly had their falſe ſecurity baniſh'd niſh'd all order and care; and they were under no dread of war, without enjoying peace, other than the deceitful and lethargick peace of drunkards.

THE Legions were eager for revenge; and GERMANICUS, to extend their ravage, divided them into four batalions: the country was waſted by fire and ſword fifty miles round; nor ſex nor age found mercy; places ſacred and prophane had the equal lot of deſtruction, all raz'd to the ground, and with them the temple of Tanſana, of all others the moſt celebrated amongſt theſe nations: nor did all this execution coſt the ſoldiers a wound, while they only ſlew men half a ſleep, diſarm'd, or diſpers'd. This ſlaughter rous'd the Bructerans, the Tubantes, and the Uſipetes; and they beſet the paſſes of the foreſt, through which the army was to return: an event known to GERMANICUS, and he march'd in order of battle: the auxiliary cohorts and part of the horſe led the van, follow'd cloſe by the firſt Legion; the baggage was in the middle; the twenty firſt Legion clos'd the left wing, and the fifth the right; the twentieth defended the rear; and after them march'd the reſt of the allies. But the enemy ſtirr'd not, till the body of the army was enter'd the wood: they then began lightly to inſult the front and wings; and at laſt, with their whole force fell upon the rear: the light cohorts were already diſorder'd by the cloſe German bands, when GERMANICUS riding up to the twentieth Legion, and exalting his voice; "this was the ſeaſon, he cried, to obliterate "the ſcandal of ſedition: hence they ſhould fall reſolutely on, and into ſudden praiſe convert their late ſhame "and offence". Theſe words inflam'd them: at one charge they broke the enemy, drove them out of the wood, and ſlaughter'd them in the plain. In the mean while, the front paſs'd the foreſt, and fortified the camp: the reſt of the march was uninterrupted, and the ſoldiers truſting to the merit of their late exploits, and forgetting at once paſt faults and terrors, were plac'd in winter-quarters.

THE tydings of theſe exploits affected TIBERIUS with gladneſs and anguiſh: he rejoic'd that the ſedition was ſuppreſs'd: but, that GERMANICUS had, by diſcharging the Veterans, by ſhortning the term of ſervice to the reſt, and by largeſſes to all, gain'd the hearts of the army, as well as earn'd high glory in war; prov'd to the Emperor matter of torture. To the Senate however he reported the detail of his feats, and upon his valour beſtow'd copious praiſes, but in words too pompous and ornamental to be believ'd dictated by his heart. It was with more brevity that he commended DRUSUS, and his addreſs in quelling the ſedition of Illyricum, but more cordially withal, and in language altogether ſincere; and even to the Pannonian Legions he extended all the conceſſions made by GERMANICUS to his own.

THE ſame year died JULIA, for her lewdneſs long ſince baniſhed by her father AUGUSTUS into the iſle of Pandateria, and afterwards to the city of Rhegium upon the ſtreights of Sicily. Whilſt CAIUS and LUCIUS, her ſons by AGRIPPA, yet liv'd, ſhe was given in marriage to TIBERIUS; and as a man beneath her, deſpis'd him. Nor any motive ſo cogent as this had TIBERIUS for his retirement to Rhodes. When he came to the empire, ſhe was already under the preſſures of infamy and exile, and ſince the death of AGRIPPA POSTHUMUS, deſtitute of all hope and ſupport: yet ſuch multiplied diſtreſſes ſoften'd not the Emperor, who by a long train of miſeries, and continued want, caus'd her finally to periſh; as he ſuppos'd that in the diſtance of her baniſhment her tragical death would remain conceal'd. From the ſame root was deriv'd his cruelty to SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS, the deſcendent of a family eminently noble, himſelf of a lively wit and prevailing eloquence, but viciouſly applied. He, while JULIA was yet AGRIPPA's wife, had debauch'd her: neither with AGRIPPA ended their vicious league; but after ſhe was given to TIBERIUS, he ſtill perſiſted her adulterer, and towards her huſband inſpir'd her with notable averſion and contumacy: the letters too by her writ to her father, full of aſperity againſt TIBERIUS, and labouring his ruine, were thought to have been by GRACCHUS compos'd. He was therefore baniſh'd to Cercina, an iſland in the African ſea, where, for fourteen years, he ſuffer'd exile. The ſoldiers diſpatch'd to the aſſaſſination found him upon a riſing by the ſhore, to himſelf preſaging nothing joyful from their arrival: of them he only deſir'd a ſhort reſpite to ſend his laſt will in a letter to ALLIARIA his wife, and then to the ſword of the aſſaſſins extended his neck: a conſtancy in death not unworthy the Sempronian name: in his life he had degenerated. Some authors have related, that theſe ſoldiers were not ſent directly from Rome, but by LUCIUS ASPRENAS proconſul of Africa, by the policy and command of TIBERIUS, who in vain hop'd to have upon ASPRENAS caſt the imputation of the murder.

THERE was likewiſe this year an admiſſion of new rites, by the eſtabliſhment of another College of Prieſts, one ſacred to the deity of AUGUSTUS; as formerly TITUS TATIUS, to preſerve the religious rites of the Sabines, had founded the fraternity of Titian Prieſts. To fill the ſociety, one and twenty, the moſt conſiderable Romans were drawn by lot, and to them added TIBERIUS, DRUSUS, CLAUDIUS and GERMANICUS. The games in honour of AUGUSTUS, began then firſt to be embroil'd by emulation among the players, and the ſtrife of parties in their behalf. AUGUSTUS had countenanced theſe players and their art, in compliaiſance to MECENAS who was mad in love with BATHYLLUS the comedian; nor to ſuch favourite amuſements of the populace had he any averſion himſelf; he rather judg'd it an acceptable courteſy to mingle with the multitude in theſe their popular pleaſures. Different was the temper of TIBERIUS, different his politicks: to ſeverer manners, however, he durſt not yet reduce the people, ſo many years indulg'd in licentious gayeties.

IN the conſulſhip of DRUSUS CESAR and CAIUS NORBANUS, a triumph was decreed to GERMANICUS, while the war ſtill ſubſiſted. He was preparing with all diligence to proſecute it the following ſummer; but began much ſooner by a ſudden irruption early in the ſpring into the territories of the Cattans: an anticipation of the campaign, which proceeded from the hopes given him of diſſenſion amongſt the enemy, caus'd by the oppoſite parties of ARMINIUS and SEGESTES; two men ſignally known to the Romans upon different accounts; the laſt for his firm faith, the firſt for faith violated: ARMINIUS was the incendiary of Germany; but by SEGESTES had been given repeated warnings of an intended revolt, particularly during the feſtival immediately preceding the inſurrection: he had even adviſ'd VARUS, "to ſecure himſelf, "and ARMINIUS, and all the other chiefs; for that the

“ multitude thus bereſt of their leaders, would dare to attempt nothing; and VARUS have time to diſtinguiſh “ crimes and ſuch as committed none ”. But by his own fate, and the ſudden violence of ARMINIUS, VARUS fell. SEGESTES, tho’ by the weight and unanimity of his nation, he was forc’d into the war, yet remain’d at conſtant variance with ARMINIUS: a domeſtick quarrel too heighten’d their hate; as ARMINIUS had carried away the daughter of SEGESTES already betroth’d to another: and the ſame relations which amongſt friends prove bonds of tenderneſs, were freſh ſtimulations of wrath to an obnoxious ſon and an offended father.

UPON theſe encouragements, GERMANICUS to the command of CECINA committed four Legions, five thouſand auxiliaries and ſome bands of Germans, dwellers on this ſide the Rhine, drawn ſuddenly together; he led himſelf as many Legions with double the number of allies, and erecting a fort in mount Taunus, upon the old foundations of one rais’d by his father, ruſh’d full march againſt the Cattans; having behind him left LUCIUS APRONIUS, to ſecure the ways from the fury of inundations: for, as the roads were then dry and the rivers low, events in that climate exceeding rare, he had without check expedited his march, but againſt his return apprehended the violence of rains and floods. Upon the Cattans he fell with ſuch ſurprize, that all the weak through ſex or age were inſtantly taken or ſlaughter’d: their youth by ſwimming over the Adrana eſcap’d and attempted to force the Romans from building a bridge to follow them, but by dint of arrows and engines were repuls’d; and then having in vain tried to gain terms of peace, ſome ſubmitted to GERMANICUS; the reſt abandon’d their villages and dwellings, and diſpers’d themſelves in the woods. Mattium the Capital of the nation he burnt, ravag’d all the open country, and bent his march to the Rhine: nor durſt the enemy harraſs his rear; an uſual practice of theirs, when ſometimes they fly, more through craft than affright. The Cheruſcans indeed were addicted to aſſiſt the Cattans, but terrified from attempting it by CECINA, who mov’d about with his forces from place to place; and, by routing the Marſians who had dar’d to engage him, reſtrain’d all their efforts.

Soon after arrived deputies from SEGESTES, praying relief againſt the combination and violence of his countrymen, by whom he was held beſieged; as more powerful amongſt them than his was the credit of ARMINIUS, ſince it was he who had adviſ'd the war. The genius this of Barbarians, to judge that men are to be truſted in proportion as they are fierce, and in publick commotions ever to prefer the moſt reſolute. To the other deputies SEGESTES had added SEGIMUNDUS his ſon; but the young man faulter'd a while, as his own heart accuſ'd him; for that the year when Germany revolted, he who had been by the Romans created Prieſt of the Altar of the Ubians, rent the ſacerdotal Tiara and fled to the revolters: yet, encourag'd by the Roman clemency, he undertook the execution of his father's orders, was himſelf graciouſly receiv'd, and then conducted with a guard to the frontiers of Gaul. GERMANICUS led back his army to the relief of SEGESTES, and was rewarded with ſucceſs. He fought the beſiegers, and reſcu'd him with a great train of his relations and followers; amongſt them too were ladies of illuſtrious rank, particularly the wife of ARMINIUS, the ſame who was the daughter of SEGESTES: a lady more of the ſpirit of her husband than that of her father; a ſpirit ſo unſubdu'd, that from her eyes captivity forc'd not a tear, nor from her lips a breath in the ſtile of a ſupplicant: not a motion of her hands, nor a look eſcap'd her; but, faſt acroſs her breaſt ſhe held her arms, and upon her heavy womb her eyes were immoveably fixt. There were likewiſe carried Roman ſpoils taken at the ſlaughter of VARUS and his army, and then divided as prey amongſt many of thoſe who were now priſoners: at the ſame time, appear'd SEGESTES, of ſuperiour ſtature; and, from a confidence in his good underſtanding with the Romans, undaunted. In this manner he ſpoke.

" It is not the firſt day this, that to the Roman people
" I have approv'd my faith and adherence: from the moment
" I was by the deified AUGUSTUS preſented with the free-
" dom of the city, I have continued by your intereſt to
" chuſe my friends, by your intereſt to denominate my ene-
" mies; from no hate of mine to my native country (for
" odious are traitors even to the party they embrace) but,
" becauſe the ſame meaſures were equally conducing to the

“ benefit of the Romans and of the Germans; and I was “ for peace rather than war. For this reaſon to VARUS, the “ then General, I applied, with an accuſation againſt ARMINIUS, who from me had raviſh'd my daughter, and with “ you violated the faith of leagues: but growing impatient “ with the ſlowneſs and inactivity of VARUS, and well appriz'd how little ſecurity was to be hop'd from the laws, I “ preſs'd him to ſeize my ſelf, and ARMINIUS, and his accomplices: witneſs that fatal night, to me I wiſh it had “ been the laſt! more to be lamented than defended are the “ ſad events which follow'd. I moreover caſt ARMINIUS “ into irons, and was my ſelf caſt into irons by his faction: “ and as ſoon as to you, CESAR, I could apply, you ſee I prefer old engagements to preſent violence, and tranquillity “ to combuſtions; with no view of my own to intereſt or reward, but to baniſh from me the imputation of perfidiouſneſs. For the German nation too, I would thus become “ a mediator, if peradventure they will chuſe rather to repent than be deſtroy'd: for my ſon I intreat you, have “ mercy upon his youth, and pardon his error: that my “ daughter is your priſoner by force I own: in your own “ breaſt it wholly lies, under which character you will treat “ her, whether as one by ARMINIUS impregnated, or by “ me begotten”. The anſwer of GERMANICUS was gracious: he promis'd indemnity to his children and kindred, and to himſelf a ſafe retreat in one of the old provinces; then return'd with his army, and by the direction of TIBERIUS, receiv'd the title of *Imperator*. The wife of ARMINIUS brought forth a male child, and the boy was brought up at Ravenna: his unhappy conflicts afterwards with the contumelious inſults of fortune, will be remember'd in their place.

THE deſertion of SEGESTES being divulg'd, with his gracious reception from GERMANICUS, affected his countrymen variouſly, with hope or anguiſh, as they were prone or averſe to the war. Naturally violent was the ſpirit of ARMINIUS, and now, by the captivity of his wife, by the fate of his child doom'd to bondage tho' yet unborn, enrag'd even to diſtraction: he flew about amongſt the Cheruſcans, calling them to arms; to arm againſt SEGESTES, to arm againſt GERMANICUS: invectives follow'd his fury: “ a bleſſed father “ this SEGESTES, he cried! a mighty General, this GER-

“ MANICUS! invincible warriors theſe Romans! ſo many troops have made priſoner of a woman. It is not thus that I conquer; before me three Legions fell, and three Lieutenant-Generals. Open and honourable is my method of war, nor waged with big-bellied women, but againſt men and arms, and treaſon is none of my weapons. Still to be ſeen are the Roman ſtandards in the German groves, there by me hung up and devoted to our country Gods. Let SEGESTES live a ſlave in a conquer'd province; let him to his ſon recover a foreign Prieſthood: with the German nations he can never obliterate his reproach, that through him they have ſeen between the Elb and Rhine rods and axes, and the Roman Toga. To other Nations who know not the Roman domination, executions and tributes are alſo unknown; evils which we too have caſt off, in ſpight of that AUGUSTUS now dead and enroll'd with the deities, in ſpight too of TIBERIUS his choſen ſucceſſor: let us not after this dread a mutinous army, and a boy without experience, their commander: but, if you love your country, your kindred, your ancient liberty and laws, better than tyrants and new colonies, let ARMINIUS rather lead you to liberty and glory, than the wicked SEGESTES to the infamy of bondage”.

BY theſe ſtimulations, not the Cheruſcans only were rouz'd, but all the neighbouring nations; and into the confederacy was drawn INGUIOMERUS paternal uncle to ARMINIUS, a man long ſince in high credit with the Romans: hence a new ſource of fear to GERMANICUS, who to avoid the ſhock of their whole forces, and to divert the enemy, ſent CECINA with forty Roman cohorts to the river Amiſia, through the territories of the Bructerans. PEDO the Prefect led the cavalry by the confines of the Friſians: he himſelf, on the lake, embark'd four Legions: and upon the bank of the ſaid river the whole body met, foot, horſe, and fleet. The Chaucians, upon offering their aſſiſtance, were taken into the ſervice; but the Bructerans ſetting fire to their effects and dwellings, were routed by STERTINIUS, by GERMANICUS diſpatch'd againſt them with a band lightly arm'd. As this party were engag'd between ſlaughter and plunder, he found the Eagle of the nineteenth Legion loſt in the overthrow of VARUS. The army march'd next to the furtheſt borders of the Bructerans, and the whole country between the rivers Amiſia and Luppia, was laid waſte. Not far hence lay the foreſt of Teutoburgium, and in it the bones of VARUS and the Legions, by report ſtill unburied: hence GERMANICUS became inſpir'd with a tender paſſion to pay the laſt offices to the Legions and their leader: the like tenderneſs alſo affected the whole army. They were mov'd with compaſſion, ſome for the fate of their friends, others for that of their relations here tragically ſlain: they were ſtruck with the doleful caſualties of war, and the ſad lot of humanity. CECINA was ſent before to examin the gloomy receſſes of the foreſt, to lay bridges over the pools, and, upon the deceitful marſhes, cauſways. The army enter'd the doleful ſolitude, hideous to ſight, hideous to memory. Firſt they ſaw the camp of VARUS, wide in circumference, and the three diſtinct ſpaces allotted to the different Eagles ſhew'd the number of the Legions: further they beheld the ruinous entrenchment, and the ditch nigh choak'd up: in it the remains of the army were ſuppos'd to have made their laſt effort, and in it to have found their graves: in the open fields lay their bones all bleach'd and bare, ſome ſeparate, ſome on heaps; juſt as they had happen'd to fall, flying for their lives, or reſiſting unto death: here were ſcatter'd the limbs of horſes, there pieces of broken javelins; and the trunks of trees bore the skulls of men. In the adjacent groves were the ſavage altars; where, of the Tribunes and principal Centurions, the Barbarians had made a horrible immolation. Thoſe who ſurviv'd the ſlaughter having eſcap'd from captivity and the ſword, related the ſad particulars to the reſt: "Here the commanders of the "Legions were ſlain: there we loſt the Eagles: here VARUS had his firſt wound; there he gave himſelf another, "and periſh'd by his own unhappy hand. In that place too "ſtood the tribunal whence ARMINIUS harangu'd: in this "quarter, for the execution of his captives, he erected ſo "many gibbets; in that ſuch a number of funeral trenches "were digg'd; and with theſe circumſtances of pride and deſpight he inſulted the enſigns and Eagles.

THUS the Roman army buried the bones of the three Legions, ſix years after the ſlaughter: nor could any one diſtinguiſh, whether he gather'd the particular remains of a ſtranger, or thoſe of a kinſman: but all conſider'd the whole as their friends, the whole as their relations, with heighten'd reſentments againſt the foe, at once ſad and revengeful. In this pious office, ſo acceptable to the dead, GERMANICUS was a partner in the woe of the living; and upon the common tomb laid the firſt ſod: a proceeding not lik'd by TIBERIUS; whether it were that upon every action of GERMANICUS he put a perverſe meaning, or believ'd that the affecting ſpectacle of the unburied ſlain, would ſink the ſpirit of the army, and heighten their terror of the enemy; as alſo that "a General veſted, as Augur, with the inten-"dency of religious rites, became defil'd by touching the "ſolemnities of the dead".

ARMINIUS retiring into deſert and pathleſs places, was purſu'd by GERMANICUS; who as ſoon as he reach'd him, commanded the horſe to advance, and diſlodge the enemy from the poſt they had poſſeſſed: ARMINIUS, having directed his men to keep cloſe together, and draw near to the woods, wheel'd ſuddenly about, and to thoſe whom he had hid in the foreſt, gave the ſignal to ruſh out: the Roman horſe, now engag'd by a new army, became diſorder'd, and to their relief ſome cohorts were ſent, but likewiſe broken by the preſs of thoſe that fled; and great was the conſternation ſo many ways increas'd: the enemy too were already puſhing them into the moraſs; a place well known to the purſuers, as to the unapprized Romans it had prov'd pernicious, had not GERMANICUS drawn out the Legions in order of battle. Hence the enemy became terrified, our men reaſſur'd, and both retir'd with equal loſs and advantage. GERMANICUS preſently after returning with the army to the river Amiſia, reconducted the Legions, as he had brought them, in the fleet: part of the horſe were order'd to march along the ſea-ſhore to the Rhine. CECINA, who led his own men, was warn'd, that tho' he was to return through unknown roads, yet he ſhould with all ſpeed paſs the cauſway call'd the long bridges: it is a narrow track this, between vaſt marſhes, and formerly rais'd by LUCIUS DOMITIUS. The marſhes themſelves are of an uncertain ſoil, here full of mud, there of heavy ſticking clay, or travers'd with various currents: round about are woods which riſe gently from the plain, and were already fill'd with ſoldiers by ARMINIUS, who, by ſhorter ways and a running a running march, had arriv'd there before our men, who were loaded with arms and baggage. CECINA, who was perplex'd how at once to repair the cauſway decay'd by time, and to repulſe the foe, reſolv'd at laſt to encamp in the place, that whilſt ſome were employ'd in the work, others might maintain the fight.

THE Barbarians ſtrove violently to break our ſtation, and to fall upon the entrenchers: they harraſs'd our men, aſſaulted the works, chang'd their attacks, and puſh'd every where. With the ſhouts of the aſſailants the cries of the workmen were confuſedly mixt; and all things equally combin'd to diſtreſs the Romans: the place deep with ouze ſinking under thoſe who ſtood, ſlippery to ſuch as advanc'd; their armour heavy, the waters deep, nor could they in them launch their javelins: the Cheruſcans, on the contrary, were inur'd to encounters in the bogs; their perſons tall, their ſpears long, ſuch as could wound at a diſtance. At laſt the Legions, already yielding, were by night redeem'd from an unequal combat; but night interrupted not the activity of the Germans, become by ſucceſs indefatigable. Without refreſhing themſelves with ſleep, they diverted all the courſes of the ſprings which riſe in the neighbouring mountains, and turned them into the plains: thus the Roman camp was flooded, the work, as far as they had carried it, overturn'd, and the labour of the poor ſoldiers renew'd and doubled. To CECINA this year prov'd the fortieth of his ſuſtaining as officer or ſoldier the functions of arms; a man in all the viciſſitudes of war, proſperous or diſaſtrous, well experienc'd and thence undaunted. Weighing therefore with himſelf all probable events and expedients, he could deviſe no other than that of reſtraining the enemy to the woods, till he had ſent forward the wounded men and baggage: for, from the mountains to the marſhes there ſtretch'd a plain fit only to hold a little army: to this purpoſe the Legions were thus appointed: the fifth had the right wing, and the one and twentieth the left; the firſt led the van; the twentieth defended the rear.

A RESTLESS night it was to both armies, but in different ways: the Barbarians feaſted and carous'd, and with ſongs of triumph, or with horrid and threatning cries, fill'd all the plain and echoing woods: amongſt the Romans were feeble fires, ſad ſilence, or broken words; they lean'd drooping

ing here and there againſt the pales, or wander'd diſconſolately about the tents, like men without ſleep, but not quite awake: a frightful dream too terrified the General; he thought he heard and ſaw QUINCTILIUS VARUS, riſing out of the marſh all beſmear'd with blood, ſtretching forth his hand, and calling upon him; but that he rejected the call and puſh'd him away. At break of day, the Legions poſted on the wings, through contumacy or affright, deſerted their ſtations, and took ſudden poſſeſſion of a field beyond the boggs: neither did ARMINIUS fall ſtraight upon them, however open they lay to his aſſault: but, when he perceiv'd the baggage ſet faſt in mire and ditches; the ſoldiers above it diſorderly and embarraſs'd; the ranks and enſigns in confuſion; and, as uſual in a time of diſtreſs, every one in haſte to ſave himſelf, but ſlow to obey his officer; he then commanded his Germans to break in: "behold, "he vehemently cried, behold again VARUS and his Le-"gions, ſubdu'd by the ſame fate". Thus he cried, and inſtantly with a ſelect body broke quite through our forces; and chiefly againſt the horſe directed his havock: ſo that the ground becoming ſlippery by their blood and the ſlime of the marſh, their feet flew from them, and they caſt their riders; then galloping and ſtumbling amongſt the ranks, they overthrew all they met, and trod to death all they overthrew. The greateſt difficulty was to maintain the Eagles; a ſtorm of darts made it impoſſible to advance them, and the rotten ground impoſſible to fix them. CECINA, while he ſuſtain'd the fight, had his horſe ſhot, and having fallen was nigh taken; but the firſt Legion ſav'd him: our relief came from the greedineſs of the enemy, who ceas'd ſlaying to ſeize the ſpoil. Hence the Legions had reſpit to ſtruggle into the fair field and firm ground: nor was here an end of their miſeries; a paliſade was to be rais'd, an entrenchment digg'd; their inſtruments too for throwing up and carrying earth, and their tools for cutting turf, were almoſt all loſt; no tents for the ſoldiers; no remedies for the wounded; and their food all defiled with mire or blood: as they ſhar'd it in ſadneſs amongſt them, they lamented that mournful night, they lamented the approaching day, to ſo many thouſand men the laſt.

It happen'd that a horſe which had broke his collar, as he ſtray'd about, became frighten'd with noiſe, and ran over ſome that were in his way: this rais'd ſuch a conſternation in the camp, from a perſuaſion that the Germans in a body had forc'd an entrance, that all ruſh'd to the gates, eſpecially to the poſtern, as the furtheſt from the foe, and ſafer for flight. Cecina having found the vanity of their dread, but unable to ſtop them, either by his authority, or by his prayers, or indeed by force, flung himſelf, at laſt, croſs the gate: this prevail'd; their awe and tenderneſs of their General reſtrain'd them from running over his body; and the Tribunes and Centurions ſatisfy'd them the while that it was a falſe alarm.

Then calling them together, and deſiring them to hear him with ſilence, he minded them of their difficulties, and how to conquer them: "that for their lives they muſt be " indebted to their arms, but force was to be temper'd with " art; they muſt therefore keep cloſe within their camp, till " the enemy, in hopes of taking it by ſtorm, advanc'd; then " make a ſudden ſally on every ſide; and by this puſh, they " ſhould break through the enemy, and reach the Rhine: " but if they fled, more foreſts remain'd to be travers'd, " deeper marſhes to be paſs'd, and the cruelty of a purſuing " foe to be ſuſtain'd". He laid before them the motives " and fruits of victory, publick rewards and glory, with every " tender domeſtick conſideration, as well as thoſe of military " exploits and praiſe". Of their dangers and ſufferings he ſaid nothing. He next diſtributed horſes, firſt his own, then thoſe of the Tribunes and leaders of the Legions, to the braveſt ſoldiers impartially; that thus mounted they might begin the charge, followed by the foot.

Amongst the Germans there was not leſs agitation, from hopes of victory, greedineſs of ſpoil, and the oppoſite counſels of their leaders: Arminius propos'd, "to let the Ro" mans march off, and to beſet them in their march, when " engag'd in boggs and faſtneſſes". The advice of Inguiomerus was fiercer, and thence by the Barbarians more applauded: he declared "for forcing the camp, for that the " victory would be quick, there would be more captives, " and intire plunder". As ſoon therefore as it was light, they ruſh'd out upon the camp, caſt hurdles into the ditch, attack'd and grappled the paliſade: upon it few ſoldiers appear'd, and theſe ſeem'd frozen with fear: but as the enemy was in ſwarms, climbing the ramparts, the ſignal was given to the cohorts; the cornets and trumpets ſounded, and inſtantly, with ſhouts and impetuoſity, they iſſued out, and begirt the aſſailants; "here are no thickets, they ſcornfully "cried; no boggs; but an equal field and impartial Gods". The enemy, who imagin'd few Romans remaining, fewer arms, and an eaſy conqueſt, were ſtruck with the ſounding trumpets, with the glittering armour; and every object of terror appear'd double to them who expected none: they fell like men who, as they are void of moderation in proſperity, are alſo deſtitute of conduct in diſtreſs. ARMINIUS forſook the fight unhurt; INGUOIMERUS grievouſly wounded: their men were ſlaughter'd as long as day and rage laſted. In the evening the Legions return'd, in the ſame want of proviſions, and with more wounds: but in victory they found all things, health, vigour, and abundance.

IN the mean time, a report had flown, that the Roman forces were routed, and an army of Germans upon full march to invade Gaul: ſo that under the terror of this news there were thoſe, whoſe cowardice would have embolden'd them to have demoliſh'd the bridge upon the Rhine, had not AGRIPPINA reſtrain'd them from that infamous attempt: in truth, ſuch was the undaunted ſpirit of the woman, that at this time ſhe perform'd all the duties of a General, reliev'd the neceſſitous ſoldiers, upon the wounded beſtow'd medicines, and upon others cloaths. CAIUS PLINIUS, the writer of the German Wars, relates, that ſhe ſtood at the end of the bridge, as the Legions return'd, and accoſted them with thanks and praiſes; a behaviour which ſunk deep into the ſpirit of TIBERIUS; "for that all this officiouſneſs of hers, he thought, "could not be upright; nor that it was againſt foreigners "only ſhe engag'd the army: to the direction of the Gene-"rals nothing was now left, when a woman review'd the "companies, attended the Eagles, and to the men diſtribut-"ed largeſſes: as if before ſhe had ſhewn but ſmall tokens "of ambitious deſigns, in carrying her child (the ſon of "the General) in a ſoldier's coat about the camp, with the "title of CESAR CALIGULA: already in greater credit with "the army was AGRIPPINA than the leaders of the Legions,

“ in greater than their Generals, and a woman had ſup-
“ preſs'd ſedition, which the authority of the Emperor was
“ not able to reſtrain ”. Theſe jealouſies were inflam'd, and more were added by SEJANUS; one who was well skill'd in the temper of TIBERIUS, and purpoſely furniſh'd him with ſources of hatred, to lye hid in his heart, and be diſcharg'd with increaſe hereafter.

GERMANICUS, in order to lighten the ſhips in which he had embark'd his men, and fit their burden to the ebbs and ſhallows, deliver'd the ſecond and fourteenth Legions to PUBLIUS VITELLIUS, to lead them by land. VITELLIUS at firſt had an eaſy march on dry ground, or ground moderately overflow'd by the tide; when ſuddenly the fury of the north wind ſwelling the ocean (a conſtant effect of the equinox) the Legions were ſurrounded and toſs'd with the tide, and the land was all on flood; the ſea, the ſhore, the fields, had the ſame tempeſtuous face; no diſtinction of depths from ſhallows; none of firm from deceitful footing; they were overturn'd by the billows; ſwallow'd down by the eddies; and horſes, baggage, and drown'd men encounter'd each other, and floated together. The ſeveral companies were mix'd at random by the waves; they waded now breaſt high; now up to their chin; and as the ground fail'd them, they fell, ſome never more to riſe: their cries and mutual encouragements avail'd them nothing againſt the prevailing and inexorable waves; no difference between the coward and the brave, the wiſe and the fooliſh; none between circumſpection and chance; but all were equally involv'd in the invincible violence of the flood. VITELLIUS at length ſtruggling into an eminence, drew the Legions thither, where they paſſed the cold night without fire, and deſtitute of every convenience; moſt of them naked or lam'd; not leſs miſerable than men enclos'd by an enemy: for, even to ſuch remain'd the conſolation of an honourable death; but here was deſtruction every way void of glory: the land return'd with the day, and they march'd to the river Vidrus, whither GERMANICUS had gone with the fleet. There the two Legions were again embark'd, when fame had given them for drown'd; nor was their eſcape believ'd, till GERMANICUS and the army were ſeen to return.

STERTINIUS, who in the mean while had been ſent before to receive SIGIMERUS, the brother of SEGESTES (a Prince willing to ſurrender himſelf) brought him and his ſon to the city of the Ubians: both were pardon'd; the father freely, the ſon with more difficulty, becauſe he was ſaid to have inſulted the corps of VARUS. For the reſt, Spain, Italy, and both the Gauls ſtrove with emulation to ſupply the loſſes of the army; and offered arms, horſes, money, according as each abounded. GERMANICUS applauded their zeal; but accepted only the horſes and arms, for the ſervice of the war: with his own money he reliev'd the neceſſities of the ſoldiers; and to ſoften alſo by his kindneſs the memory of the late havock, he viſited the wounded, extoll'd the exploits of particulars, view'd their wounds; with hopes encourag'd ſome; with a ſenſe of glory animated others; and by affability and tenderneſs confirm'd them all in devotion to himſelf and to his fortune in war.

THE ornaments of triumph were this year decreed to AULUS CECINA, LUCIUS APRONIUS, and CAIUS SILIUS, for their ſervices under GERMANICUS. The title of Father of his country, ſo often offer'd by the people to TIBERIUS, was rejected by him: nor would he permit ſwearing upon his acts, tho' the ſame was voted by the Senate: againſt it he urg'd "the inſtability of all mortal things; and that "the higher he was rais'd, the more ſlippery he ſtood": but for all this oſtentation of a popular ſpirit, he acquir'd not the reputation of poſſeſſing it. For, he had reviv'd the law concerning violated majeſty; a law which, in the days of our anceſtors, had indeed the ſame name, but implied different arraignments and crimes, namely thoſe againſt the State; as when an army was betray'd abroad, when ſeditions were rais'd at home; in ſhort, when the publick was faithleſly adminiſter'd, and the majeſty of the Roman people was debas'd: theſe were actions, and actions were puniſh'd, but words were free: AUGUSTUS was the firſt who brought libels under the penalties of this wreſted law, incens'd as he was by the inſolence of CASSIUS SEVERUS, who had in his writings wantonly defamed men and ladies of illuſtrious quality. TIBERIUS too afterwards, when POMPEIUS MACER, the Pretor, conſulted him, "whether proceſs ſhould be granted upon this law"? anſwered, ſwer'd, " that the laws muſt be executed ". He alſo was exaſperated by ſatyrical verſes written by unknown authors, and diſpers'd; expoſing his cruelty, his pride, and his mind naturally alienated from his mother.

It will be worth while to relate here the pretended crimes charg'd upon FALANIUS and RUBRIUS, two Roman Knights of ſmall fortunes; that hence may be ſeen from what beginnings, and by how much dark art of TIBERIUS, this grievous miſchief crept in; how it was again reſtrain'd; how at laſt it blaz'd out and conſum'd all things. To FALANIUS was objected by his accuſers, that " amongſt the " adorers of AUGUSTUS, who went in fraternities from " houſe to houſe, he had admitted one CASSIUS, a mimick and proſtitute; and having ſold his gardens, had " likewiſe with them ſold the ſtatue of AUGUSTUS ". The crime imputed to RUBRIUS was, " that he had ſworn " falſly by the divinity of AUGUSTUS ". When theſe accuſations were known to TIBERIUS, he wrote to the Conſuls, " that Heaven was not therefore decreed to his father, " that the worſhip of him might be a ſnare to the citizens " of Rome; that CASSIUS the player was wont to aſſiſt " with others of his profeſſion at the interludes conſecrated " by his mother to the memory of AUGUSTUS: neither " did it affect religion, that his effigies, like other images " of the Gods, was comprehended in the ſale of houſes and " gardens. As to the falſe ſwearing by his name, it was " to be deem'd the ſame as if RUBRIUS had profan'd the " name of Jupiter; but to the Gods belong'd the avenging " of injuries done to the Gods ".

Not long after, GRANIUS MARCELLUS, Pretor of Bithynia, was charg'd with high treaſon by his own Queſtor CEPIO CRISPINUS; ROMANUS HISPO, the pleader, ſupporting the charge. This CEPIO began a courſe of life, which through the miſeries of the times and the bold wickedneſs of men, became afterwards famous: at firſt, needy and obſcure, but of a buſy ſpirit, he made court to the cruelty of the Prince by occult informations; and preſently, as an open accuſer, grew terrible to every diſtinguiſh'd Roman. This procur'd him credit with one, hatred from all, and made a precedent to be followed by others, who from poverty became rich; from being contemn'd, dreadful; and in the deſtruction which they brought upon others, found at laſt their own. He accus'd MARCELLUS of "malignant words concerning TIBERIUS"; an inevitable crime! when the accuſer collecting all the moſt deteſtable parts of the Prince's character, alledg'd them as the expreſſions of the accuſed: for, becauſe they were true, they were believ'd to have been ſpoken. To this HISPO added, "that the ſtatue of MARCELLUS was by him placed higher than thoſe of the CESARS; and that having cut off the head of AUGUSTUS, he had in the room of it ſet the head of TIBERIUS". This enrag'd him ſo, that breaking ſilence, he cried, "he would himſelf, in this cauſe, give his vote explicitly, and under the tye of an oath". By this he meant to force the aſſent of the reſt of the Senate. There remain'd even then ſome feint traces of expiring liberty. Hence CNEIUS PISO ask'd him; "in what place, CESAR, will you chuſe to give your opinion? If firſt, I ſhall have your example to follow: if laſt, I fear I may ignorantly diſſent from you". The words pierc'd him, but he bore them, the rather as he was aſham'd of his unwary tranſport: and he ſuffer'd the accus'd to be acquitted of high treaſon. To try him for the publick money, was referr'd to the proper judges.

NOR ſuffic'd it TIBERIUS to aſſiſt in the deliberations of the Senate only: he likewiſe ſate in the ſeats of juſtice; but always on one ſide, becauſe he would not diſpoſſeſs the Pretor of his chair: and by his preſence there, many ordinances were eſtabliſh'd againſt the intrigues and ſolicitations of the grandees. But while private juſtice was thus promoted, publick liberty was overthrown. About this time, PIUS AURELIUS the Senator, whoſe houſe yielding to the preſſure of the publick road and aqueducts had fallen, complain'd to the Senate and pray'd relief: a ſuit oppos'd by the Pretors who manag'd the treaſury: but he was reliev'd by TIBERIUS, who order'd him the price of his houſe; for he was fond of being liberal upon honeſt occaſions: a virtue which he long retain'd, even after he had utterly abandon'd all other virtues. Upon PROPERTIUS CELER, once Pretor, but now deſiring leave to reſign the dignity of Senator, as a burden to his poverty, he beſtow'd a thouſand great ſeſterces, upon ample information that CELER's neceſſities were derived from his father. Others, who attempted the ſame thing, he order'd to lay their condition before the Senate; and from an affectation of ſeverity, was thus auſtere even where he acted with uprightneſs. Hence the reſt preferr'd poverty and ſilence to begging and relief.

THE ſame year the Tiber, being ſwell'd with continual rains, overflow'd the level parts of the city; and the common deſtruction of men and houſes follow'd the returning flood. Hence ASINIUS GALLUS mov'd, "that the Sibylline "Books might be conſulted". TIBERIUS oppos'd it, equally ſmothering all enquiries whatſoever, whether into matters human or divine. To ATEIUS CAPITO, however, and LUCIUS ARRUNTIUS, was committed the care of reſtraining the river within its banks. The provinces of Achaia and Macedon, praying relief from their publick burdens, were for the preſent diſcharg'd of their proconſular government, and ſubjected to the Emperor's Lieutenants. In the entertainment of gladiators at Rome, DRUSUS preſided: it was exhibited in the name of GERMANICUS, and his own; and at it he manifeſted too much luſt of blood, even of the blood of ſlaves: a quality terrible to the populace; and hence his father was ſaid to have reprov'd him. His own abſence from theſe ſhews, was variouſly conſtrued: by ſome it was aſcrib'd to his impatience of a crowd; by others to his reſerv'd and ſolitary genius, and his fear of an unequal compariſon with AUGUSTUS, who was wont to be a chearful ſpectator. But, that he thus purpoſely furniſh'd matter for expoſing the cruelty of his ſon there, and for raiſing him popular hate; is what I would not believe: tho', this too was aſſerted.

THE diſſenſions of the theatre, begun laſt year, broke out now more violently, with the ſlaughter of ſeveral, not of the people only, but of the ſoldiers, with that of a Centurion: nay, a Tribune of a Pretorian Cohort, was wounded, whilſt they were ſecuring the magiſtrates from inſults, and quelling the licentiouſneſs of the rabble. This riot was canvaſs'd in the Senate, and votes were paſſing for impowering the Pretors to whip the players: HATERIUS AGRIPPA, Tribune of the people, oppos'd it; and was ſharply reprimanded by a ſpeech of ASINIUS GALLUS. TIBERIUS was ſilent, and to the Senate allow'd theſe empty apparitions of liberty. The oppoſition, however, prevail'd, in reverence to the authority of AUGUSTUS, who, upon a certain occaſion, had given his judgment, "that players "were exempt from ſtripes": nor would TIBERIUS aſſume to violate any words of his. To limit the wages of players, and reſtrain the licentiouſneſs of their partizans, many decrees were made: the moſt remarkable were, "that no "Senator ſhould enter the houſe of a Pantomime; no "Roman Knight attend them abroad: they ſhould ſhew "no where but in the theatre; and the Pretors ſhould "have power to puniſh any inſolence in the ſpectators with "exile".

THE Spaniards were, upon their petition, permitted to build a temple to AUGUSTUS in the colony of Terragon: an example this for all the provinces to follow. In anſwer to the people, who pray'd to be reliev'd from the *centeſima*, a tax of one in the hundred, eſtabliſh'd at the end of the civil wars, upon all vendible commodities; TIBERIUS by an edict declar'd, "that upon this tax depended the fund for maintaining the army: nor even thus "was the Commonwealth equal to the expence, if before "their twentieth year the Veterans were diſmiſs'd". So that the conceſſions made them during the late ſedition, to diſcharge them finally at the end of ſixteen years, as they were made through neceſſity, were for the future aboliſh'd.

IT was next propos'd to the Senate, by ARRUNTIUS and ATEIUS, whether, in order to reſtrain the overflowing of the Tiber, the chanels of the ſeveral rivers and lakes by which it was ſwell'd, muſt not be diverted. Upon this queſtion the deputies of ſeveral cities and colonies were heard. The Florentines beſought, "that the bed of the Clanis might "not be turned into their river Arnus; for that the ſame "would prove their utter ruin". The like plea was urged by the Interamnates; "ſince the moſt fruitful plains in "Italy would be loſt, if, according to the project, the Nar "branch'd out into rivulets, overflow'd them". Nor were the Reatinians leſs earneſt againſt ſtopping the outlets of the lake Velinus into the Nar; "otherwiſe, they ſaid, it would "break over its banks, and ſtagnate all the adjacent country:

" the direction of nature was beſt in all natural things: it was " ſhe that to rivers had appointed their courſes and diſcharges, and ſet them their limits as well as their ſources. " Regard too was to be paid to the religion of our Latin " allies, who eſteeming the rivers of their country ſacred, " had to them dedicated prieſts, and altars, and groves: " nay the Tiber himſelf, when bereft of his auxiliary ſtreams, " would flow with diminiſh'd grandeur". Now, whether it were, that the prayers of the colonies, or the difficulty of the work, or the influence of ſuperſtition prevail'd; it is certain the opinion of PISO was follow'd; namely, that nothing ſhould be altered.

TO POPPEUS SABINUS was continued his province of Meſia; and to it was added that of Achaia and Macedon. This too was part of the politicks of TIBERIUS, to prolong governments, and maintain the ſame men in the ſame armies, or civil employments, for the moſt part, to the end of their lives; with what view, is not agreed. Some think, " that " from an impatience of returning cares, he was for making whatever he once lik'd, perpetual". Others, " that " from the malignity of his invidious nature, he regretted " the preferring of many". There are ſome who believe, " that as he had a crafty penetrating ſpirit, ſo he had an underſtanding ever irreſolute and perplexed". So much is certain, that he never courted any eminent vertue, yet hated vice: from the beſt men he dreaded danger to himſelf; and diſgrace to the publick from the worſt. This heſitation maſter'd him ſo much at laſt, that he committed foreign governments to ſome, whom he meant never to ſuffer to leave Rome.

CONCERNING the management of conſular elections, either then or afterwards under TIBERIUS, I can affirm ſcarce any thing: ſuch is the variance about it, not only amongſt hiſtorians, but even in his own ſpeeches. Sometimes, not naming the candidates, he deſcrib'd them by their family, by their life and manners, and by the number of their campaigns; ſo as it might be apparent whom he meant. Again, avoiding even to deſcribe them, he exhorted the candidates not to diſturb the election by their intrigues, and promis'd himſelf to take care of their intereſts. But chiefly, he uſed

ſed to declare, " that to him none had ſignified their pre-" tenſions, but ſuch whoſe names he had delivered to the " Conſuls; others too were at liberty to offer the like pre-" tenſions, if they truſted to the favour of the Senate or " their own merits". Specious words! but intirely empty, or full of fraud; and, by how much they were covered with the greater guiſe of liberty, by ſo much threatning a more haſty and devouring bondage.

THE SECOND ANNAL

DURING the conſulſhip of SISENNA STATILIUS TAURUS, and LUCIUS, LIBO, the Kingdoms and Roman provinces of the eaſt, were involv'd in an uproar of arms, begun by the Parthians, who having ſought and accepted a King from Rome, did afterwards, though he was of the race of the Arſacides, contemn him as a foreigner. This was VENONES, who had been given as an hoſtage to AUGUSTUS by PHRAHATES: for PHRAHATES, tho' he had defeated the Roman Captains and armies, yet had courted AUGUSTUS with all the reverence of a dependent, and ſent him, to bind their friendſhip, part of his offspring; not ſo much through fear of the Romans, as diſtruſting the ill faith of the Parthians.

AFTER the death of PHRAHATES and the ſucceeding Kings, ambaſſadors from the chief men of Parthia arriv'd at Rome, to call home VENONES his eldeſt ſon; in order to end their inteſtine ſlaughters. TIBERIUS found his own grandeur and glory in this embaſſy, and diſmiſs'd him with great pomp and preſents. The Barbarians too receiv'd him with rapture and exultation; a ſpirit which commonly animates the people, where their governors are yet new and untried. But ſhame ſoon ſucceeded; ſhame "for the degeneracy of the Parthians, to have thus ſent to another world for a King, one debauch'd with the manners and maxims of their enemies: the imperial throne of the Arſacides, they ſaid, was now deem'd and given as a Roman province: where was the glory of thoſe brave Parthians who ſlew CRASSUS, of thoſe who exterminated MARC ANTHONY; if they were reduced ſo low as to receive for the Lord of Parthia a ſlave of CESAR's, inur'd ſo many years to foreign bondage"? His own behaviour inflam'd their diſdain: he abandon'd the cuſtoms of his anceſtors; was ſeldom in the chace; took ſmall delight in horſes, travell'd luxuriouſly through their towns in a litter, and deſpis'd the Parthians feaſts: they ridicul'd his Greek attendance, and the mean care of ſealing up his domeſtick moveables with his ſignet: but, his eaſineſs of acceſs, his flowing courteſy (virtues unknown to the Parthians) were to them ſo many new vices; and every part of his manners, the laudable and the bad, were ſubject to equal hatred, becauſe foreign from their own.

THEY therefore ſent for ARTABANUS, of the blood of the Arſacides, bred amongſt the Dahans. In the firſt engagement he was routed, but repair'd his forces and gain'd the Kingdom. The vanquiſh'd VENONES found a retreat in Armenia, a vacant throne, and a people wavering between the neighbouring powers of Parthia and of Rome: from us they were alienated by the fraud and iniquity of MARC ANTHONY, who having by ſhews and profeſſions of friendſhip, enſnar'd into his power ARTAVASDES, King of the Armenians, loaded him with chains, and at laſt put him to death. ARTAXIAS, his ſon, for his father's ſake hating us, defended himſelf and his Kingdom by the protection and forces of the Arſacides. ARTAXIAS being ſlain by a conſpiracy of his kindred; TIGRANES was by AUGUSTUS ſet over the Armenians, and by TIBERIUS NERO put in poſſeſſion of the Kingdom. But neither was the reign of TIGRANES laſting, nor that of his children, however aſſociated together, according to the mode and politicks of the Eaſt, by the double ties of marriage and government. ARTAVASDES was next eſtabliſh'd, by the appointment of AUGUSTUS, and then expell'd; but at great expence of Roman blood.

CAIUS CESAR was then choſen to ſettle Armenia: by him ARIOBARZANES, by deſcent a Mede, was for his graceful perſon and eminent endowments, placed over the Armenians, with their own conſent. ARIOBARZANES being kill'd by an accident, they would not bear the rule of his children, but tried the government of a woman (her name ERATO,) and quickly expuls'd her. After this, unſettled and wavering, rather exempt from tyranny, than poſſeſs'd of liberty, they receiv'd the fugitive VENONES for their King: but anon, when he ſaw himſelf threaten'd by

ARTABANUS, ſmall reliance on the Armenians, and no protection from the Romans without a war with the Parthians, he accepted the offer of CRETICUS SILANUS, Governor of Syria, who invited him thither; but when he came, ſet a guard upon him; leaving him ſtill the name and luxury of royalty: what attempts VENONES made to eſcape from this mock-majeſty, we will relate in its place.

THE commotions in the Eaſt happen'd not ungratefully to TIBERIUS, ſince then he had a colour for ſeparating GERMANICUS from his old and faithful Legions; for ſetting him over ſtrange provinces, and expoſing him at once to caſual perils and the efforts of fraud. But he, the more ardent he found the affections of the ſoldiers, and the greater the hatred of his uncle, ſo much the more intent upon a deciſive victory, weighed with himſelf all the methods of that war, with all the diſaſters and ſucceſſes which had befallen him in it to this his third year. He remember'd, "that the Germans were ever routed in a fair battle, and "upon equal ground; that woods and boggs, ſhort ſummers, and early winters, were their chief reſources; that "his own men ſuffer'd not ſo much from their wounds, "as from tedious marches, and the loſs of their arms: the "Gauls were weary of furniſhing horſes; long and cumberſom was his train of baggage, eaſily ſurpriz'd, and "with difficulty defended: but, if we enter'd the country "by ſea, the invaſion would be eaſy, and the enemy unappriz'd: beſides, the war would be earlier begun; the "Legions and proviſions would be carried together, and "the cavalry brought with ſafety, through the mouths and "chanels of the rivers, into the heart of Germany".

ON that method therefore he fix'd: whilſt PUBLIUS VITELLIUS and PUBLIUS CANTIUS, were ſent to collect the tribute of the Gauls; SILIUS, ANTEIUS, and CECINA, had the direction of building the fleet: a thouſand veſſels were thought ſufficient, and with diſpatch finiſh'd: ſome were ſhort, ſharp at both ends, and wide in the middle, the eaſier to endure the agitations of the waves: ſome had flat bottoms, that without damage they might bear to run aground: ſeveral had helms at each end, that by ſuddenly turning the oars only, they might work either way. Many were arch'd over, for carrying the engines of war. They were fitted for holding horſes and proviſions, to fly with ſails, to run with oars; and the ſpirit and alacrity of the ſoldiers heighten'd the ſhew and terror of the fleet. They were to meet at the Iſle of Batavia, which was choſen for its eaſy landing, for its convenience to receive the forces, and thence to tranſport them to the war. For the Rhine flowing in one continual chanel, or only broken by ſmall iſlands, is, at the extremity of Batavia, divided as it were into two rivers; one running ſtill through Germany, and retaining the ſame name and violent current, till it mixes with the ocean; the other waſhing the Gallick ſhore, with a broader and more gentle ſtream, is by the inhabitants call'd by another name, the Wahal, which it ſoon after changes for that of the river Meuſe, by whoſe immenſe mouth it is diſcharged into the ſame ocean.

WHILE the fleet ſail'd, GERMANICUS commanded SILIUS his Lieutenant, with a flying band to invade the Cattans; and he himſelf upon hearing that the fort upon the river Luppia was beſieged, led ſix Legions thither: but the ſudden rains prevented SILIUS from doing more than taking ſome ſmall plunder, with the wife and daughter of ARPUS, Prince of the Cattans; nor did the beſiegers ſtay to fight GERMANICUS, but upon the report of his approach, ſtole off and diſpers'd: as they had, however, thrown down the common tomb lately rais'd over the Varian Legions, and the old altar erected to DRUSUS; he reſtor'd the altar, and perform'd in perſon with the Legions, the funeral ceremony of running courſes to the honour of his father. To replace the tomb was not thought fit; but, all the ſpace between fort Aliſo and the Rhine, he fortified with a new barrier.

THE fleet was now arriv'd; the proviſions were ſent forward; ſhips were aſſign'd to the Legions and the allies; and he enter'd the canal cut by DRUSUS, and call'd by his name. Here he invok'd his father, "to be propitious "to his ſon attempting the ſame enterprizes; to inſpire "him with the ſame counſels, and animate him by his "example". Hence he ſail'd fortunately through the lakes and the ocean to the river Amiſia, and at the town of Amiſia the fleet was left, upon the left ſhore, and it was a fault that it ſail'd no higher; for he landed the army on the right ſhore; ſo that in making bridges many days were conſum'd. The horſe and the Legions paſs'd over without danger, as it was yet ebb; but the returning tide diſorder'd the rear, eſpecially the Batavians, while they play'd with the waves, and ſhew'd their dexterity in ſwimming; and ſome were drown'd. Whilſt GERMANICUS was encamping, he was told of the revolt of the Angrivarians behind him; and thither he diſpatch'd a body of horſe and light foot, under STERTINIUS, who with fire and ſlaughter took vengeance on the perfidious revolters.

BETWEEN the Romans and the Cheruſcans flow'd the river Viſurgis, and on the banks of it ſtood ARMINIUS, with the other chiefs: he inquir'd whether GERMANICUS was come; and being anſwer'd that he was there, he pray'd leave to ſpeak with his brother: this brother of his was in the army, his name FLAVIUS, one remarkable for his laſting faith towards the Romans, and for the loſs of an eye in the war under TIBERIUS: this requeſt was granted. FLAVIUS ſtep'd forward, and was ſaluted by ARMINIUS, who having remov'd his own attendance, deſir'd that our archers rang'd upon the oppoſite banks, might retire: when they were withdrawn, "how came you "(ſays he to his brother) by that deformity in your "face"? The brother having inform'd him where, and in what fight, was next ask'd, "what reward he had "receiv'd"? FLAVIUS anſwer'd, "increaſe of pay, the "chain, the crown, and other military gifts"; all which ARMINIUS treated with deriſion, as the vile wages of ſervitude.

HERE began a warm conteſt: FLAVIUS pleaded "the "grandeur of the Roman Empire, the power of the Em-"peror, the Roman clemency to ſubmitting nations; the "heavy yoke of the vanquiſh'd; and that neither the "wife, nor ſon of ARMINIUS, was uſ'd like a captive". ARMINIUS to all this oppoſ'd "the natural rights of "their country, their ancient liberty; the domeſtick Gods "of Germany; he urg'd the prayers of their common mo-"ther join'd to his own, that he would not prefer the "character of a deſerter, that of a betrayer of his fami-"ly, his countrymen and kindred, to the glory of being

“ their commander ”. By degrees they fell into reproaches; nor would the interpoſition of the river have reſtrain’d them from blows, had not STERTINIUS haſted to lay hold on FLAVIUS, full of rage, and calling for his arms and his horſe. On the oppoſite ſide was ſeen ARMINIUS, ſwelling with ferocity and threats, and denouncing battle. For, of what he ſaid, much was ſaid in Latin; having as the General of his countrymen, ſerv’d in the Roman armies.

NEXT day, the German army ſtood embattel’d beyond the Viſurgis. GERMANICUS, who thought it became not a General to endanger the Legions, till for their paſſage and ſecurity, he had placed bridges and guards, made the horſe ford over. They were led by STERTINIUS, and EMILIUS Lieutenant-Colonel of a Legion; and theſe two officers croſs’d the river in diſtant places, to divide the foe. CARIOVALDA, Captain of the Batavians, paſs’d it where moſt rapid, and was by the Cheruſcans, who feigned flight, drawn into a plain ſurrounded with woods, whence they ruſh’d out upon him and aſſaulted him on every ſide; overthrew thoſe who reſiſted, and preſs’d vehemently upon thoſe who gave way. The diſtreſs’d Batavians form’d themſelves into a ring, but were again broken, partly by a cloſe aſſault, partly by diſtant ſhowers of darts. CARIOVALDA, having long ſuſtained the fury of the enemy, exhorted his men to draw up into platoons, and break through the prevailing hoſt; he himſelf forc’d his way into their center, and fell with his horſe under a ſhower of darts, and many of the principal Batavians round him: the reſt were ſaved by their own bravery, or reſcu’d by the cavalry under STERTINIUS and EMILIUS.

GERMANICUS, having paſs’d the Viſurgis, learnt from a deſerter, that ARMINIUS had mark’d out the place of battle; that more nations had alſo join’d him; that they rendevous’d in a wood ſacred to HERCULES, and would attempt to ſtorm our camp by night. The deſerter was believ’d; the enemy’s fires were diſcern’d; and the ſcouts having advanced towards them, reported that they had heard the neighing of horſes, and the hollow murmur of a mighty and tumultuous hoſt. In this important conjuncture, upon the approach of a deciſive battle, GERMA-

NICUS thought it behov'd him to learn the inclinations and ſpirit of the ſoldiers, and deliberated with himſelf how to be inform'd without fraud: " for the reports of the " Tribunes and Centurions us'd to be oft'ner pleaſing " than true; his freedmen had ſtill ſlaviſh ſouls, incapable " of free ſpeech; friends were apt to flatter; there was " the ſame uncertainty in an aſſembly, where the coun- " ſel propos'd by a few, was wont to be eccho'd by all: " in truth, the minds of the ſoldiery were then beſt known " when they were leaſt watch'd; when free and over " their meals, they frankly diſclos'd their hopes and fears",

IN the beginning of night, he went out at the augural gate, with a ſingle attendant; himſelf diſguis'd with the skin of a wild beaſt hanging over his ſhoulders; and chuſing ſecret ways, he eſcap'd the notice of the watch, enter'd the lanes of the camp, liſten'd from tent to tent, and enjoy'd the pleaſing diſplay of his own popularity and fame; as one was magnifying the imperial birth of his General; another his graceful perſon; and all his patience, condeſcenſion, and the equality of his ſoul in every temper, pleaſant or grave: they confeſs'd the gratitude due to ſo much merit, and that in battle they ought to expreſs it, and to ſacrifice at the ſame time to glory and revenge, theſe perfidious Germans, who for ever violated ſtipulations and peace. In the mean time, one of the enemy who underſtood Latin, rode up to the paliſades, and, with a loud voice, offer'd in the name of ARMINIUS, to every deſerter a wife and land, and as long as the war laſted, an hundred ſeſterces a day. This contumely kindled the wrath of the Legions: " let day " come, they cry'd, let battle be given: the ſoldiers " would ſeize and not accept the lands of the Germans; " take and not receive German wives; they however re- " ceiv'd the offer as an omen of victory, and conſider'd " the money and women as their deſtin'd prey". Near the third watch of the night, they approach'd, and inſulted the camp, but without ſtriking a blow, when they found the ramparts cover'd thick with cohorts, and no advantage given.

Germanicus had the ſame night a joyful dream: he thought he ſacrific'd, and, in place of his own robe beſmear'd with the ſacred blood, receiv'd one fairer from the hands of his grandmother augusta; ſo that elevated by the omen, and by equal encouragement from the auſpices, he call'd an aſſembly, where he open'd his deliberations concerning the approaching battle, with all the advantages contributing to victory; "That to the Roman " ſoldiers not only plains and dales, but, with due cir- " cumſpection, even woods and foreſts were commodious " for an engagement; the huge targets, the enormous " ſpears of the Barbarians, could never be weilded a- " mongſt thickets and trunks of trees, like Roman ſwords " and javelins, and armour adjuſted to the ſhape and ſize " of their bodies; ſo that with theſe tractable arms they " might thicken their blows, and ſtrike with certainty at " the naked faces of the enemy; ſince the Germans were " neither furniſh'd with head-piece nor coat of male; " nor were their bucklers bound with leather, or forti- " fied with iron, but all bare basket-work, or painted " boards; and tho' their firſt ranks were armed with " pikes, the reſt had only ſtakes burnt at the end, or " ſhort and contemptible darts: for their perſons, as they " were terrible to ſight, and violent in the onſet, ſo they " were utterly impatient of wounds, unaffected with their " own diſgrace, unconcern'd for the honour of their Ge- " neral, whom they ever deſerted and fled; in diſtreſs " cowards, in proſperity deſpiſers of all divine, of all " human laws: in fine, if the army, after their fatigues " at ſea, and their tedious marches by land, long'd for " an utter end of their labour; by this battle they might " gain it: the Elb was now nearer than the Rhine; and " if they would make him a conqueror in thoſe coun- " tries where his father and his uncle had conquer'd, the " war was concluded". The ardour of the ſoldiers follow'd the ſpeech of the General, and the ſignal for the onſet was given.

Neither did arminius, or the other Chiefs, neglect to declare to their ſeveral bands, that "theſe Romans " were the cowardly fugitives of the Varian army, who, " becauſe they could not endure to fight, had afterwards

“ choſen to rebel: that ſome with backs deform'd by
“ wounds; ſome with limbs maim'd by tempeſts; forſaken of hope, and the Gods againſt them, were once
“ more preſenting their lives to their vengeful foes: hitherto a fleet, and unfrequented ſeas, had been the reſources of their cowardice againſt an aſſaulting or a purſuing enemy; but now that they were to engage hand
“ to hand, vain would be their relief from wind and oars
“ after a defeat: the Germans needed only remember their
“ rapine, cruelty, and pride; and that to themſelves nothing remain'd, but either to maintain their native liberty, or by death to prevent bondage”.

THE enemy thus inflam'd, and calling for battle, were led into a plain call'd Idiſtaviſus: it lies between the Viſurgis and the hills, and winds unequally along, as it is ſtreigthen'd by the ſwellings of the mountains, or enlarg'd by the circuits of the river: behind roſe a foreſt of high trees, thick of branches above, but clear of buſhes below: the army of Barbarians kept the plain, and the entrances of the foreſt: the Cheruſcans alone ſat down upon the mountain, in order to pour down from thence upon the Romans, as ſoon as they became engag'd in the fight. Our army march'd thus; the auxiliary Gauls and Germans in front, after them the foot archers, next four Legions, and then GERMANICUS with two pretorian Cohorts, and the choice of the cavalry; then four Legions more, and the light foot with archers on horſeback, and the other troops of the allies; the men all intent to march in order of battle, and ready to engage as they march'd.

AS the impatient bands of Cheruſcans were now perceiv'd deſcending fiercely from the hills, GERMANICUS commanded a body of the beſt horſe to charge them in the flank, and STERTINIUS with the reſt to wheel round to attack them in the rear, and promis'd to be ready to aſſiſt them in perſon. During this a joyful omen appear'd; eight eagles were ſeen to fly toward the wood, and to enter it; a preſage of victory to the General! *Advance,* he cry'd, *follow the Roman birds; follow the tutelar Deities of the Legions.* Inſtantly the foot charg'd the enemies front, and inſtantly the detach'd cavalry attack'd their flank and rear: this double aſſault had a ſtrange event; the two diviſions of their army fled oppoſite ways; that in the woods ran to the plain; that in the plain ruſh'd into the woods. The Cheruſcans between both, were driven from the hills, amongſt them ARMINIUS remarkably brave, who with his hand, his voice, and diſtinguiſh'd wounds, was ſtill ſuſtaining the fight: he had aſſaulted the archers, and would have broken through them; but the cohorts of the Retians, the Vindelicians, and the Gauls, march'd to their relief: however, by his own vigour, and the force of his horſe, he eſcap'd; his face beſmear'd with his own blood to avoid being known. Some have related that the Chaucians, who were amongſt the Roman auxiliaries, knew him, and let him go: the ſame bravery or deceit procur'd INGUIOMERUS his eſcape: the reſt were every where ſlain; and great numbers attempting to ſwim the Viſurgis, were deſtroy'd in it, either purſu'd with darts, or ſwallowed by the current, or overwhelm'd with the weight of the crowd, or buried under the falling banks: ſome ſeeking a baſe refuge on the tops of trees, and concealment amongſt the branches, were ſhot in ſport by the archers, or ſquaſh'd as the trees were fell'd: a mighty victory this, and to us far from bloody!

THIS ſlaughter of the foe, from the fifth hour of the day till night, fill'd the country for ten miles with carcaſſes and arms: amongſt the ſpoils, chains were found, which ſure of conquering, they had brought to bind the Roman captives. The ſoldiers proclaim'd TIBERIUS *Imperator* upon the field of battle, and, raiſing a mount, plac'd upon it as Trophies, the German arms, with the names of all the vanquiſh'd nations, inſcrib'd below.

THIS ſight fill'd the Germans with more anguiſh and rage, than all their wounds, paſt afflictions, and ſlaughters. They, who were juſt prepar'd to abandon their dwellings, and flit beyond the Elb, meditate war and graſp their arms: people, nobles, youth, aged, all ruſh ſuddenly upon the Roman army in its march, and diſorder it. They next choſe their camp, a ſtreight and moiſt plain, ſhut in between a river and a foreſt; the foreſt too ſurrounded with a deep marſh, except on one ſide, which was clos'd with a barrier rais'd by the Angrivarians, between them and the Cheruſcans. Here ſtood their foot: their horſe were diſtributed and conceal'd amongſt the neighbouring groves, thence, by ſurprize, to beſet the Legions in the rear, as ſoon as they had enter'd the wood.

NOTHING of all this was a ſecret to GERMANICUS: he knew their counſels, their ſtations; what ſteps they purſued, what meaſures they conceal'd; and to the deſtruction of the enemy turn'd their own ſubtilty and devices. To SEIUS TUBERO, his Lieutenant, he committed the horſe and the field; the infantry ſo diſpos'd, that part might paſs the level approaches into the wood; and the reſt force the rampart: this was the moſt arduous task, and to himſelf he reſerv'd it: the reſt he left to his Lieutenants. Thoſe who had the even ground to traverſe, broke eaſily in; but they who were to aſſail the rampart, were as grievouſly batter'd from above, as if they had been ſtorming a wall. The General perceiv'd the inequality of this cloſe attack, and drawing off the Legions a ſmall diſtance, order'd the ſlingers to throw, and the engineers to play, to beat off the enemy: immediately ſhowers of darts were pour'd from the engines, and the defenders of the barrier, the more bold and expos'd they were, with the more wounds they were beaten down. GERMANICUS, having taken the rampart, firſt forc'd his way, at the head of the Pretorian Cohorts, into the woods, and there it was fought foot to foot: behind, the enemy were begirt with the moraſs; the Romans with the mountains, or the river; no room for either to retreat, no hope but in valour; no ſafety but in victory.

THE Germans had not inferior courage, but they were exceeded in the faſhion of arms and art of fighting. Their mighty multitude hamper'd in narrow places, could not puſh nor recover their long ſpears; nor practiſe in a cloſe combat, their uſual boundings and velocity of limbs. On the contrary, our ſoldiers, with handy ſwords, and their breaſts cloſely guarded with a buckler, delv'd the large bodies and naked faces of the Barbarians, and open'd themſelves a way with a havock of the enemy: beſides, the activity of ARMINIUS now fail'd him; either ſpent through his continual efforts, or ſlacken'd by a wound juſt receiv'd: INGUIOMERUS, was every where upon the ſpur, animating the battle; but fortune rather than courage deſerted him: GERMANICUS, to be the eaſier known; pull'd off his helmet, and exhorted his men, "to proſecute the ſlaughter; they wanted no cap-

“ tives, he ſaid; only the cutting off that people root and “ branch, would put an end to the war ”. It was now late in the day, and he drew off a Legion to make a camp; the reſt glutted themſelves till night with the blood of the foe: the horſe fought with doubtful ſucceſs.

GERMANICUS, in a ſpeech from the tribunal, prais'd his victorious army, and rais'd a monument of arms, with a proud Inſcription, THAT THE ARMY OF TIBERIUS CESAR; HAVING VANQUISH'D INTIRELY THE NATIONS BETWEEN THE RHINE AND THE ELB, HAD CONSECRATED THAT MONUMENT TO MARS, TO JUPITER AND TO AUGUSTUS. Of himſelf he made no mention, either fearful of provoking envy, or that he thought it ſufficient praiſe to have deſerv'd it. He had next commanded STERTINIUS to carry the war amongſt the Angrivarians; but they inſtantly ſubmitted; and theſe ſupplicants, by yeilding without articles, obtain'd pardon without reſerve.

THE ſummer now declining, ſome of the Legions were ſent back into winter quarters by land; more were embark'd with GERMANICUS upon the river Amiſia, to go from thence by the ocean: the ſea, at firſt, was ſerene, no ſound or agitation but from the oars or ſails of a thouſand ſhips; but, ſuddenly a black hoſt of clouds pour'd a ſtorm of hail; furious winds roar'd on every ſide, and the tempeſt darken'd the deep, ſo that all proſpect was loſt; and it was impoſſible to ſteer: the ſoldiers too, unaccuſtom'd to the terrors of the ſea, in the hurry of fear diſorder'd the mariners, or interrupted the skilful by unskilful help; at laſt the ſouth wind maſtering all the reſt, drove the ocean and the sky: the tempeſt deriv'd new force from the windy mountains and ſwelling rivers of Germany, as well as from an immenſe train of clouds, and contracting withal freſh vigour from the boiſterous neighbourhood of the north; it hurl'd the ſhips and toſs'd them into the open ocean, or againſt iſlands ſhor'd with rocks, or dangerouſly beſet with cover'd ſhoals. The ſhips by degrees, with great labour and the change of the tide were reliev'd from the rocks and ſands, but remain'd at the mercy of the winds; their anchors could not hold them; they were full of water, nor could all their pumps diſcharge it; hence, to lighten and raiſe the veſſels ſwallowing at their decks the invading waves, the horſes, beaſts, baggage, and even the arms were caſt into the deep.

By how much the German ocean is more outragious than the reſt of the ſea, and the German climate excels in rigour, by ſo much this ruine was reckon'd to exceed in greatneſs and novelty. They were engag'd in a tempeſtuous ſea, believ'd deep without bottom, vaſt without bounds, or no ſhores near but hoſtile ſhores: part of the fleet were ſwallow'd up; many were driven upon remote iſlands void of human culture, where the men periſh'd through famine, or were kept alive by the carcaſſes of horſes caſt in by the flood: only the galley of GERMANICUS landed upon the coaſt of the Chaucians, where wandring ſadly, day and night, upon the rocks and prominent ſhore, and inceſſantly accuſing himſelf as the author of ſuch mighty deſtruction, he was hardly reſtrain'd by his friends from caſting himſelf deſperately into the ſame hoſtile floods. At laſt, with the returning tide, and an aſſiſting gale, the ſhips began to return, all maim'd, almoſt deſtitute of oars, or with coats ſpread for ſails; and ſome utterly diſabled, were dragg'd by thoſe that were leſs. He repair'd them haſtily, and diſpatch'd them to ſearch the iſlands; and by this care many men were glean'd up, many were by the Angrivarians, our new ſubjects, redeem'd from their maritime neighbours, and reſtor'd; and ſome driven into Great Britain, were ſent back by the little Britiſh Kings: thoſe who had come from a far, recounted wonders at their return, "the impetuoſity of whirlwinds; "wonderful birds; ſea-monſters of ambiguous forms between man and beaſts". Strange ſights theſe! or the effects of imagination and fear

The noiſe of this wreck, as it animated the Germans with hopes of renewing the war, awaken'd GERMANICUS alſo to reſtrain them: he commanded CAIUS SILIUS, with thirty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, to march againſt the Cattans; he himſelf with a greater force invaded the Marſians, where he learnt from MALOVENDUS, their General, lately taken into our ſubjection, that the Eagle of one of VARUS's Legions, was hid under ground in a neighbouring grove, and kept by a ſlender guard. Inſtantly two parties were diſpatch'd; one to face the enemy and provoke them from their poſt; the other to beſet their rear and dig

up the Eagle; and ſucceſs attended both. Hence GERMANICUS advanced with greater alacrity, laid waſt the country, and ſmote the foe, either not daring to engage, or, where ever they engag'd, ſuddenly defeated; nor, as we learnt from the priſoners, were they ever ſeiz'd with greater diſmay, "the Romans, they cried, are invincible: no ca-
" lamities can ſubdue them, they have wreck'd their fleet;
" their arms are loſt, our ſhores are cover'd with the bo-
" dies of their horſes and men: and yet they attack us with
" their uſual ferocity, with the ſame firmneſs, and with
" numbers as it were increas'd".

THE army was from thence led back into winter quarters, full of joy to have balanc'd, by this proſperous expedition, their late misfortune at ſea; and by the bounty of GERMANICUS, their joy was heighten'd, ſince to each ſufferer he caus'd to be paid as much as each declar'd he had loſt; neither was it doubted but the enemy were humbled, and concerting meaſures for obtaining peace, and that the next ſummer would terminate the war. But TIBERIUS by frequent letters urg'd him "to come home, there to celebrate
" the triumph already decreed him; urg'd, that he had
" already tried enough of events, and tempted abundant haz-
" ards: he had indeed fought great and ſucceſsful battles;
" but he muſt likewiſe remember his loſſes and calamities,
" which, however owing to wind and waves, and no fault
" of the General, were yet great and grievous: he himſelf
" had been ſent nine times into Germany by AUGUSTUS,
" and effected much more by policy than arms: it was thus
" he had brought the Sigambrians into ſubjection, thus
" drawn the Suevians, and King MAROBODUUS, under
" the bonds of peace: the Cheruſcans too, and the other
" hoſtile nations, now the Roman vengeance was ſatiated,
" might be left to purſue their own national feuds". GERMANICUS beſought one year to accompliſh his conqueſt; but TIBERIUS aſſail'd his modeſty with a new bate and freſh importunity, by offering him another Conſulſhip, for the adminiſtration of which he was to attend in perſon at Rome: he added, "that if the war was ſtill to be proſe-
" cuted, GERMANICUS ſhould leave a field of glory to
" his Brother DRUSUS, to whom there now remain'd no
" other; ſince the Empire had no where a war to main-

“ tain but in Germany, and thence only DRUSUS could “ acquire the title of Imperator, and merit the triumphal “ laurel ”, GERMANICUS, perſiſted no longer; tho' he knew that this was all feign'd and hollow, and ſaw himſelf invidiouſly torn away from a harveſt of ripe glory.

ABOUT this time, LIBO DRUSUS of the Scribonian family, was arraign'd for meditating attempts againſt the ſtate: and, becauſe then firſt were devis'd thoſe peſtilent arts and impeachments, which for ſo many years devour'd the Commonwealth, I will lay open with the more exactneſs the beginning, progreſs and iſſue of this affair. FIRMIUS CATUS the Senator, a cloſe confident of LIBO, traiterouſly miſled that youth, unwary as he was, and eaſy to be enſnar'd with ſpecious deluſions; engag'd him to try the predictions of the Chaldeans, the ſuperſtitious rites of Magicians, and the interpreters of dreams; and to flatter his hopes and ambition, was inceſſantly magnifying the nobility of his race; for that POMPEY was “ his great grand-“ father, SCRIBONIA, once the wife of AUGUSTUS, his “ aunt, the Ceſars his kinſmen; and his houſe full of “ images ”; tempted him to luxury and borrowing; was aſſociated with him in his debauches, ſurety for his debts, and all to accumulate more matter for crimes and evidence.

WHEN he found himſelf furniſh'd with ſtore of witneſſes, and amongſt them ſome of LIBO's ſlaves, who were alſo privy to the obnoxious conduct of their maſter, he ſought admittance to the Emperor; having firſt by FLACCUS VESCULARIUS, a Roman Knight intimate with TIBERIUS, repreſented to him LIBO as a criminal, as alſo a detail of his crimes. TIBERIUS ſlighted not his information, but denied him acceſs, “ for that the communication “ he ſaid, might be ſtill manag'd by the ſame FLACCUS ”. In the mean time, he preferred LIBO to the Pretorſhip, entertain'd him at his table, ſhew'd no ſtrangeneſs in his countenance, no reſentment in his words (ſo deeply had he ſmother'd his vengeance) and, when he might have reſtrain'd all the dangerous ſpeeches and practices of LIBO, he choſe rather to permit them in order to know them: nor were they check'd or made publick, till one JUNIUS, who was dealt with to call up by charms the infernal ſhades, diſcover'd this to FULCINIUS TRIO, a diſtinguiſh'd accuſer, one greedy of renown in wickedneſs: inſtantly TRIO mark'd out the doom of the accus'd, haſted to the Conſuls, and of them demanded that the Senate might meet and adjudge him; thus the fathers were forthwith ſummon'd, and even appriz'd, that "upon an affair of mighty moment and "horrible tendency to the ſtate, they were to deliberate".

LIBO the while, having chang'd his dreſs, went cover'd with mourning, from houſe to houſe, accompanied by Ladies of the nobleſt rank, and implor'd the mediation of his kindred, that they would protect him againſt mortal and impending ruine, and ſpeak in his behalf: but, every one of them declin'd his ſuit, each upon a different pretence, but, in reality, all from the ſame fear. The day the Senate ſat for his trial; vanquiſh'd with dread, and ſinking under ſickneſs, or, as ſome relate, feigning it, he was born in a litter to the court, and, leaning upon his brother, with ſupplicant hands and words, he accoſted and ſtrove to ſoften TIBERIUS, who receiv'd him with a countenance perfectly unmov'd. It was the Emperor who next recited the charge againſt him, and the authors of the charge; but with ſuch wary moderation, that he might ſeem neither to ſoften nor ſharpen his crimes.

TO TRIO and CATUS, two other accuſers, FONTEIUS AGRIPPA and CAIUS VIBIUS, join'd themſelves, and ſtrove who ſhould have the right to implead the accus'd: at laſt when neither would yield, and LIBO was come unprovided with a pleader, VIBIUS undertook to maintain the ſeveral heads of the charge, and produced articles ſo extravagant, that amongſt the reſt it was one, how LIBO had conſulted the fortunetellers, "whether he ſhould ever be "maſter of opulence ſufficient to cover the great Appian "road with money as far as Brunduſium". There were others of the ſame kind, fooliſh, chimerical, or (taken in a tenderer ſenſe) deſerving pity: but there was one article form'd upon a paper containing the names of the Ceſars as well as thoſe of ſome Senators, with myſterious characters, and miſchievous notes join'd to them: this the accuſer urg'd againſt LIBO as written in his own hand: LIBO denied it, and, hence it was propos'd to examine by torture his conſcious ſlaves: but, ſeeing it was forbid by an ancient law of the Senate, to put ſervants to the queſtion in a trial touching the life of their maſter, the crafty TIBERIUS invented a new law to elude the old, and order'd theſe ſlaves to be ſold to the publick ſteward, that, by this expedient, evidence againſt LIBO might be rack'd from his ſervants, without violating the law. In this ſtate of deſpondency, LIBO requeſted reſpit till the next day, and then returning to his own houſe, tranſmitted, by his kinſman PUBLIUS QUIRINIUS, his laſt prayers to the Emperor, who replied that, "he muſt make his requeſt to the Senate.

HIS houſe was in the mean time encompaſs'd with a band of ſoldiers, who with ſtudied noiſe and terror were filling all the court on purpoſe to be ſeen and heard; juſt when LIBO ſat down to the banquet which, as the ultimate pleaſure of his life, he had prepar'd; but feeling agonies inſtead of pleaſure, he call'd for a miniſter of death; he ſucceſſively graſp'd the hands of his ſlaves and into them ſtrove to ſqueeze a ſword; but they, as they trembled and ſhunn'd the ſad task, through the hurry of fear and flight overturn'd the lamp that illuminated the table; and in this ominous and tragical darkneſs, he gave himſelf two deadly ſtabs in the bowels: as he groan'd and fell, his freedmen ſprang in, and the ſoldiers ſeeing the ſlaughter perpetrated, retired. The charge againſt him was however puſh'd in the Senate, with the ſame unrelenting eagerneſs: yet, TIBERIUS vow'd, "that he would have interceded for his life, "notwithſtanding his treaſon; if he had not thus haſtily "died by his own hands".

HIS eſtate was divided amongſt his accuſers; and thoſe of them who bore the rank of Senators, were, without the regular way of election, preferr'd to Pretorſhips. Then COTTA MESSALINUS mov'd that, "the image of LIBO might "not accompany the funerals of his poſterity": CNEIUS LENTULUS, that "none of the SCRIBONII ſhould henceforth "aſſume the ſirname of DRUSUS"; at the motion of POMPONIUS FLACCUS, days of thanksgiving were appointed: that "gifts ſhould be preſented to JUPITER, to MARS, and "to the Goddeſs Concord; and that the thirteenth of ſep- "tember, the day on which LIBO ſlew himſelf, ſhould "be an eſtabliſh'd feſtival"; were the votes of LUCIUS PUBLIUS, of ASINIUS GALLUS, of PAPIUS MUTILIUS, and of LUCIUS APRONIUS. I have related the votes and ſycophancy of theſe men, to ſhew that adulation is an inveterate evil in the ſtate. Decrees of the Senate were likewiſe made for driving Aſtrologers and Magicians out of Italy; and one of the herd, LUCIUS PITUANIUS, was precipitated from the Tarpeian Rock: PUBLIUS MARCIUS, another, was by judgment of the Conſuls, at the ſound of trumpet executed without the Eſquiline Gate, according to the ancient form.

NEXT time the Senate ſat, long diſcourſes againſt the luxury of the city were made by QUINTUS HATERIUS, a Conſular, and by OCTAVIUS FRONTO, formerly Pretor; and a law was paſs'd “againſt uſing table-plate of ſolid gold; “ and againſt men's debaſing themſelves with gorgeous “ and effeminate ſilks”. FRONTO went farther, and deſired that “ the quantities of ſilver-plate, the expence of “ furniture, and the number of domeſticks, might be “ limited”. For, it was yet common for Senators to depart from the preſent debate, and offer, as their advice, whatever they judg'd conducing to the intereſt of the Commonweal. Againſt him it was argued by ASINIUS GALLUS, “ that with the growth of the Empire private “ riches were likewiſe grown, and it was no new thing “ for citizens to live according to their conditions, but “ agreeable to the moſt primitive uſage: the ancient FABRICII and the later SCIPIOS, having different wealth, “ liv'd differently; but all ſuitably to the ſeveral ſtages “ of the Commonwealth: publick poverty was accompany'd with domeſtick; but, when the State roſe to ſuch “ a height of magnificence, the magnificence of particulars roſe too: as to plate, and train, and expence, “ there was no ſtandard of exceſs or frugality, but from “ the fortunes of men: the law indeed had made a diſtinction between the fortunes of Senators and of Knights; “ not for any natural difference between them; but “ that they who excell'd in place, rank, and civil pre-eminence, might excell too in other particulars, ſuch “ as conduc'd to the health of the body, or to the peace “ and ſolacement of the ſoul; unleſs it were expected, “ that the moſt illuſtrious citizens ſhould ſuſtain the “ ſharpeſt cares, and undergoe the heavieſt fatigues and “ dangers, but continue deſtitute of every alleviation of fa-

“ tigue and danger, and care ”. Gallus eaſily prevail’d, whilſt, under worthy names, he avow’d and ſupported popular vices in an aſſembly engag’d in them. Tiberius too had ſaid, “ that it was not a ſeaſon for re-“ formation; or, if there were any corruption of manners, “ there would not be wanting one to correct them ”.

During theſe tranſactions, lucius piso, after he had declaim’d bitterly, in the Senate, againſt “ the ambiti-“ ous practices and intrigues of the Forum, the corrup-“ tion of the tribunals, and the inhumanity of the plea-“ ders breathing continual terror and impeachments ”, declar’d, “ he would intirely relinquiſh Rome, and retire “ into a quiet corner of the country, far diſtant and ob-“ ſcure ”. With theſe words he left the Senate; tiberius was provok’d; and yet not only ſooth’d him with gentle words, but likewiſe oblig’d piso’s relations, by their authority or entreaties to retain him. The ſame piso gave ſoon after an equal inſtance of the indignation of a free ſpirit, by proſecuting a ſuit againſt urgulania; a Lady whom the partial friendſhip of livia had ſet at defiance with the laws. Urgulania being carried, for protection, to the palace, deſpis’d the efforts of piso; ſo that neither did ſhe ſubmit; nor would he deſiſt, notwithſtanding the complaints and reſentments of livia, that, in the proſecution, “ violence and indigni-“ ty were done to her own perſon ”. Tiberius promis’d to attend the trial, and aſſiſt urgulania; but only promis’d in civility to his mother, for ſo far he thought it became him; and thus left the palace, ordering his guards to follow at a diſtance: people the while crowded about him, and he walk’d with a ſlow and compos’d air: as he linger’d and prolong’d the time and way with various diſcourſe, the trial went on; piso would not be mollified by the importunity of his friends; and hence at laſt the Empreſs order’d the payment of the money claim’d by him. This was the iſſue of the affair: by it piso loſt no renown; and it ſignally increas’d the credit of tiberius: the power however of urgulania was ſo exorbitant to the ſtate, that ſhe diſdain’d to appear a witneſs in a certain cauſe before the Senate; and, when it had been always uſual even for the Veſtal virgins to attend the Forum and Courts of Juſtice, as oft as their evidence was requir'd; a Pretor was ſent to examine URGULANIA at her own houſe.

THE procraſtination which happen'd this year in the publick affairs, I ſhould not mention, but that the different opinions of CNEIUS PISO and ASINIUS GALLUS about it, are worth knowing. Their diſpute was occaſioned by a declaration of TIBERIUS; "that he was about to be abſent", and it was the motion of PISO, "that for that very reaſon, "the proſecution of publick buſineſs was the rather to be "continued; ſince, as in the Prince's abſence, the Senate "and Equeſtrian order might adminiſter their ſeveral parts, "the ſame would redound to the honour of the Common"wealth". This was a declaration for liberty, and in it PISO had prevented GALLUS, who now in oppoſition ſaid, "that nothing ſufficiently illuſtrious, nor ſuiting the dig"nity of the Roman people, could be tranſacted but under "the immediate eye of the Emperor, and therefore the con"flux of ſuitors and affairs from Italy, and the provinces, "muſt by all means be reſerv'd for his preſence". TIBERIUS heard and was ſilent, while the debate was manag'd on both ſides with mighty vehemence; but the adjournment was carried.

A DEBATE too aroſe between GALLUS and the Emperor: for, GALLUS mov'd "that the Magiſtrates ſhould be "henceforth elected but once every five years; that the le"gates of the Legions, who had never exercis'd the Pretor"ſhips, ſhould be appointed Pretors; and that the Prince "ſhould nominate twelve candidates every year". It was not doubted but this motion had a deeper aim, and that by it the ſecret ſprings and reſerves of imperial power were invaded. But TIBERIUS, as if he rather apprehended the augmentation of his power, argued, "that it was a heavy taſk "upon his moderation, to chuſe ſo many Magiſtrates, and "to poſtpone ſo many candidates: that diſguſts from diſap"pointments were hardly avoided in yearly elections; tho', "for their ſolacement, freſh hopes remain'd of approach"ing ſucceſs in the next; now how great muſt be the ha"tred, how laſting the reſentment of ſuch whoſe pretenſi"ons were to be rejected beyond five years? and whence "could it be foreſeen that, in ſo long a tract of time, the

" ſame men would continue to have the ſame diſpoſitions,
" the ſame alliances and fortunes? even an annual deſignation to power, made men imperious; how imperious would it make them, if they bore the honour for five years! beſides, it would multiply every ſingle Magiſtrate into five, and utterly ſubvert the laws which had preſcrib'd a proper ſpace for exerciſing the diligence of the candidates, and for ſoliciting as well as enjoying preferments".

By this ſpeech in appearance popular, he ſtill retain'd the ſpirit and force of the ſovereignty. He likewiſe ſuſtain'd by gratuities, the dignity of ſome neceſſitous Senators: hence it was the more wonder'd, that he received with haughtineſs and repulſe the petition of MARCUS HORTALUS, a young man of ſignal quality and manifeſtly poor. He was the grandſon of HORTENSIUS the Orator; and had been encourag'd by the deified AUGUSTUS with a bounty of a thouſand great ſeſtertia, to marry for poſterity, purely to prevent the extinction of a family moſt illuſtrious and renown'd: the Senate were ſitting in the palace, and HORTALUS having ſet his four children before the door, fixt his eyes, now upon the ſtatue of HORTENSIUS, plac'd amongſt the Orators; then upon that of AUGUSTUS; and, inſtead of ſpeaking to the queſtion, began on this wiſe: "Conſcript fathers, you ſee there the number and infancy of my children; not mine by my own choice, but in compliance with the advice of the Prince: ſuch too was the ſplendor of my anceſtors, that it merited to be perpetuated in their race: but, for my own particular, who marr'd by the revolution of the times, could not raiſe wealth, nor engage popular favour, nor cultivate the hereditary fortune of our houſe, the fortune of Eloquence; I deem'd it ſufficient, if in my ſlender circumſtances, I liv'd no diſgrace to myſelf, no burden to others: commanded by the Emperor, I took a wife: behold the offſpring of ſo many Conſuls; behold the deſcendants of ſo many Dictators! nor is this remembrance invidiouſly made, but made to move mercy. In the progreſs of your reign, CESAR, theſe children may arrive at the honours in your gift; defend them in the mean time from want: they are the great grandſons of

" HORTENSIUS ; they are the foſter ſons of AUGUS-
" TUS ".

THE inclination of the Senate was favourable; an incitement this to TIBERIUS the more eagerly to thwart HORTALUS. Theſe were in effect his words: " If all that are " poor recurr hither for a proviſion of money to their chil- " dren, the publick will certainly fail, and yet particulars " never be ſatiated: our anceſtors, when they permitted a " departure from the queſtion, to propoſe ſomewhat more " important to the ſtate, did not therefore permit it, " that we might here tranſact domeſtick matters, and " augment our private rents: an employment invidious " both in the Senate and the Prince; ſince, whether " they grant or deny the petitioned bounties, either the " people or the petitioners will ever be offended : but, " theſe in truth are not petitions ; they are demands " made againſt order, and made by ſurprize: while you " are aſſembled upon other affairs, he ſtands up and " urges your pity, by the number and infancy of his " children; with the ſame violence, he charges the at- " tack to me, and as it were burſts open the exchequer: " but, if by popular bounties we exhauſt it, by rapine " and oppreſſion we muſt ſupply it. The deified AUGUS- " TUS gave you money, HORTALUS; but without ſoli- " citation he gave it, and on no condition that it ſhould " always be given: otherwiſe diligence will languiſh; " ſloth will prevail; and men having no hopes in reſources " of their own; no anxiety for themſelves, but all ſecurely " relying on foreign relief, will become private ſluggards " and publick burdens ". Theſe and the like reaſonings of TIBERIUS were differently receiv'd; with approbation by thoſe whoſe way it is to extol, without diſtinction, all the doings of Princes worthy and unworthy; by moſt however with ſilence, or low and diſcontented murmurs. TIBERIUS perceiv'd it, and having paus'd a little, ſaid, " his anſwer was particularly to HORTALUS; but, if " the Senate thought fit, he would give his ſons two " hundred great ſeſtertia each ". For this all the Senators preſented their thanks ; only HORTALUS ſaid nothing; perhaps through preſent awe, or perhaps poſſeſs'd, even in poverty, with the grandeur of his ancient nobility:

nor did TIBERIUS ever ſhew farther pity, tho' the houſe of HORTENSIUS was fallen into ſhameful diſtreſs.

THE ſame year, the boldneſs of a ſingle bondman had, but for early prevention, torn the ſtate with diſcord and civil arms: a ſlave of POSTHUMUS AGRIPPA, his name CLEMENS, having learnt the death of AUGUSTUS, conceiv'd a deſign to ſail to Planaſia, and there releaſing AGRIPPA by art or force, to carry him to the armies in Germany; no ſlaviſh deſign this! but, the ſlowneſs of the laden veſſel defeated his bold purpoſe; for AGRIPPA was already murder'd: hence he conceiv'd views ſtill higher and more daring: he ſtole the funeral aſhes, and ſailing to Coſa, a promontory of Etruria, hid himſelf in deſert places, till his hair and beard were grown long; for, in age and perſon, he was not unlike his maſter. Then, a report ſpread by truſty emiſſaries and the aſſociates of the plot, *that Agrippa liv'd*, began to thicken: it firſt crept abroad in dark whiſpers, as uſual in matters of dangerous tendency; but becoming ſoon a prevailing rumour, it fill'd the greedy ears of the credulous, or was encourag'd by turbulent minds, ſuch as are ever fond of publick agitations and changes: he himſelf, when he enter'd the neighbouring towns, did it in the gloom of the day; never to be ſeen publickly, nor long in the ſame place: but, as truth is ſtrengthened by obſervation and time; lies by haſte and uncertainty, he out ran fame: here he ſtaid not to be known; there he arriv'd before his name arriv'd.

IT flew through Italy, in the mean time, "that, by "the bounty of the Gods, AGRIPPA was preſerv'd". It was even believ'd at Rome: his ſuppos'd arrival at Oſtia, was celebrated by great multitudes abroad; and in the city by clandeſtine cabals; whilſt divided cares diſtracted TIBERIUS, whether he ſhould ſuppreſs his ſlave by the power of the ſword, or ſuffer the empty credulity of the publick to vaniſh with time: now he thought that nothing was to be ſlighted; now that every thing was not to be dreaded, wavering between ſhame and fear: at laſt he committed the affair to SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS. CRISPUS choſe two of his clients (ſome ſay two ſoldiers) and directed them to go directly to him, to feign themſelves his creatures, men who were conſcious that he was the genuine AGRIPPA, to preſent him with money, and to promiſe him, without reſerve, their faith and fortunes. They inſtantly executed theſe orders, and afterwards ſpying him one night without guards, and being themſelves furniſh'd with a proper band of men, they carried him to the palace, gagg'd and bound. To TIBERIUS, when he ask'd him, "how he was become "AGRIPPA"? he is ſaid to have anſwer'd, "juſt as you be-"came CESAR". But, to diſcover his accomplices, he could never be conſtrain'd: neither dar'd TIBERIUS venture to execute him publickly, but order'd him to be diſpatch'd in a ſecret part of the palace, and his body to be carried privately away; and, tho' many of the Prince's houſhold, many Knights and Senators, were ſaid to have ſupported him with money, and aſſiſted him with their Councels; no enquiry followed.

AT the end of the year, a triumphal arch was rais'd near the Temple of Saturn; a monument this for the recovery of the Varian Eagles, under the conduct of GERMANICUS, under the auſpices of TIBERIUS: a Temple was dedicated to happy Fortune near the Tiber, in the Gardens bequeath'd to the Roman people by CESAR, the Dictator: a Chapel was conſecrated to the Julian family, and ſtatues to the deified AUGUSTUS, in the ſuburbs call'd Bovillae. In the Conſulſhip of CAIUS CELIUS and LUCIUS POMPONIUS, the ſix and twentieth of May, GERMANICUS CESAR triumphed, over the Cheruſcans, the Cattans, the Angrivarians, and the other nations as far as the Elb. In the triumph were carried all the ſpoils and captives, with the repreſentations of mountains, of rivers, and of battles; ſo that his conqueſts, becauſe he was reſtrain'd from compleating them, were taken for compleat: his own graceful perſon and his chariot fill'd with his five children, heightened the ſhew and the delight of the beholders: yet they were check'd with ſecret fears; as they remember'd, "that popular "favour had prov'd malignant to his father DRUSUS, "that his uncle MARCELLUS was ſnatch'd, in his youth, "from the burning affections of the populace, and, that "ever ſhort liv'd and unfortunate were the favourites of "the Roman people".

Tiberius diſtributed to the people in the name of germanicus, three hundred ſeſterces a man, and nam'd himſelf his Collegue in the Conſulſhip. Nor even thus did he gain the opinion of tenderneſs and ſincerity: in effect, on pretence of inveſting the young Prince with freſh preferment and honours, he reſolv'd to alienate him from Rome: and, to accompliſh it, craftily fram'd an occaſion, or ſnatch'd ſuch a one as chance preſented. Archelaus had enjoy'd the Kingdom of Cappadocia now fifty years, a Prince under the deep diſpleaſure of tiberius, becauſe in his retirement at Rhodes, the King had paid him no ſort of court nor diſtinction; an omiſſion this which proceeded from no diſdain, but from the warnings given him by the confidents of augustus; for that the young caius cesar, the preſumptive heir to the Sovereignty, then liv'd, and was ſent to compoſe and adminiſter the affairs of the Eaſt; hence the friendſhip of tiberius was reckoned then dangerous: but when, by the utter fall of the family of the cesars, he had gain'd the Empire, he enticed archelaus to Rome, by means of letters from his mother, who, without diſſembling her ſon's reſentment offer'd the King his mercy, provided, he came and in perſon implor'd it: he, who was either ignorant of the ſnare, or dreaded violence if he had appear'd to perceive it, haſten'd to the City; where he was receiv'd by tiberius with great ſterneſs and wrath, and ſoon after accus'd as a criminal in the Senate. The crimes alleg'd againſt him were mere fictions; yet, as equal treatment is unuſual to Kings, and, to be treated like malefactors, intolerable; archelaus, who was broken with grief as well as age, by choice or fate ended his life; his Kingdom was reduced into a province, and by its revenues tiberius declar'd, the tax of the hundreth penny would be abated, and reduced it for the future to the two hundredth. At the ſame time died antiochus, King of Comagena, as alſo philopator, King of Cilicia; and great combuſtions ſhook theſe nations; whilſt, of the people many deſired the Roman Government, and many were addicted to domeſtick Monarchy. The provinces too of Syria and Judea, as they were oppreſs'd with impoſitions, pray'd an abatement of tribute.

These affairs, and ſuch as I have above related concerning Armenia, TIBERIUS repreſented to the Fathers, and, "that the commotions of the Eaſt could only be "ſettled by the wiſdom and abilities of GERMANICUS: "for himſelf; his age now declin'd, and that of DRUSUS "was not yet ſufficiently ripe". The provinces beyond the ſea were thence decreed to GERMANICUS, with authority ſuperior to all thoſe who obtain'd provinces by lot, or the nomination of the Prince: but, TIBERIUS had already taken care to remove from the government of Syria CRETICUS SILANUS, one united to GERMANICUS in domeſtick alliance, by having to NERO, the eldeſt ſon of GERMANICUS, betroth'd his daughter. In his room he had preferr'd CNEIUS PISO, a man of violent temper, incapable of ſubjection, and heir to all the ferocity and haughtineſs of his father PISO; the ſame who, in the civil war, aſſiſted the reviving party againſt CESAR in Africa, with vehement efforts; and then follow'd BRUTUS and CASSIUS, but had at laſt leave to come home; yet diſdain'd to ſue for any publick offices, nay was even courted by AUGUSTUS to accept the Conſulſhip. His ſon, beſides his hereditary pride and impetuoſity, was elevated with the nobility and wealth of PLANCINA his wife; ſcarce yielded he to TIBERIUS, and, as men far beneath him, deſpis'd the ſons of TIBERIUS; neither did he doubt but he was ſet over Syria on purpoſe to thwart the meaſures and defeat all the views of GERMANICUS: ſome even believ'd, that he had to this purpoſe ſecret orders from TIBERIUS; as it was certain, that LIVIA directed PLANCINA to exert the ſpirit of the ſex, and by conſtant emulation and indignities, perſecute AGRIPPINA. For, the whole court was rent, and their affections ſecretly divided between DRUSUS and GERMANICUS. TIBERIUS was partial to DRUSUS, as his own ſon by generation; others lov'd GERMANICUS; the more for the averſion of his uncle, and for being by his mother, of more illuſtrious deſcent; as MARC ANTHONY was his grandfather, and AUGUSTUS his great uncle. On the other ſide, POMPONIUS ATTICUS a Roman Knight, by being the great grandfather of DRUSUS, ſeem'd thence to have deriv'd a ſtain upon the images of the Claudian houſe: beſides, AGRIPPINA, the wife of GERMANICUS, did in the fruitfulneſs of her body, and the reputation of her virtue, far excel LIVIA the wife of DRUSUS. Yet the two brothers liv'd in amiable dearneſs and concord, no wiſe ſhaken or eſtranged by the reigning contention amongſt their ſeparate friends and adherents.

DRUSUS was ſoon after ſent into Illyricum in order to inure him to war, and gain him the affections of the army: beſides, TIBERIUS thought that the youth who lov'd wantoning in the luxuries of Rome, would be reform'd in the camp, and that his own ſecurity would be enlarg'd when both his ſons were at the head of the Legions. But, the pretence for ſending him was the protection of the Suevians, who were then imploring aſſiſtance againſt the power of the Cheruſcans. For, theſe nations, who ſince the departure of the Romans, ſaw themſelves no longer threaten'd with terrors from abroad, and were then particularly engaged in a national competition for glory, had relaps'd, as uſual, into their old inteſtine fewds, and turn'd their arms upon each other. The two people were equally powerful; and their two leaders equally brave, but differently eſteem'd, as the title of King, upon MAROBODUUS had drawn the hate and averſion of his countrymen; whilſt ARMINIUS, as a champion warring for the defence of liberty, was the univerſal object of popular affection.

HENCE not only the Cheruſcans and their confederates, they who had been the ancient ſoldiery of ARMINIUS, took arms; but to him too revolted the Semnones and Langobards, both Suevian nations, and even ſubjects of MAROBODUUS; and by their acceſſion he would have exceeded in puiſſance, but INGUIOMERUS with his band of followers deſerted to MAROBODUUS; for no other cauſe than diſdain, that an old man and an uncle like himſelf, ſhould obey ARMINIUS a young man his nephew. Both armies were drawn out, with equal hopes; nor disjointed, like the old German battles, into ſcatter'd parties for looſe and random attacks; for, by long war with us they had learnt to follow their enſigns, to ſtrengthen their main body with parties of reſerves, and to obſerve the orders of their Generals. ARMINIUS was now on horſeback viewing all the ranks: as he rode thro' them he magnified their paſt feats; " their liberty recover'd, the " ſlaughter'd Legions; the ſpoils of arms wreſted from " the Romans; monuments of victory ſtill retain'd in " ſome of their hands": upon MAROBODUUS he fell with contumelious names, as " a fugitive, one of no abili-" ties in war; a coward who had ſought defence from " the gloomy coverts of the Hercynian wood, and then " by gifts and ſollicitations, courted the alliance of Rome; " a betrayer of his country; and a lifeguard-man of " CESAR'S, worthy to be exterminated with no leſs ho-" ſtile vengeance than in the ſlaughter of QUINCTILIUS " VARUS they had ſhewn: let them only remember ſo " many battles bravely fought; the events of which, " particularly the utter expulſion of the Romans, were " ſufficient proofs with whom remain'd the glory of " the war".

NEITHER did MAROBODUUS fail to boaſt himſelf and depreciate the foe. " In the perſon of INGUIOMERUS, " he ſaid, (holding him by the hand) reſted the whole " renown of the Cheruſcans; and from his counſels be-" gan all their exploits that ended in ſucceſs: ARMINIUS a " man of a frantick ſpirit, and a novice in affairs, aſſum'd " to himſelf the glory of another, for having by treach-" ery ſurpriz'd three Legions, which expected no foe, " and their leader who fear'd no fraud; a baſe ſurprize, " reveng'd ſince on Germany with heavy ſlaughters, and " on ARMINIUS himſelf with domeſtick infamy, while " his wife and his ſon ſtill bore the bonds of captivity. " For himſelf; when attack'd formerly by TIBERIUS at " the head of twelve Legions, he had preſerv'd unſtain'd " the glory of Germany, and on equal terms ended the " war: nor did he repent of the treaty, ſince it was " ſtill in their hands to wage, anew, equal war with " the Romans, or ſave blood and maintain peace". The armies, beſides the encitements from theſe ſpeeches, were animated by national ſtimulations of their own: the Cheruſcans fought for their ancient renown, the Langobards for their recent liberty; and the Suevians and their King on the contrary were ſtruggling for the augmentation of their monarchy: never did armies make a fiercer onſet; never had onſet a more ambiguous event; for, both the right wings were routed, and hence a freſh encounter was certainly expected, till MAROBODUUS drew off his army and encamp'd upon the hills; a manifeſt ſign this that he was humbled; frequent deſertions too leaving him at laſt naked of forces, he retired to the Marcomannians, and thence ſent Embaſſadors to TIBERIUS, to implore ſuccours. They were anſwered, “that he had no right to invoke aid “of the Roman arms againſt the Cheruſcans; ſince to “the Romans, while they were warring with the ſame “foe, he had never adminiſter'd any aſſiſtance”. DRUSUS was however ſent away, as I have ſaid, with the character of a negociator of peace.

THE ſame year, twelve noble cities of Aſia were overturn'd by an earthquake: the ruine happen'd in the night, and the more dreadful as it's warnings were unobſerv'd: neither avail'd the uſual ſanctuary againſt ſuch calamities; namely, a flight to the fields; ſince thoſe who fled, the gaping earth devour'd. It is reported, “that “mighty mountains ſubſided, plains were heav'd into “high hills; and that with flaſhes and eruptions of “fire, the mighty devaſtation was every where accom“panied”. The Sardians felt moſt heavily the rage of the concuſſion, and therefore moſt compaſſion; TIBERIUS promiſed them a hundred thouſand great ſeſterces, and remitted their taxes for five years. The inhabitants of Magneſia under Mount Sipylus, were held the next in ſufferings, and had proportionable relief. The Temnians, Philadelphians, the Egeatans, Appollonians, with thoſe call'd the Moſtenians or Macedonians of Hyrcania, the cities too of Hieroceſarea, Cyme and Tmolus; were all for the ſame term eas'd of tribute: it was likewiſe reſolv'd to ſend one of the Senate to view the deſolations and adminiſter proper remedies: MARCUS ALETUS was therefore choſen, one of Pretorian rank; becauſe a Conſular Senator then governing Aſia, had another of the like quality been ſent, an emulation between equals was apprehended, and conſequently oppoſition and delays.

THE credit of this noble bounty to the publick, he increas'd by private liberalities which prov'd equally popular; the eſtate of the wealthy EMILIA MUSA, claim'd by the exchequer, as ſhe died inteſtate, he ſurrender'd to EMILIUS LEPIDUS, to whoſe family ſhe ſeem'd to belong; as alſo to MARCUS SERVILIUS the inheritance of PATULEIUS, a rich Roman Knight, tho' part of it had been bequeath'd to himſelf; but he found SERVILIUS nam'd ſole heir in a former and well atteſted will: he ſaid, ſuch was "the nobility of both, that they deſerv'd "to be ſupported". Nor did he ever to himſelf accept any man's inheritance, but where former friendſhip gave him a title: the wills of ſuch as were ſtrangers to him, and of ſuch as, from hate and prejudice to others, had appointed the Prince their heir; he utterly rejected. But, as he reliev'd the honeſt poverty of the virtuous, ſo he degraded from the Senate, (or ſuffer'd to quit it of their own accord) VIBIDIUS VARRO, MARIUS NEPOS, APPIUS APPIANUS, CORNELIUS SYLLA, and QUINTUS VITELLIUS, all prodigals, and only through debauchery indigent.

ABOUT this time, TIBERIUS finiſh'd and conſecrated what AUGUSTUS began, the Temples of the Gods conſum'd by age or fire: that near the great Circus, vowed by AULUS POSTHUMIUS the Dictator, to Bacchus, Proſerpina and Ceres: in the ſame place the Temple of Flora, founded by LUCIUS PUBLICIUS and MARCUS PUBLICIUS, while they were Ediles: the Temple of Janus, built in the Herb-Market by CAIUS DUILLIUS, who firſt ſignaliz'd the Roman power at ſea, and merited a naval triumph over the Carthaginians. That of Hope was dedicated by GERMANICUS: this Temple ATILIUS had vowed in the ſame war.

THE Law of violated Majeſty, in the mean time, wax'd intenſe, and by it an accuſer impleaded APULEIA VARILIA, grand-niece to AUGUSTUS by his ſiſter; for that with opprobrious words ſhe had reviled the deified AUGUSTUS, TIBERIUS and his mother; and being nearly allied to the Emperor, had ſtain'd by adultery the Ceſarean blood. Concerning the adultery, ſufficient proviſion was thought already made by the Julian Law: and the crimes of ſtate, TIBERIUS deſired might be ſeparated: "if ſhe had utter'd impious ſpeeches of AU"GUSTUS, ſhe muſt be condemn'd; but, for invectives

" againſt himſelf, he would not have her call'd to any " account ". The Conſul ask'd him, " what would be " his ſentiments, if ſhe were convicted of defaming his " mother ". To this he made no anſwer; but next ſitting of the Senate, he pray'd too in her name, " that " no words ſpoken againſt her; might to any one be " imputed for crimes "; and acquitted APULEIA of the treaſon; of her puniſhment too for adultery he begg'd a mitigation, and prevail'd that, " by the example of " our anceſtors, ſhe ſhould be remov'd by her kindred " two hundred miles from Rome ". MANLIUS her adulterer was interdicted Italy and Africa.

A debate at this time aroſe about ſubſtituting a Pretor in the room of VIPSANIUS GALLUS, remov'd by death: GERMANICUS and DRUSUS (for they were yet at Rome) eſpous'd HATERIUS AGRIPPA, kinſman to GERMANICUS: many on the contrary inſiſted, that the number of children ſhould decide it, and the candidate who had moſt be preferr'd; for this was the voice of the law. TIBERIUS rejoiced to ſee the Senate engaged in a contention between his ſons and the laws: the law, without doubt, was vanquiſh'd; yet not inſtantly, and by a ſmall majority; but with the ſame ſtruggle that laws were vanquiſh'd when laws were in force.

THIS year a war began in Africa, conducted by TACFARINAS: he was a native of Numidia, and had ſerv'd amongſt the auxiliaries in the Roman armies; but deſerting the ſervice gather'd together by the allurements of booty and rapine, at firſt a herd of vagabonds and men inur'd to robberies; then form'd them like an army into regular companies of foot, and troops of horſe, under diſtinct ſtandards and colours: at length he was no longer eſteem'd the leader of a diſorderly gang, but conſidered as General of the Muſulanians. This powerful people, borders upon the deſerts of Africa, ſtill wild and without towns, took arms and drew into the war the neighbouring Moors; theſe too had a General of their own, his name MAZIPPA; and between the two leaders the army was divided; that, whilſt TACFARINAS encamp'd with the beſt men, arm'd after the faſhion of Romans, and accuſtom'd them to diſcipline and command;

MAZIPPA with a flying band might make excuſions on every ſide, with fire, ſlaughter, and allarms. They had likewiſe forced the Cinithians into their meaſures; a nation no wiſe deſpicable; when FURIUS CAMILLUS, Proconſul of Africa, march'd againſt the enemy with one Legion, and what troops of the Allies were under his command; a handful of men at moſt, when compar'd to the multitude of Numidians and Moors! But it was his firſt care not to intimidate them with numbers, and thence tempt them to elude fighting, and prolong the war: indeed, he gave them hopes of victory, only to enable him to vanquiſh them. The Legion was placed in the center, the light cohorts, and two wings of horſe on the right and left: nor did TACFARINAS decline the combat. The Numidians were routed; and, after a long ſeries of years, military renown recover'd to the name of FURIUS. For ſince CAMILLUS the reſtorer of Rome and his ſon, the glory of command and victories continued in other families: even he whom I have mentioned, paſs'd for a man deſtitute of military abilities and experience in war: hence TIBERIUS magnified with the more unfeign'd alacrity his exploits to the Senate; and to him the fathers decreed the enſigns of triumph: yet to CAMILLUS all this merit and diſtinction prov'd no ſnare, protected as he was by a life ſingularly modeſt and retir'd.

THE Conſuls for the following year were, TIBERIUS the third time, GERMANICUS the ſecond. This dignity overtook GERMANICUS at Nicopolis, a city of Achaia, whither he arriv'd by the coaſt of Illyricum, from viſiting his brother DRUSUS then abiding in Dalmatia, and had ſuffer'd a tempeſtuous paſſage, both in the Adriatick and Ionian ſea: he therefore ſpent a few days to repair his fleet, and view'd the while the Bay of Actium renown'd for the naval victory there; as alſo the ſpoils conſecrated by AUGUSTUS, and the Camp of ANTHONY, with an affecting remembrance of theſe his anceſtors; for ANTHONY, as I have ſaid, was his great uncle, AUGUSTUS his grandfather: hence this ſcene prov'd to GERMANICUS a mighty ſource of images pleaſing and ſad. Next he proceeded to Athens, where in conceſſion to that ancient city, allied to Rome, he would uſe but one Lictor. The Greeks receiv'd him with the moſt elaborate honours, and to dignify their perſonal flattery, carried before him tablatures of the ſignal deeds and ſayings of his anceſtors.

HENCE he ſail'd to Eubea, thence to Lesbos, where AGRIPPINA was deliver'd of JULIA, who prov'd her laſt birth; then he kept the coaſt of Aſia and viſited Perinthus and Byzantium, cities of Thrace, and enter'd the ſtreights of Propontis, and the mouth of the Euxin; fond of beholding ancient places long celebrated by fame: he reliev'd at the ſame time, the provinces where ever diſtracted with inteſtine factions, or aggriev'd with the oppreſſions of their Magiſtrates. In his return he ſtrove to ſee the religious rites of the Samothracians, but by the violence of the north wind was repuls'd from the ſhore. As he paſſed, he ſaw Troy and her remains, venerable for the viciſſitude of her fate, and for the birth of Rome: regaining the coaſt of Aſia, he put in at Colophon, to conſult there the Oracle of the Clarian Apollo: it is no Pythoneſs that repreſents the God here, as at Delphos, but a Prieſt, one choſen from certain families, chiefly of MILETUS; neither requires he more than juſt to hear the names and numbers of the queriſts, and then deſcends into the oracular cave; where, after a draught of water from a ſecret ſpring, tho' ignorant for the moſt part of Letters and Poetry, he yet utters his anſwers in Verſe, which has for it's ſubject the conceptions and wiſhes of each conſultant. He was even ſaid to have ſung to GERMANICUS his haſtning fate, but as Oracles are wont, in terms dark and doubtful.

BUT CNEIUS PISO, hurrying to the execution of his purpoſes, terrify'd the city of Athens by a tempeſtuous entry, and reproach'd them in a ſevere ſpeech, with oblique cenſure of GERMANICUS, "that debaſing the dignity of the Roman " name, he had paid exceſſive court, not to the Athenians " by ſo many ſlaughters long ſince extinct, but to the then " mixt ſcum of nations there; for that theſe were they who " had leagu'd with MITHRIDATES againſt SYLLA, and " with ANTHONY againſt AUGUSTUS". He even charged them with the errors and misfortunes of ancient Athens; her impotent attempts againſt the Macedonians; her violence and ingratitude to her own citizens. He was alſo an enemy to their city from perſonal anger; becauſe they would not pardon at his requeſt one THEOPHILUS condemn'd by the Areopagus for forgery. From thence ſailing haſtily through the Cyclades, and taking the ſhorteſt courſe, he overtook GERMANICUS at Rhodes, but was there driven by a ſudden tempeſt upon the rocks: and GERMANICUS, who was not ignorant with what malignity and invectives he was purſued, yet acted with ſo much humanity, that when he might have left him to periſh, and to caſualty have referr'd the deſtruction of his enemy; he diſpatch'd galleys to reſcue him from the wreck. This generous kindneſs however aſſwaged not the animoſity of PISO; and ſcarce could he brook a day's delay with GERMANICUS, but left him in haſte to arrive in Syria before him: nor was he ſooner there, and found himſelf amongſt the Legions, than he began to court the common men by bounties and careſſes, to aſſiſt them with his countenance and credit, to form factions, to remove all the ancient Centurions and every Tribune of remarkable diſcipline and ſeverity, and, in their places, to put dependents of his own, or men recommended only by their crimes; he permitted ſloth in the camp, licentiouſneſs in the towns, a rambling and diſorderly ſoldiery, and carried the corruption ſo high, that in the diſcourſes of the herd, he was ſtil'd *Father of the Legions*. Nor did PLANCINA reſtrain her ſelf to a conduct ſeemly in her ſex, but frequented the exerciſes of the cavalry, and attended the decurſions of the Cohorts; every where inveighing againſt AGRIPPINA, every where againſt GERMANICUS; and ſome even of the moſt deſerving ſoldiers became prompt to baſe obedience, from a rumour whiſper'd abroad, “that all this was not unacceptable to TIBERIUS”.

THESE doings were all known to GERMANICUS; but his more inſtant care was to viſit Armenia, an inconſtant and reſtleſs nation this from the beginning; inconſtant from the genius of the people, as well as from the ſituation of their country, which bordering with a large frontier on our provinces, and ſtretching thence quite to Media, is incloſ'd between the two great Empires, and often at variance with them; with the Romans through antipathy and hatred, with the Parthians through competition and envy. At this time and ever ſince the removal of VENONES, they had no King; but the affections of the nations lean'd to ZENO, ſon of POLEMON King of Pontus, becauſe by an attachment, from his infancy, to the faſhions and cuſtoms of the Armenians, by hunting, feaſting, and other uſages practis'd and renown'd amongſt the Barbarians, he had equally won the nobles and people. Upon his head therefore, at the city of Artaxata, with the approbation of the nobles, in a great aſſembly, GERMANICUS put the regal Diadem; and the Armenians doing homage to their King, ſaluted him, *Artaxias*, a name which from that of their city, they gave him. The Cappadocians, at this time reduced into the form of a province, received for their Governor, QUINTUS VERANIUS; and to raiſe their hopes of the gentler dominion of Rome, ſeveral of the royal taxes were leſſen'd. QUINTUS SERVEUS was ſet over the Comagenians, then firſt ſubjected to the juriſdiction of a Pretor.

FROM the affairs of the Allies, thus all ſucceſsfully ſettled, GERMANICUS reap'd no pleaſure, through the perverſeneſs and pride of PISO, who was order'd to lead by himſelf or his ſon, part of the Legions into Armenia, but contemptuouſly neglected to do either. They at laſt met at Cyrrum, the winter quarters of the tenth Legion, whither each came with a prepar'd countenance; PISO to betray no fear, and GERMANICUS would not be thought to threaten. He was indeed, as I have obſerv'd, of a human and reconcileable ſpirit: but, officious friends expert at inflaming animoſities, aggravated real offences, added fictitious, and with manifold imputations charg'd PISO, PLANCINA, and their ſons. To this interview GERMANICUS admitted a few intimates, and began his complaints in words ſuch as diſſembled reſentment dictates: PISO replied with diſdainful ſubmiſſions; and they parted in open enmity. PISO hereafter came rarely to the Tribunal of GERMANICUS; or, if he did, ſate ſternly there, and in manifeſt oppoſition: he likewiſe publiſh'd his ſpite at a feaſt of the Nabathean King's, where golden Crowns of great weight were preſented to

GERMANICUS and AGRIPPINA; but to PISO and the reſt, ſuch as were light: "this banquet, he ſaid, was "made for the ſon of a Roman Prince, not of a Parthian Monarch": with theſe words, he caſt away his crown, and utter'd many invectives againſt luxury: ſharp inſults and provocations theſe to GERMANICUS; yet he bore them.

AT this time arriv'd Ambaſſadors from ARTABANUS King of the Parthians: he ſent them "to repreſent the "ſtate of the mutual league and friendſhip between the "two Empires, how deſirous he was to renew it; that "in honour to GERMANICUS he would come to receive him as far as the banks of the Euphrates; and requeſted in the mean time, that VENONES might not "be continued in Syria; leſt taking the advantage of ſo "near a neighbourhood, he ſhould, by correſponding with "the Grandees of Parthia, ingage them in civil diſſenſion and rebellion". The anſwer given by GERMANICUS, as far as related to the alliance of the Romans and Parthians, was conceiv'd in terms of dignity and grandeur; but, of the coming of the King, and the court and veneration intended to himſelf, he ſpoke with becoming complaiſance and modeſty: VENONES was remov'd to Pompeiopolis, a maritime city of Cilicia; a conceſſion this not to the requeſt of ARTABANUS only, but in contumely to PISO, with whom VENONES was high in favour, for the aſſiduous court and many preſents by which he had won PLANCINA.

IN the Conſulſhip of MARCUS SILANUS and LUCIUS NORBANUS, GERMANICUS travell'd to Egypt, to view the famous Antiquities of the country; tho' for the motives of the journey, the care and inſpection of the province were publickly alledg'd: and, indeed, by opening the granaries, he mitigated the price of corn, and practis'd many things grateful to the people; walking without guards, his feet bare, and his habit the ſame with that of the Greeks; after the example of PUBLIUS SCIPIO, who, we are told, was conſtant in the ſame practices in Sicily, even during the rage of the Punick War there. For theſe his aſſum'd manners and foreign habit, TIBERIUS blam'd him in a gentle ſtile, but cenſur'd him with great aſperity for violating an eſtabliſhment of AUGUSTUS, and entring Alexandria without conſent of the Prince. For AUGUSTUS, amongſt other ſecrets of power, had appropriated Egypt, and reſtrain'd the Senators, and dignified Roman Knights from going thither without licence; as he apprehended that Italy might be diſtreſſed with famine by any who ſiez'd that province, the key to the Empire by ſea and land, and defenſible by a light band of men againſt potent armies.

GERMANICUS, not yet inform'd that his journey was cenſur'd, ſail'd up the Nile, beginning at Canopus, one of it's mouths: it was built by the Spartans, as a monument to CANOPUS, a Pilot buried there, at the time when MENELAUS returning to Greece was driven to different ſeas and the Lybian continent. Hence he viſited the next mouth of the river ſacred to Hercules: him the nations averr to have been born amongſt them; that he was the moſt ancient of the name, and that all the reſt, who with equal virtue follow'd his example, were, in honour, call'd after him. Next he viſited the mighty antiquities of ancient Thebes; where upon huge Obeliſks yet remain'd Egyptian Characters deſcribing it's former opulency: one of the oldeſt Prieſts was ordered to interpret them; he ſaid they related "that it once contain'd "ſeven hundred thouſand fighting men; that with that "army King RHAMSES had conquer'd Lybia, Ethiopia, the "Medes and Perſians, the Bactrians and Scythians; and "to his Empire had added the territories of the Syrians, Ar-"menians, and their neighbours the Cappadocians; a tract "of countries reaching from the ſea of Bithynia to that of "Lycia": here alſo was read the aſſeſſment of Tribute laid on the ſeveral nations; what weight of ſilver and gold; what number of horſes and arms; what ivory and perfumes, as gifts to the Temples; what meaſures of grain; what quantities of all neceſſaries, were by each people paid; revenues equally grand with thoſe exacted by the domination of the Parthians, or by the power of the Romans.

GERMANICUS was intent upon ſeeing other wonders: the chief were; the effigies of Memnon, a Coloſſus of ſtone, yielding when ſtruck by the ſolar rays, a vocal ſound; the Pyramids riſing, like mountains, amongſt roll-ing and almoſt impaſſable waves of ſand; monuments theſe of the emulation and opulency of Egyptian Kings; the artificial Lake, a receptacle of the overflowing Nile; and elſewhere Abyſſes of ſuch immenſe depth, that thoſe who tried, could never fathom. Thence he proceeded to Elphantina and Syene, two Iſlands, formerly frontiers of the Roman Empire, which is now widen'd to the Red-Sea.

WHILST GERMANICUS ſpent this ſummer in ſeveral provinces, DRUSUS was ſowing fewds amongſt the Germans, and thence reap'd no light renown; and, as the power of MAROBODUUS was already broken, he engaged them to perſiſt and complete his ruin. Amongſt the Gotones was a young man of quality, his name CATUALDA, a fugitive long ſince from the violence of MAROBODUUS, but now in his diſtreſs, reſolv'd on revenge: hence with a ſtout band, he enter'd the borders of the Marcomannians, and corrupting their chiefs into his alliance, ſtorm'd the regal palace, and the caſtle ſituate near it. In the pillage were found the ancient ſtores of prey accumulated by the Suevians; as alſo many victuallers and traders from our provinces; men who were drawn hither from their ſeveral homes, firſt by privilege of traffick, then retain'd by a paſſion to multiply gain, and at laſt, through utter oblivion of their own country, fix'd, like natives, in a hoſtile ſoil.

TO MAROBODUUS on every ſide forſaken, no other refuge remain'd but the mercy of CESAR: he therefore paſs'd the Danube where it waſhes the province of Norica, and writ to TIBERIUS; not however in the language of a fugitive or ſupplicant, but with a ſpirit ſuitable to his late grandeur; "that many nations invited him to them, as a "King once ſo glorious; but he preferr'd to all the friend-"ſhip of Rome". The Emperor anſwer'd, "that in Italy "he ſhould have a ſafe and honourable retreat, and, when "his affairs requir'd his preſence, the ſame ſecurity to "return". But to the Senate he declar'd, "that never "had PHILIP of Macedon been ſo terrible to the A-"thenians; nor PYRRHUS, nor ANTIOCHUS to the Ro-"man people". The ſpeech is extant: in it he magnifies "the greatneſs of the man, the fierceneſs and bra-"very of the nations his ſubjects; the alarming near-

“ neſs of ſuch an enemy to Italy, and his own artful meaſures to deſtroy him”. MAROBODUUS was kept at Ravenna, for a check and terror to the Suevians; as if, when at any time they grew turbulent, he were there in readineſs to recover their ſubjection: yet in eighteen years he left not Italy, but grew old in exile there; his renown too became eminently diminiſh'd; ſuch was the price he paid for an overpaſſionate love of life. The ſame fate had CATUALDA, and no other ſanctuary; he was ſoon after expuls'd by the forces of the Hermundurans led by VIBILIUS, and being receiv'd under the Roman protection, was convey'd to Forum Julium, a Colony in Narbon Gaul. The Barbarians their followers, leſt, had they been mixt with the provinces, they might have diſturb'd their preſent quiet, were placed beyond the Danube, between the rivers Marus and Cuſus, and for their King had aſſign'd them VANNIUS, by nation a Quadian.

As ſoon as it was known at Rome, that ARTAXIAS was by GERMANICUS given to the Armenians for their King, the fathers decreed to him and DRUSUS the leſſer Triumph: Triumphal arches were likewiſe erected, on each ſide the Temple of Mars the Avenger, ſupporting the ſtatues of theſe two Ceſars; and for TIBERIUS, he was more joyful to have eſtabliſh'd peace by policy, than if by battles and victories he had ended the war: he therefore alſo aſſail'd by the ways of craft RHESCUPORIS a King of Thrace. That whole nation had been ſubject to RHEMETALCES; but, upon his death, one moyety was by AUGUSTUS granted to RHESCUPORIS his brother; and one to COTYS his ſon: in this partition, the vales, cities, and territories bounding upon Greece, fell to COTYS; to RHESCUPORIS the wilds, the hills, and the parts expos'd to a hoſtile neighbourhood. The two Kings were likewiſe diſſonant in their genius; the former mild and agreeable; the latter cruel, rapacious, and impatient of equality: yet, at firſt they liv'd in hollow friendſhip; but, in a while, RHESCUPORIS began to break bounds, to ſieze for himſelf the portions of COTYS, and, where he met reſiſtance, to exerciſe violence; cautiouſly, 'tis true, and by degrees in the life of AUGUSTUS, to whoſe grant they ow'd both their Kingdoms; and, if his authority had been deſpiſed, his vengeance was dreaded: but, upon the change of Emperors, he pour'd in bands of robbers, demoliſh'd forts, and thus ſought to provoke war.

TIBERIUS was about no conſideration of ſtate ſo anxious, as that things once ſettled ſhould never after be moleſted. He inſtantly diſpatch'd a Centurion to the two Kings, to forbid their proceeding to a deciſion by arms: and COTYS forthwith diſmiſs'd the forces he had rais'd: RHESCUPORIS feign'd ſubmiſſion, and deſir'd an interview, "for that by treaty, he ſaid, they might adjuſt all their differences": and upon the time, the place, and even upon the conditions, they quickly agreed, while one through eaſineſs, one through fraud, yielded and accepted every propoſition. RHESCUPORIS, for a ſanction, as he pretended, to the league, adedd a banquet, and the feſtivity and drinking was prolonged till midnight; when COTYS warm with wine and feaſting, and void of circumſpection was ſuddenly loaded with chains, deprecating in vain the brutal treachery, "by the inviolable rights of Kings, by the common Gods of their family, by that very banquet a ſacred pledge of concord and hoſpitality". RHESCUPORIS having now ſiez'd all Thrace, writ to TIBERIUS, "that bloody ſnares were contriv'd for him; but he had anticipated the contriver"; and pretending a war againſt the Baſterneans and Scythians, fortified himſelf with new forces, horſe and foot.

HE had a ſoft anſwer, "that if he had practis'd no guile, he might ſecurely truſt to his innocence; but neither could he himſelf nor the Senate, without hearing the cauſe, diſtinguiſh between juſtice and violence: that therefore, delivering up COTYS, he ſhould come, and upon him effectually transfer the odium of the crime". This letter LATINIUS PANDUS, Propretor of Meſia, tranſmitted to Thrace, by the ſoldiers ſent to receive COTYS. RHESCUPORIS wavering long between fear and rage, determined at laſt rather to be guilty of a finiſh'd than an imperfect villany: he caus'd COTYS to be murder'd, and belied his death, as if by his own hands it had been procur'd. Neither yet did TIBERIUS change his favourite courſe of diſſembling, but upon the death of

PANDUS, whom RHESCUPORIS alledg'd to have been his enemy, preferr'd to the Government of Meſia POMPONIUS FLACCUS, an ancient officer, one in cloſe friendſhip with the King, and by it more qualified to betray him; hence chiefly he was preferr'd.

FLACCUS paſſed into Thrace, and, tho' he found him full of heſitation, and revolving with great diſmay upon the crying horror of his own wickedneſs; yet by mighty promiſes prevail'd upon him to enter the Roman barrier. Here the King, on pretence of ſolemnity and honour, was ſurrounded with a ſtrong party, and a crowd of officers; who dealt with him by earneſt exhortations, and many arguments, and the further they travell'd, the more apparent to him was his confinement; ſo that at laſt, convinc'd of the neceſſity of going, he was by them haled to Rome. He was accus'd before the Senate by the wife of COTYS, and condemn'd to exile far from his Kingdom. Thrace was divided between RHEMETALCES his ſon, who, 'twas manifeſt, had oppos'd all his father's outrageous meaſures; and the ſons of COTYS: theſe were minors, and placed with their Kingdom under the adminiſtration of TREBELLIENUS RUFUS, formerly Pretor; after the example of our Anceſtors, who ſent MARCUS LEPIDUS into Egypt, in quality of guardian to the children of PTOLOMY. RHESCUPORIS was tranſported to Alexandria, and there ſlain, attempting flight, or falſly charged with it.

AT the ſame time, VENONES, who had been removed, as I have above related, into Cilicia, corrupted his keepers, and endeavour'd to eſcape to Armenia, thence to the Albanians and Heniochians, and then to his kinſman the King of Scythia: thus pretending to hunt, and avoiding the maritime coaſts, he gain'd the devious receſſes of the foreſts; and then on a ſudden, rode full ſpeed to the River Pyramus: but, the country-men, appriz'd of the King's flight, had broken the bridges; neither was the ſtream to be forded: upon the banks therefore of the river, he was by VIBIUS FRONTO, General of horſe, put in bonds; and preſently after, by REMMIUS a reſum'd Veteran, lately his keeper, run thro' in affected wroth, with a ſword: hence aroſe the ſtronger belief that, from conſciouſneſs of fraud, and dread of diſcovery, VENONES was ſlain.

Germanicus returning from Egypt, learn'd that all his orders left with the Legions, and the Eaſtern cities, were either intirely aboliſh'd, or contrary regulations eſtabliſh'd: a ground this for his ſevere reproaches and inſults upon Piso. Nor leſs keen were the efforts and machinations of Piso againſt Germanicus; yet Piso afterwards determined to leave Syria, but was detain'd by the following illneſs of Germanicus: again when he heard of his recovery, and perceiv'd that vows were paid for his reſtoration; the Lictors, by his command, broke the ſolemnity, drove away the victims already at the altars; overturn'd the apparatus of the ſacrifice; and ſcatter'd the people of Antioch employ'd in celebrating the feſtival. He then departed to Seleucia, waiting the event of the malady, which had again aſſaulted Germanicus. His own perſuaſion too, that poyſon was given him by Piso, heighten'd the cruel vehemence of the diſeaſe: indeed, upon the floors and walls were found fragments of human bodies, the ſpoils of the grave; with charms and incantations; and the name of Germanicus grav'd on ſheets of lead; carcaſes half burnt, beſmear'd with gore; and other witchcrafts, by which ſouls are thought doom'd to the infernal gods: beſides there were certain perſons, charged as creatures of Piso, purpoſely ſent and employ'd to watch the progreſs and efforts of the diſeaſe.

These things fill'd Germanicus with apprehenſions great as his reſentment: "if his doors, he ſaid, "were beſieg'd, if under the eyes of his enemies he "muſt render up his ſpirit, what was to be expected to "his unhappy wife, what to his infant children? The "progreſs of poyſon was thought too ſlow; Piso was "impatient, and urging with eagerneſs to command a-"lone the Legions, to poſſeſs alone the province: but "Germanicus was not ſunk to ſuch lowneſs and im-"potence, that the price of his murder ſhould remain "with the murderer": and by a Letter to Piso, he renounced his friendſhip: ſome add, that he commanded him to depart the province. Nor did Piso tarry longer, but took ſhip; yet check'd her ſailing in order to return with the more quickneſs, ſhould the death of Germanicus the while leave the Government of Syria vacant.

GERMANICUS, after a ſmall revival, drooping again; when his end approach'd, ſpoke on this wiſe to his attending friends: "Were I to yield to the deſtiny of na-" ture; Juſt, even then, were my complaints againſt the " Gods, for hurrying me from my parents, my children, " and my country, by a haſty death, in the prime of " life: now ſhorten'd in my courſe by the malignity of " PISO, and his wife, to your breaſts I commit my laſt " prayers: tell my father, tell my brother, with what " violent perſecutions afflicted, with what mortal ſnares " circumvented, I end a moſt miſerable life by death of " all others the worſt. All they whoſe hopes in my fortune, " all they whoſe kindred blood, and even they whoſe " envy, poſſeſs'd them with impreſſions about me whilſt " living, ſhall bewail me dead; that once great in glory, " and ſurviving ſo many wars, I fell at laſt by the dark " devices of a woman. To you will be place left to " complain in the Senate, and place to invoke the aid " and vengeance of the Laws. To commemorate the dead " with ſlothful wailings, is not the principal office of " friends: they are to remember his dying wiſhes, to " fulfil his laſt deſires. Even ſtrangers will lament GER-" MANICUS: you are my friends; if you lov'd me ra-" ther than my fortune, you will vindicate your friend-" ſhip: ſhew the people of Rome my wife, her who is " the grand-daughter of AUGUSTUS, and enumerate to " them our ſix children. Their compaſſion will ſurely " attend you who accuſe; and the accuſed, if they pre-" tend clandeſtine warrants of iniquity, will not be believ'd; " if believ'd, not pardon'd". His friends, as a pledge of their fidelity, touching the hand of the dying Prince, ſwore that they would foregoe their lives ſooner than their revenge. Then turning to his wife, he beſought her " that in tenderneſs to his memory, in tenderneſs to their " common children, ſhe would baniſh her haughty ſpirit, " yield to her hoſtile fortune, nor, upon her return to Rome, " by an impotent competition for ruling, irritate thoſe who " were maſters of rule". So much openly, and more in ſecret; whence he was believ'd to have warn'd her of guile and danger from TIBERIUS. Soon after he expir'd, to the heavy ſorrow of the province, and of all the neighbouring countries; inſomuch that remote nations and foreign Kings were mourners: ſuch had been his complacency to our confederates; ſuch his humanity to his enemies! Alike venerable he was, whether you ſaw him or heard him; and without ever departing from the grave port and dignity of his ſublime rank, he yet liv'd deſtitute of arrogance and untouch'd by envy.

THE funeral, which was perform'd without exteriour pomp or a proceſſion of images, drew it's ſolemnity from the loud praiſes and amiable memory of his virtues. There were thoſe who from his lovelineſs, his age, his manner of dying, and even from the proximity of places where both departed, compar'd him in the circumſtances of his fate, to Great ALEXANDER: "each of a graceful perſon, each of illuſtrious deſcent; in years neither much "exceeding thirty; both victims to the malice and machinations of their own people, in the midſt of foreign "nations: but GERMANICUS gentle towards his friends; "his pleaſures moderate; confin'd to one wife; all "his children by one bed; nor leſs a warriour, tho' "not ſo raſh, and however hinder'd from a final reduction of Germany, broken by him in ſo many victories, and ready for the yoke: ſo that had he been ſole "arbiter of things, had he acted with the ſovereignty "and title of Royalty, he had eaſier overtaken him in the "glory of conqueſts, as he ſurpaſs'd him in clemency, "in moderation, and in other virtues". His body, before its commitment to the pile, was exhibited naked in the Forum of Antioch, the place where the pile was erected: whether it bore the marks of poyſon, remain'd undecided: for, people as they were divided in their affections, as they pitied GERMANICUS, and preſum'd the guilt of PISO, or were partial to him, gave oppoſite accounts.

IT was next debated amongſt the legates of the Legions and the other Senators there, to whom ſhould be committed the adminiſtration of Syria: and after the faint efforts of others, it was long diſputed between VIBIUS MARSUS and CNEIUS SENTIUS: MARSUS at laſt yielded to SENTIUS, the older man and the more vehement competitor. By him one MARTINA, infamous in that province for practices in poyſoning, and a cloſe confident of PLAN-

CINA, was ſent to Rome, at the ſuit of VITELLIUS, VERANIUS, and others, who were preparing criminal articles againſt PISO and PLANCINA, as againſt perſons evidently guilty.

AGRIPPINA, tho' overwhelm'd with ſorrow, and her body indiſpos'd, yet impatient of all delays to her revenge, imbark'd with the aſhes of GERMANICUS and her children, attended with univerſal commiſeration, "that a "Lady, in quality a Princeſs, wont to be beheld in her "late ſplendid wedlock with applauſes and adorations, "was now ſeen bearing in her boſom her husband's funeral Urn, uncertain of vengeance for him and fearful "for her ſelf; unfortunate in her fruitfulneſs, and from "ſo many children obnoxious to ſo many blows of fortune". PISO the while was overtaken at the Iſle of Cous by a meſſage, "that GERMANICUS was deceas'd", and receiv'd it intemperately, ſlew victims and repair'd with thankſgiving to the Temples: and yet, however immoderate and undiſguis'd was his joy, more arrogant and inſulting prov'd that of PLANCINA, who immediately threw off her mourning, which for the death of a ſiſter ſhe wore, and aſſum'd a dreſs adapted to gayety and gladneſs.

ABOUT him flock'd the Centurions with officious repreſentations, "that upon him particularly were bent the "affections and zeal of the Legions, and he ſhould pro"ceed to reſume the province, at firſt injuriouſly taken "from him and now deſtitute of a Governor". As he therefore conſulted what he had beſt purſue, his ſon MARCUS PISO adviſ'd "a ſpeedy journey to Rome: hitherto, "he ſaid, nothing paſt expiation, was committed; nor "were impotent ſuſpicions to be dreaded; nor the idle "blazonings of fame: his variance and contention with "GERMANICUS was perhaps ſubject to hate and averſion, "but to no proſecution or penalty; and, by bereaving "him of the province, his enemies were gratified: but "if he return'd thither, as SENTIUS would certainly "oppoſe him with arms, a civil war would thence be "actually begun: neither would the Centurions and ſol"diers perſiſt in his party; men with whom the recent "memory of their late Commander, and an inveterate "love to the Ceſarian General, were ſtill prevalent".

DOMITIUS CELER, one in intimate credit with PISO, argu'd on the contrary, “that the preſent event muſt by all means be improv'd; it was PISO and not SENTIUS who had commiſſion to govern Syria; upon him were conferr'd the juriſdiction of Pretor, and the badges of Magiſtracy, and with him the Legions were intruſted: ſo that if acts of hoſtility were by his opponents attempted, with how much better warrant could he avow aſſuming arms in his own right and defence, who was thus veſted with the authority of General, and acted under ſpecial orders from the Emperor. Rumours too were to be neglected, and left to periſh with time: in truth to the ſallies and violence of recent hate the innocent were often unequal: but were he once poſſeſſed of the Army, and had well augmented his forces, many things, not to be foreſeen, would from fortune derive ſucceſs. Are we then prepoſterouſly haſtning to arrive at Rome with the aſhes of GERMANICUS, that you may there fall, unheard and undefended, a victim to the wailings of AGRIPPINA, a prey to the paſſionate populace govern'd by the firſt impreſſions of rumour? LIVIA, it is true, is your confederate; TIBERIUS is your friend; but both ſecretly: and indeed none will more pompouſly bewail the violent fate of GERMANICUS, than ſuch as for it do moſt ſincerely rejoice”.

PISO of himſelf prompt to violent purſuits, was with no great labour perſuaded into this opinion, and, in a Letter tranſmitted to TIBERIUS, accus'd GERMANICUS “of luxury and pride: that for himſelf, he had been expuls'd, to leave room for dangerous deſigns againſt the State, and now reſum'd, with his former faith and loyalty, the care of the Army”. In the mean time he put DOMITIUS on board a galley, and order'd him to avoid appearing upon the Coaſts or amongſt the Iſles, but, through the main ſea, to ſail to Syria. The deſerters, who from all quarters were flocking to him in crowds, he form'd into companies, and arm'd all the retainers to the Camp; then ſailing over to the continent, intercepted a regiment of recruits, upon their march into Syria; and wrote to the ſmall Kings of Cilicia to aſſiſt him with preſent ſuccours: nor was the younger PISO ſlow in proſecuting all the meaſures of war, tho' to adventure a war had been againſt his ſentiments and advice.

As they coaſted LYCIA and PAMPHILIA, they encounter'd the ſhips which carried AGRIPPINA, with hoſtile ſpirits on each ſide, and each at firſt prepar'd for combat; but as equal dread of one another poſſeſs'd both, proceeded not further than mutual contumelies. VIBIUS MARSUS particularly ſummon'd PISO, as a criminal, to Rome, there to make his defence: he anſwer'd with deriſion “ that “ when the Pretor, who was to ſit upon poyſonings, had “ aſſign'd a day to the accuſers and the accuſed, he would “ attend ”. DOMITIUS, the while, landing at Laodicea a city of Syria, would have proceeded to the winter quarters of the ſixth Legion, which he believ'd to be the moſt prone to engage in novel attempts, but was prevented by PACUVIUS, it's commander. SENTIUS repreſented this by Letter to PISO, and warn'd him, “ at his peril to infect the Camp by miniſters of corruption; or to aſſail “ the province by war ”; and drew into a body ſuch as he knew lov'd GERMANICUS, or ſuch as were averſe to his foes: upon them he inculcated with much ardour, that PISO was with open arms attacking the majeſty of the Prince, and invading the Roman ſtate; and then march'd at the head of a puiſſant body, equipp'd for battle and reſolute to engage.

NEITHER fail'd PISO, tho' his enterprizes had thus far miſcarried, to apply the ſecureſt remedies to his preſent perplexities; and therefore ſiez'd a Caſtle of Cilicia ſtrongly fortified, it's name Celendris: for, to the Auxiliary Cilicians, ſent him by the petty Kings, he had join'd his body of deſerters, as alſo the recruits lately intercepted, with all his own and PLANCINA's ſlaves; and thus in number and bulk, had of the whole compos'd a Legion. To them he thus harangued; “ I who am the “ Lieutenant of CESAR, am yet violently excluded from “ the province which to me CESAR has committed: “ not excluded by the Legions (for by their invitation I am “ arriv'd) but by SENTIUS, who thus diſguiſes under “ feign'd crimes againſt me, his own animoſity and per- “ ſonal hate: but with confidence you may ſtand in bat- “ tle, where the oppoſite army, upon the ſight of PISO, “ a Commander lately by themſelves ſtil'd their *Father*, “ will certainly refuſe to fight; they know too, that were "right to decide it, I am the ſtronger; and of no mean "puiſſance in a trial at arms". He then array'd his men without the fortifications, on a hill ſteep and craggy, for all the reſt was begirt by the ſea: againſt them ſtood the Veterans regularly embattled, and ſupported with a body of reſerve; ſo that here appear'd the force of men, there only the terrour and ſtubborneſs of ſituation. On PISO's ſide was no ſpirit, nor hope, nor even weapons ſave thoſe of ruſticks, for inſtant neceſſity haſtily acquir'd. As ſoon as they came to blows, the iſſue was no longer doubtful than while the Roman Cohorts ſtruggled up the ſteep: the Cilicians then fled, and ſhut themſelves up in the Caſtle.

PISO having the while attempted in vain to ſtorm the fleet, which rode at a ſmall diſtance, as ſoon as he return'd, preſented himſelf upon the walls; where, by a ſucceſſion of paſſionate complaints and entreaties, now bemoaning in agonies the bitterneſs of his lot, then calling and cajoling every particular ſoldier by his name, and by rewards tempting all, he labour'd to excite a ſedition; and thus much had already effected, that the Eagle-bearer of the ſixth Legion revolted to him with his Eagle. This allarm'd SENTIUS, and inſtantly he commanded the cornets and trumpets to ſound, a mount to be rais'd, the ladders placed, and the braveſt men to mount, and others to pour from the Engines volleys of darts and ſtones, and flaming torches. The obſtinacy of PISO was at laſt vanquiſh'd; and he deſir'd "that upon delivering his arms he might "remain in the Caſtle till the Emperor's pleaſure, to whom "he would commit the Government of Syria, were known"; conditions which were not accepted; nor was ought granted him ſave ſhips and a paſſport to Rome.

AFTER the illneſs of GERMANICUS grew current there, and all its circumſtances, like rumours magnified by diſtance, were related with many aggravations; ſadneſs ſiezed the people; they burn'd with indignation, and even pour'd out in plaints the anguiſh of their ſouls. "For "this, they ſaid, he had been baniſh'd to the extremities "of the Empire, for this the province of Syria was com-"mitted to PISO, and theſe the fruits of LIVIA's myſte-"rious conferences with PLANCINA: truly had our fathers "ſpoken concerning his father DRUSUS; that the poſſeſſors "of rule beheld with an evil eye the popular ſpirit of "their ſons; nor for ought elſe were they ſacrific'd, but "for their equal treatment of the Roman people, and "ſtudying to reſtore the popular ſtate". Theſe lamentations of the populace were, upon the tydings of his death, ſo inflam'd, that, without ſtaying for an Edict from the Magiſtrates, without a decree of Senate, they by general conſent aſſum'd a vacation; the publick Courts were deſerted, private houſes ſhut up, prevalent every where were the ſymptoms of woe, heavy groans, diſmal ſilence: the whole a ſcene of real ſorrow, and nothing devis'd for form or ſhew; and, tho' they forbore not to bear the exteriour marks and habilements of mourning; in their ſouls they mourned ſtill deeper. Accidentally ſome Merchants from Syria, who had left GERMANICUS ſtill alive, brought more joyful news of his condition: theſe were inſtantly believ'd, and inſtantly proclaim'd: each, as faſt as they met, inform'd others, who forthwith convey'd their light information with improvements and accumulated joy to more, and all flew with exultation thro' the city; and, to pay their thanks and vows, burſt open the Temple doors: the night too heighten'd their credulity, and affirmation was bolder in the dark. Nor did TIBERIUS reſtrain the courſe of theſe fictions, but left them to vaniſh with time: hence with more bitterneſs they afterwards griev'd for him, as if anew ſnatch'd from them.

HONOURS were invented and decreed to GERMANICUS, various as the affections and genius of the particular Senators who propos'd them: "that his name ſhould be "ſung in the Salian Hymns; Curule Chairs placed for him "amongſt the Prieſts of AUGUSTUS, and over theſe Chairs "Oaken Crowns hung; his Statue in Ivory precede in the "Circenſian Games; none but one of the Julian race be, "in the room of GERMANICUS, created Flamen or Au"gur": Triumphal arches were added; one at Rome; one upon the banks of the Rhine; one upon mount Amanus, in Syria; with Inſcriptions of his exploits, and a teſtimony ſubjoin'd, "that he died for the Commonwealth": a Sepulchre at Antioch, where his corps was burnt; a Tribunal at Epidaphne, the place were he ended his life. The multitude of ſtatues, the many places where divine honours were appointed to be paid him, would not be eaſily recounted. They would have alſo decreed him, as to one of the maſters of Eloquence, a golden ſhield, ſignal in bulk as in metal; but TIBERIUS offer'd "to dedicate "one himſelf, ſuch as was uſual and of a like ſize with "others; for that Eloquence was not meaſur'd by fortune; "and it was ſufficient glory if he were rank'd with an- "cient Writers". The Battalion call'd after the name of the JUNII was now, by the Equeſtrian order, entitled the Battalion of GERMANICUS, and a rule made that, on every fifteenth of July, theſe troops ſhould follow, as their ſtandard, the effigies of GERMANICUS: of theſe honours many continue; ſome were inſtantly omitted, or by time are utterly obliterated.

IN the height of this publick ſorrow, LIVIA, ſiſter to GERMANICUS, and married to DRUSUS, was deliver'd of male twins: an event even in middling families, rare and acceptable, and to TIBERIUS ſuch mighty matter of joy, that he could not refrain boaſting to the fathers, "that "to no Roman of the ſame eminence, before him, were "never two children born at a birth": for to his own glory he turn'd all things, even things fortuitous. But to the people, at ſuch a ſad conjuncture, it brought freſh anguiſh; as they fear'd that the family of DRUSUS thus increas'd, would preſs heavy upon that of GERMANICUS.

THE ſame year the lubricity of women was by the Senate reſtrain'd with ſevere laws; and it was provided, "that no woman ſhould become venal, if her father, "grandfather or huſband, were Roman Knights". For VISTILIA, a Lady born of a Pretorian family, had before the Ediles publiſh'd her ſelf a proſtitute; upon a cuſtom allow'd by our anceſtors, who thought that proſtitutes were by thus avowing their infamy, ſufficiently puniſh'd. TITIDIUS LABEO too was queſtioned, that in the manifeſt guilt of his wife, he had neglected the puniſhment preſcrib'd by the law; but he alledg'd that the ſixty days allow'd for conſultation, were not elaps'd; and it was deem'd ſufficient to proceed againſt VISTILIA, who was baniſh'd to the Iſle of Seriphos. Meaſures were alſo taken for exterminating the ſolemnities of the Jews and Egyptians; and by decree of Senate four thouſand deſcendents of franchis'd ſlaves, all defiled with that ſuperſtition, but of proper ſtrength and age, were to be tranſported to Sardina; to reſtrain the Sardinian robbers; and if, through the malignity of the climate, they periſh'd, deſpicable would be the loſs: the reſt were doom'd to depart Italy, unleſs by a ſtated day they renounced their profane rites.

AFTER this TIBERIUS repreſented that, to ſupply the place of OCCIA, who had preſided ſeven and fifty years with the higheſt ſanctimony over the Veſtals, another Virgin was to be choſen; and thank'd FONTEIUS AGRIPPA and ASINIUS POLLIO, that by offering their daughters, they contended in good offices towards the Commonwealth. POLLIO's daughter was preferr'd; for nothing elſe but that her mother had ever continued in the ſame wedlock: for AGRIPPA, by a divorce, had impair'd the credit of his houſe: upon her who was poſtpon'd, TIBERIUS, in conſolation, beſtow'd for her fortune a thouſand great ſeſtertia.

AS the people murmur'd at the ſevere dearth of corn, he ſettled grain at a price certain to the buyer, and undertook to pay fourteen pence a meaſure to the ſeller: neither yet would he accept the name of *Father of his Country*, a title offer'd him before, and for theſe bounties, now again; nay, he ſharply rebuk'd ſuch as ſtil'd theſe proviſions of his, *divine occupations*, and him, *Lord:* hence freedom of ſpeech became cramp'd and inſecure, under ſuch a Prince; one who dreaded liberty, and abhor'd flattery.

I find in the Writers of thoſe times, ſome of them Senators, that in the Senate were read Letters from ADGANDESTRIUS, Prince of the Cattans, undertaking to diſpatch ARMINIUS, if in order to it poyſon were ſent him; and an anſwer return'd, "that not by frauds and blows in the "dark, but arm'd and in the face of the ſun, the Roman "people took vengeance on their foes". In this TIBERIUS gain'd equal glory with our ancient Captains, who rejected and diſclos'd a plot to poyſon King PYRRHUS. ARMINIUS however, who upon the departure of the Romans and expulſion of MAROBODUUS, aim'd at Royalty, became thence ingaged in a ſtruggle againſt the Liberty of his country; and, in defence of their Liberty, his country-men took arms againſt him: ſo that, while with various fortune he contended with them, he fell by the treachery of his own kindred: the deliverer of Germany without doubt he was; one who aſſail'd the Roman power, not like other Kings and Leaders, in its firſt elements, but in its higheſt pride and elevation; one ſometimes beaten in battle, but never conquer'd in war: thirty ſeven years he liv'd; twelve he commanded; and, amongſt theſe barbarous nations, his memory is ſtill celebrated in their ſongs; but his name unknown in the Annals of the Greeks, who only admire their own national exploits and renown; nor even amongſt the Romans, does this great Captain bear much diſtinction, while, overlooking inſtances of modern proweſs and glory, we only delight to magnify men and feats of old.

THIRD ANNAL.

AGRIPPINA, nowithſtanding the roughneſs of winter, purſuing without intermiſſion her boiſterous voyage, put in at the Iſland Corcyra, ſituate over againſt the coaſts of Calabria. Here to ſettle her ſpirit, ſhe ſpent a few days, violent in her grief, and a ſtranger to patience. Her arrival being the while divulged, all the particular friends to her family, moſtly men of the ſword, many who had ſerv'd under GERMANICUS, and even many ſtrangers from the neighbouring towns, ſome in officiouſneſs towards the Emperor, more for company, crowded to the City of Brunduſium, the readieſt port in her way and the ſafeſt landing. As ſoon as the fleet appear'd in the deep, inſtantly were fill'd, not the port alone and adjacent ſhores, but the walls and roofs, and as far as the eye could go; fill'd with the ſorrowing multitude. They were conſulting one from one, how they ſhould receive her landing, "whether with univerſal ſilence, or with ſome note "of acclamation". Nor was it manifeſt which they would do, when the fleet ſtood ſlowly in, not as uſual with joyful ſailors and chearful oars, but all things impreſs'd with the face of ſadneſs. After ſhe deſcended from the ſhip, accompanied with her two Infants, carrying in her boſom the melancholy Urn, with her eyes caſt ſteddily down; equal and univerſal were the groans of the beholders: nor could you diſtinguiſh relations from ſtrangers, nor the wailings of men from thoſe of women, unleſs that the new comers, who were recent in their ſallies of grief, exceeded AGRIPPINA's attendents, wearied out with long lamentations.

TIBERIUS had diſpatch'd two Pretorian Cohorts, with directions, that the Magiſtrates of Calabria, Apulia and Campania, ſhould pay their laſt offices to the memory of his ſon: upon the ſhoulders therefore of the Tribunes and Centurions his aſhes were borne; before went the Enſigns rough and unadorn'd, with the Faſces revers'd. As they paſs'd through the Colonies, the populace were in black, the Knights in purple; and each place, according to its wealth, burnt precious rayment, perfumes and whatever elſe is us'd in funeral ſolemnities: even they whoſe cities lay remote, attended: to the Gods of the dead they ſlew victims, they erected altars, and with tears and united lamentations, teſtified their common ſorrow. DRUSUS came as far as Terracina, with CLAUDIUS the brother of GERMANICUS, and thoſe of his children who had been left at Rome. The Conſuls MARCUS VALERIUS and MARCUS AURELIUS (juſt then enter'd upon their office) the Senate, and great part of the people, fill'd the road; a ſcatter'd proceſſion, each walking and weeping his own way: in this mourning flattery had no ſhare; for all knew how real was the joy, how hollow the grief of TIBERIUS for the death of GERMANICUS.

TIBERIUS and LIVIA avoided appearing abroad: publick lamentation they thought below their grandeur; or perhaps they apprehended that their countenances, examin'd by all eyes, might ſhew deceitful hearts. That ANTONIA, mother to the deceas'd, bore any part in the Funeral, I do not find either in the Hiſtorians or in the City Journals: tho', beſides AGRIPPINA, and DRUSUS, and CLAUDIUS, his other relations are likewiſe there recorded by name: whether by ſickneſs ſhe was prevented; or whether her ſoul vanquiſh'd by ſorrow, could not bear the repreſentation of ſuch a mighty calamity. I would rather believe her conſtrain'd by TIBERIUS and LIVIA, who left not the palace; and affecting equal affliction with her, would have it ſeem that, by the example of the mother, the grand-mother too and uncle were detain'd.

THE day his remains were repoſited in the Tomb of AUGUSTUS, various were the ſymptoms of publick grief; now the vaſtneſs of ſilence; now the uproar of lamentation; the city in every quarter full of proceſſions; the field of Mars on a blaze of torches: here the ſoldiers under arms, the Magiſtrates without the Inſignia, the people by their tribes, all cried in concert that "the Commonwealth was "fallen, and henceforth there was no remain of hope"; ſo openly and boldly that you would have believ'd they had forgot who bore ſway. But nothing pierced TIBERIUS more than the ardent affections of the people towards AGRIPPINA, while ſuch titles they gave her as "the "ornament of her country, the only blood of AUGUSTUS, "the ſingle inſtance of ancient virtue"; and, while applying to Heaven, they implor'd "the continuance of her "Iſſue, that they might ſurvive the perſecuting and ma"lignant".

THERE were thoſe who miſs'd the Pomp of a publick Funeral, and compar'd with this the ſuperiour honours and magnificence beſtow'd by AUGUSTUS on that of DRUSUS the father of GERMANICUS; "that he himſelf had tra"vell'd, in the ſharpneſs of winter, as far as Pavia, and "thence, continuing by the corps, had with it enter'd the "city; round his head were placed the Images of the CLAU"DII and JULII; he was mourn'd in the Forum; his Enco"mium pronounced in the Roſtra's; all ſorts of honours, "ſuch as were the inventions of our anceſtors, or the im"provements of their poſterity, were heap'd upon him. But "to GERMANICUS were denied the ordinary Solemnities, "and ſuch as were due to every diſtinguiſh'd Roman. In "a foreign country indeed, his corps becauſe of the long "journey, was burnt without pomp: but afterwards, it "was but juſt to have ſupplied the ſcantineſs of the firſt "ceremony by the ſolemnity of the laſt: his brother met "him but one day's journey; his uncle not even at the gate. "Where were thoſe generous obſervations of the ancients; "the Effigies of the dead borne on a bed, Hymns compos'd "in memory of their virtue, with the Oblations of praiſes "and tears? Where at leaſt were the ceremonies and even "outſide of ſorrow"?

ALL this was known to TIBERIUS; and, to ſuppreſs the diſcourſes of the populace, he publiſh'd an Edict, "that "many illuſtrious Romans had died for the Commonwealth, "but none ſo vehemently lamented: this however was to "the glory of himſelf and of all men, if a meaſure were "obſerv'd. The ſame things which became private families "and ſmall ſtates, became not Princes and an Imperial

“ people: freſh grief indeed requir'd vent and eaſe by la-
“ mentation; but it was now time to recover and fortify
“ their minds. Thus the deified JULIUS, upon the loſs of
“ an only daughter; thus the deified AUGUSTUS, upon the
“ haſty death of his grandſons, had both vanquiſh'd their
“ ſorrow. More ancient examples were unneceſſary; how
“ often the Roman people ſuſtain'd with conſtancy the
“ ſlaughter of their Armies, the death of their Generals, and
“ intire deſtruction of their nobleſt families: Princes were
“ mortal; the Commonwealth was eternal: they ſhould
“ therefore reſume their ſeveral vocations ”. And becauſe the Megalenſian Games were at hand, he added, “ that
“ they ſhould even apply to the uſual feſtivities ”.

THE vacation ended, publick affairs were reſum'd; DRUSUS departed for the Army in Illyricum, and the minds of all men were bent upon ſeeing vengeance done upon PISO. They repeated their reſentments, that while he wander'd over the delightful countries of Aſia and Greece, he was ſtifling, by contumacious and deceitful delays, the evidences of his crimes; for it was bruited abroad, that MARTINA, ſhe who was famous for poyſonings, and ſent, as I have above related, by CNEIUS SENTIUS towards Rome, was ſuddenly dead at Brunduſium; that poyſon lay conceal'd in a knot of her hair, but upon her body were found no ſymptoms of ſelf-murder.

PISO, ſending forward his ſon to Rome, with inſtructions how to ſoften the Emperor, proceeded himſelf to DRUSUS: him he hop'd to find leſs rigid for the death of a brother, than favourable for the removal of a rival. TIBERIUS, to make ſhew of a ſpirit perfectly unbiaſs'd, receiv'd the young man graciouſly, and honour'd him with the preſents uſually beſtow'd on young Noblemen. The anſwer of DRUSUS to PISO was, “ that if the current rumours were true, he ſtood
“ in the firſt place of grief and revenge; but he hop'd they
“ were falſe and chimerical, and that the death of GER-
“ MANICUS would be pernicious to none ”. This he declar'd in publick, and avoided all privacy: nor was it doubted but the anſwer was dictated by TIBERIUS; when a youth, otherwiſe eaſy and unwary, practis'd thus the wiles and cunning of age.

PISO having croſs'd the ſea of Dalmatia, and left his ſhips at Ancona, took firſt the road of Picenum and then the Flaminian way, following the Legion which was going from Pannonia to Rome, and thence to garriſon in Africa. This too became the ſubject of popular cenſure, that he officiouſly mix'd with the ſoldiers, and courted them in their march and quarters: he therefore, to avoid ſuſpicion; or, becauſe when men are in dread, their conduct wavers, did at Narni embark upon the Nar, and thence ſail'd into the Tiber. By landing at the burying place of the Ceſars, he heighten'd the wrath of the populace: beſides, he and PLANCINA came a ſhore in open day, in the face of the city who were crowding the banks, and proceeded with gay countenances; he attended by a long band of Clients, ſhe by a train of Ladies. There were yet other provocations to hatred; the ſituation of his houſe, proudly overlooking the Forum, and adorn'd and illuminated as for a feſtival; the banquet and rejoicings held in it, and all as publick as the place.

THE next day FULCINIUS TRIO arraign'd PISO before the Conſuls, but was oppos'd by VITELLIUS, VERANIUS and others, who had accompanied GERMANICUS: they ſaid, "that in this proſecution TRIO had no part; nor did they themſelves act as accuſers, but only gather'd materials, and, as witneſſes, produced the laſt injunctions of GERMANICUS". TRIO dropp'd that accuſation; but got leave to call in queſtion, his former life: and now the Emperor was deſir'd to undertake the Trial; a requeſt which the accus'd did not at all oppoſe, dreading the inclinations of the people and Senate: he knew "TIBERIUS, on the contrary, reſolute in deſpiſing popular rumours, and in guilt confederate with his mother: beſides that truth and miſrepreſentations were eaſieſt diſtinguiſh'd by a ſingle judge, but in aſſemblies odium and envy often prevail'd". TIBERIUS was aware of the weight of the Trial, and with what reproaches he was aſſaulted. Admitting therefore a few confidents, he heard the charge of the accuſers, as alſo the apology of the accus'd; and left the cauſe intire to the Senate.

DRUSUS return'd the while from Illyricum; and tho' the Senate had for the reduction of MAROBODUUS, and other his exploits the ſummer before, decreed him the Triumph of Ovation; he poſtpon'd the honour, and privately enter'd the city. PISO, for his advocates, deſir'd

TITUS ARRUNTIUS, FULCINIUS, ASINIUS GALLUS, ESERNINUS MARCELLUS, and SEXTUS POMPEIUS: but they all fram'd different excuſes; and he had, in their room, MARCUS LEPIDUS, LUCIUS PISO and LIVENEIUS REGULUS. Now earneſt were the expectations of all men, "how great would prove the fidelity of the friends of GERMANICUS; what the aſſurance of the criminal, what the behaviour of TIBERIUS; whether he would ſufficiently ſmother, or betray his ſentiments". He never had a more anxious part; neither did the people ever indulge themſelves in ſuch ſecret murmurs againſt their Emperor, nor harbour in ſilence ſeverer ſuſpicions.

WHEN the Senate met, TIBERIUS made a ſpeech full of labour'd moderation: "that PISO had been his father's Lieutenant and friend; and lately appointed by himſelf, at the direction of the Senate, Coadjutor to GERMANICUS in adminiſtring the affairs of the Eaſt: whether he had there by contumacy and oppoſition exaſperated the young Prince, and exulted over his death, or wickedly procur'd it, they were then to judge with minds unprejudiced. For, if he who was the Lieutenant of my ſon, violated the limits of his commiſſion, caſt off obedience to his General, and even rejoiced at his deceaſe and at my affliction; I will deteſt the man, I will baniſh him from my houſe, and for domeſtick injuries exert domeſtick revenge; not the revenge of an Emperor. But for you; if his guilt of any man's death whatſoever, is diſcover'd, ſhew your juſt vengeance, and by it ſatisfy your ſelves, ſatisfy the children of GERMANICUS, and us his father and grandmother. Conſider too eſpecially whether he viciated the diſcipline and promoted ſedition in the Army; whether he ſought to debauch the affections of the ſoldiers, and to recover the province by arms: or whether theſe allegations are not publiſh'd falſly and with aggravations by the accuſers, with whoſe over paſſionate zeal, I am juſtly offended: for, whither tended the ſtripping the corps and expoſing it to the eyes and examination of the populace; with what view was it proclaim'd even to foreign nations, that his death was the effect of poyſon; if all this was ſtill doubtful, and remains yet to be tried? It is true I bewail my ſon, and ſhall ever bewail him: but neither do I hinder the accus'd to do

“ what in him lies to manifeſt his innocence, even at the expence of GERMANICUS, if ought blameable was in him. From you I intreat the ſame impartiality: let not the connexion of my ſorrow with this cauſe, miſlead you to take crimes for prov'd becauſe they are imputed. For PISO; if the tenderneſs of kinſmen, if the faith of friends, has furniſh'd him with patrons, let them aid him in his peril, ſhew their utmoſt eloquence, and exert their beſt diligence. To the ſame pains, to the ſame firmneſs I exhort the accuſers. Thus much we will grant to the memory of GERMANICUS, that the inqueſt concerning his death, be held rather here than in the Forum, in the Senate than the common Tribunals. In all the reſt, we will deſcend to the ordinary methods. Let no man in this cauſe conſider DRUSUS's tears; let none regard my ſorrow, no more than the probable fictions of calumny againſt us ”.

TWO days were then appointed for maintaining the charge; ſix for preparing the defence, and three for making it. FULCINIUS began with things ſtale and impertinent, about the ambition and rapine of PISO in his adminiſtration of Spain: things which, tho' prov'd, brought him under no penalty, if acquitted of the preſent charge; nor, tho' he had been clear'd of former faults, could he eſcape the load of greater enormities. After him SERVEUS, VERANIUS and VITELLIUS, all with equal zeal, but VITELLIUS with great Eloquence urg'd “ that PISO, in hatred to GERMANICUS, and paſſionate for innovations, had by tolerating general licenciouſneſs, and the oppreſſion of the Allies, corrupted the common ſoldiers to that degree, that by the moſt profligate he was ſtil'd *Father of the Legions*: he had, on the contrary, been outrageous to the beſt men, above all to the friends and companions of GERMANICUS; and, at laſt, by witchcraft and poyſon deſtroy'd GERMANICUS himſelf: hence the infernal charms and immolations practis'd by him and PLANCINA: he had then attack'd the Commonwealth with open arms; and, before he could be brought to be tried, they were forced to fight and defeat him ”.

IN every article but one his defence was faltering. For, neither his dangerous intrigues in debauching the ſoldiery, nor his abandoning the province to the moſt profligate and rapacious, nor even his inſults to GERMANICUS, were to be denied. He ſeem'd only to wipe off the charge of poyſon; a charge which in truth was not ſufficiently corroborated by the accuſers, ſince they had only to alledge, "that at an enter-"tainment of GERMANICUS, PISO, while he ſat above him, "with his hands poyſon'd the meat". It appear'd abſurd that amongſt ſo many attending ſlaves beſides his own, in ſo great a preſence, and under the eye of GERMANICUS, he would attempt it: he himſelf requir'd that the waiters might be rack'd, and offer'd to the rack his own domeſticks: but the Judges were implacable, implacable from different motives; TIBERIUS for the war rais'd in the province; and the Senate could never be convinced that the death of GERMANICUS was not the effect of fraud. Some mov'd for the Letters writ to PISO from Rome; a motion oppos'd by TIBERIUS no leſs than by PISO. From without, at the ſame time, were heard the cries of the people, "that if he eſcap'd "the judgment of the Senate, they would with their "own hands deſtroy him". They had already dragged his Statues to the place from whence Malefactors were precipitated, and there had broken them; but by the orders of TIBERIUS they were reſcued and replaced. PISO was put into a litter and carried back by a Tribune of a Pretorian Cohort; an attendance variouſly underſtood, whether as a guard for his ſafety, or a miniſter of death.

PLANCINA was under equal publick hatred, but had more ſecret favour: hence it was doubted how far TIBERIUS durſt proceed againſt her. For her ſelf, while her husband's hopes were yet plauſible, ſhe profeſs'd "ſhe would accom-"pany his fortune whatever it were, and, if he fell, fall "with him". But when by the ſecret ſollicitations of LIVIA, ſhe had ſecur'd her own pardon, ſhe began by degrees to drop her husband, and to make a ſeparate defence. After this fatal warning, he doubted whether he ſhould make any further efforts; but, by the advice of his ſons, fortifying his mind, he again enter'd the Senate: there he found the proſecution renew'd, ſuffer'd the declar'd indignation of the fathers, and ſaw all things croſs and terrible; but nothing ſo much daunted him as to behold TIBERIUS, without mercy, without wrath, cloſe, dark, unmoveable, and bent againſt every acceſs of tenderneſs. When he was brought home, as if he were preparing for his further defence the next day, he wrote ſomewhat, which he ſeal'd and deliver'd to his Freedman: he then waſh'd and anointed, and took the uſual care of his perſon. Late in the night, his wife leaving the chamber, he order'd the door to be ſhut, and was found, at break of day, with his throat cut, his ſword lying by him.

I remember to have heard from ancient men, that in the hands of PISO was frequently ſeen a bundle of writings, which he did not expoſe, but which, as his friends conſtantly averr'd, "contain'd the Letters of TIBERIUS and his cruel "orders towards GERMANICUS: that he reſolved to lay "them before the fathers and to charge the Emperor, but was "deluded by the hollow promiſes of SEJANUS: and that "neither did PISO die by his own hands, but by thoſe of "an expreſs and private executioner". I dare affirm neither; nor yet ought I to conceal the relations of ſuch as ſtill liv'd when I was a youth. TIBERIUS, with an aſſum'd air of ſadneſs, complain'd to the Senate that PISO, by that ſort of death, had aim'd to load him with obloquy; and ask'd many queſtions how he had paſt his laſt day, how his laſt night? The Freedman anſwer'd to moſt with prudence, to ſome in confuſion. The Emperor then recited the Letter ſent him by PISO. It was conceiv'd almoſt in theſe words: "Oppreſs'd by a combination of my enemies and the imputation of falſe crimes; ſince no place is left here to "truth and my innocence; to the immortal Gods I appeal, "that towards you, CESAR, I have liv'd with ſincere faith, "nor towards your mother with leſs reverence. For my "ſons I implore her protection and yours: my ſon CNEIUS "had no ſhare in my late management whatever it were, "ſince, all the while, he abode at Rome: and my ſon "MARCUS diſſuaded me from returning to Syria. Oh that, "old as I am, I had yielded to him, rather than he, young "as he is, to me! Hence more paſſionately I pray that innocent as he is, he ſuffer not in the puniſhment of my "guilt: by a ſeries of ſervices for five and fourty years, I "entreat you; by our former fellowſhip in the Conſulſhip; "by the memory of the deified AUGUSTUS, your father; "by his friendſhip to me; by mine to you, I entreat you

" for the life and fortune of my unhappy ſon. It is the laſt
" requeſt I ſhall ever make you". Of PLANCINA he ſaid nothing.

TIBERIUS, upon this, clear'd the young man of any crime as to the Civil War: he alledg'd " the orders of his father, " which a ſon could not diſobey". He likewiſe bewail'd " that noble houſe, and even the grievous lot of PISO him- " ſelf, however deſerv'd". For PLANCINA he pleaded with ſhame and guilt, alledging the importunity of his mother; againſt whom more particularly the ſecret murmurs of the beſt people wax'd bitter and poignant. " Was it then " the tender part of a grand-mother to admit to her ſight " the murdreſs of her grandſon, to be intimate with her, " and to ſnatch her from the vengeance of the Senate? To " GERMANICUS alone was denied what by the Laws was " granted to every Citizen. By VITELLIUS and VERA- " NIUS, the cauſe of that Prince was mourn'd and pleaded: " by the Emperor and his mother, PLANCINA was defended " and protected. Henceforth ſhe might purſue her infernal " arts ſo ſucceſsfully tried, repeat her poyſonings, and by " her arts and poyſons aſſail AGRIPPINA and her children; " and, with the blood of that moſt miſerable houſe, ſatiate " the worthy grand-mother and uncle". In this Mock-Trial two days were waſted; TIBERIUS, all the while, animating the ſons of PISO to defend their mother: when the pleaders and witneſſes had vigorouſly puſh'd the charge, and no reply was made, commiſeration prevail'd over hatred. The Conſul AURELIUS COTTA was firſt ask'd his opinion: for, when the Emperor collected the voices, the Magiſtrates likewiſe voted. COTTA's ſentence was, " that the name of " PISO ſhould be raz'd from the Annals, part of his eſtate " forfeited, part granted to his ſon CNEIUS, upon changing " that name; his ſon MARCUS be diveſted of his dignity, " and content with fifty thouſand great ſeſtercia, be baniſh'd " for ten years: and to PLANCINA, at the requeſt of LI- " VIA, indemnity ſhould be granted".

MUCH of this ſentence was abated by the Emperor; particularly that of ſtriking PISO's name out of the Annals, when " that of MARC ANTHONY, who made war upon his " country; that of JULUS ANTONIUS, who had by adul- " tery violated the houſe of AUGUSTUS, continued ſtill " there".

"there". He alſo exempted MARCUS PISO from the ignominy of degradation, and left him his whole paternal inheritance; for, as I have already often obſerv'd, he was to the temptations of money incorruptible, and from the ſhame of having acquitted PLANCINA, render'd then more than uſually mild. He likewiſe withſtood the motion of VALERIUS MESSALINUS, "for erecting a golden Statue in the "Temple of Mars the Avenger"; and that of CECINA SEVERUS, "for founding an Altar to Revenge". Such Monuments "as theſe, he argued, were only fit to be rais'd upon foreign victories; domeſtick evils were to be buried in ſadneſs". MESSALINUS had added, "that to TIBERIUS, "LIVIA, ANTONIA, AGRIPPINA and DRUSUS, publick "thanks were to be render'd for having reveng'd the death "of GERMANICUS"; but had omitted to mention CLAUDIUS. MESSALINUS was ask'd by LUCIUS ASPRENAS, in the preſence of the Senate, "whether by deſign he had "omitted him"? and then at laſt the name of CLAUDIUS was ſubjoin'd. To me, the more I revolve the events of late or of old, the more of mockery and ſlipperineſs appears in all human wiſdom and the tranſactions of men: for, in popular fame, in the hopes, wiſhes and veneration of the publick, all men were rather deſtin'd to the Empire, than he for whom fortune then reſerv'd the ſovereignty in the dark.

A few days after, VITELLIUS, VERANIUS and SERVEUS, were by the Senate preferr'd to the honours of the Prieſthood, at the motion of TIBERIUS. To FULCINIUS he promis'd his intereſt and ſuffrage towards preferment, but adviſ'd him "not to embaraſs his Eloquence by impetuoſity". This was the end of revenging the Death of GERMANICUS; an affair ambiguouſly related, not by thoſe only who then liv'd and intereſted themſelves in it, but likewiſe in following times: ſo dark and intricate are all the higheſt tranſactions; while ſome hold for certain facts, the moſt precarious hearſays; others turn facts into falſhhood; and both are ſwallow'd and improv'd by the credulity of poſterity. DRUSUS went now without the City, there to renew the ceremony of the Auſpices, and preſently re-enter'd in the Triumph of *Ovation*. A few days after died VIPSANIA his mother; of all the children of AGRIPPA, the only one who made a pacifick end: the reſt manifeſtly periſh'd,

or

or are believ'd to have periſh'd, by the ſword, poyſon, and famine.

THE ſame year, TACFARINAS, whom I have mention'd to have been the former ſummer defeated by CAMILLUS, renew'd the war in Africa; firſt by roving devaſtations, ſo ſudden that they eſcap'd unchaſtiz'd; next he ſack'd towns and bore away mighty plunder; at laſt he begirt a Roman Cohort, a ſmall diſtance from the river Pagida. It was a fort commanded by DECRIUS, a brave ſoldier, exercis'd in war, and now touch'd with the ignominy of ſuch a ſiege. Encouraging therefore his men to offer open battle, he drew them up without the walls: at the firſt ſhock the Cohort was repuls'd; but the reſolute DECRIUS brav'd the enemy's darts, oppoſed the runaways, and upbraided the ſtandard-bearers, "that upon vagabonds and undiſciplined robbers the "Roman ſoldiers turn'd their backs". He had already receiv'd ſeveral wounds, and his eye was beat out; but ſtill he faced the foe, nor ceas'd fighting 'till, wholly deſerted by his men, he at laſt was ſlain.

LUCIUS APRONIUS had ſucceeded CAMILLUS. As ſoon as he learnt this defeat, piqued rather by the infamy of his own men, than the glory of the enemy, he practis'd an exemplary ſeverity, at this time rare, but agreeable to ancient diſcipline; by executing with a club every tenth man of that ignominious Cohort, drawn by lot: ſuch too was the effect of this rigour, that thoſe very forces of TACFARINAS, as they beſieged the Fortreſs of Thala, were routed by a ſquadron of five hundred Veterans. In this battle RUFUS HELVIUS, a common ſoldier, acquir'd the glory of ſaving a Citizen, and was by APRONIUS preſented with the Spear and Collar: TIBERIUS added the Civic Crown, complaining rather than reſenting, that APRONIUS had not, in right of Proconſul, granted that alſo. TACFARINAS, now his Numidians were diſmay'd and bent againſt ſieges, made a deſultory war; flying when attack'd, and, upon a retreat, aſſaulting the rear. As long as the African obſerv'd this method, he, with impunity to himſelf, mocked and haraſſed the Romans; but after he drew down to the maritime places, the allurements and quantities of plunder confin'd him to his Camp. Hither APRONIUS CESIANUS was by his father diſpatched with the cavalry and auxiliary Cohorts, to which was added a detachment of the beſt Legionary foot; and, having ſucceſsfully fought the Numidians, drove them back to the deſerts.

At Rome the while, EMILIA LEPIDA, who, beſides the nobleneſs of the Emilian family, was great grand daughter to POMPEY and SYLLA, was charg'd with impoſing a falſe birth upon PUBLIUS QUIRINIUS her husband, a man rich and childleſs. The charge was ſwell'd with "adulteries, "poyſonings, and treaſonable dealings with the Chaldeans "about the fate and continuance of the Imperial houſe". Her brother MANIUS LEPIDUS defended her; and guilty and infamous as ſhe was, the perſecution from her husband (continued after their divorce) drew compaſſion upon her. In this Trial, it was no eaſy matter to diſcover the heart of TIBERIUS; with ſuch ſubtlety he mix'd and ſhifted the ſymptoms of indignation and clemency. At firſt, he beſought the Senate, "not to meddle with the articles of trea"ſon"; and preſently engaged MARCUS SERVILIUS, once Conſul, and the other witneſſes, to produce the very evidences of treaſon which he would have appear'd deſirous to ſuppreſs: and yet, he took the ſlaves of LEPIDA from the guard of ſoldiers, and ſurrender'd them to the Conſuls; nor would he ſuffer them to be examin'd by torture, as to her practiſes againſt himſelf; he even excus'd DRUSUS from voting firſt, as Conſul elect. This ſome underſtood as an inſtance of complaiſance, "that the reſt might not be "oblig'd to follow the example of DRUSUS": ſome aſcrib'd it to cruelty; "for that only with deſign to have her "condemn'd, that conceſſion was made".

The publick Games interrupted the Trial, and in the receſs, LEPIDA accompanied with other Ladies of great quality, enter'd the Theatre: there with doleful lamentations invoking her illuſtrious anceſtors, eſpecially the great POMPEY, whoſe ſtatues ſtood round in view, the Theatre itſelf a monument of his raiſing; ſhe excited ſuch univerſal commiſeration, that the Spectators burſt into tears, and uttering cruel and direful imprecations againſt QUIRINIUS, declar'd their indignation, "that to his childleſs old age and mean "blood, ſhould be given a Lady once deſign'd for the wife "of LUCIUS CESAR, and for the daughter-in-law of the dei"fied AUGUSTUS". At laſt, by racking her ſlaves, her crimes were made manifeſt, and the judgment of RUBELLIUS BLANDUS prevailed, for interdicting her from fire and water. To this judgment DRUSUS aſſented, tho' others had propos'd a milder. That her eſtate ſhould not be forfeited, was granted to SCAURUS, who by her had had a daughter: and now after condemnation, TIBERIUS advertis'd the Senate, that "from the ſlaves too of QUIRINIUS he had "learnt her attempts to poyſon him".

AS a conſolation to the illuſtrious Families of Rome, for their late calamities (for the *Calpurnian* houſe had ſuffered the loſs of PISO, and, juſt after, the *Emilian* houſe that of LEPIDA) DECIUS SILANUS was now reſtor'd to the *Junian* family. I will briefly recite his diſgrace. As againſt the Republick, the fortune of AUGUSTUS was prevalent; ſo, in his family, it was unhappy; occaſioned by the lewdneſs of his daughter and grand daughter, whom he turned out of Rome, and with death or exile puniſh'd their adulterers. For, to a fault common between men and women, he gave the heinous name of ſacrilege and treaſon, and thence had a colour for departing from the tenderneſs of our anceſtors, and for violating his own laws. But I ſhall hereafter relate the fate of others from this his ſeverity, as alſo the other tranſactions of that time, if, having finiſh'd my preſent undertaking, life remains for other ſtudies. SILANUS, who had viciated the grand daughter of AUGUSTUS, tho' he felt no higher indignation than to be excluded from the friendſhip and preſence of the Emperor, yet underſtood this as a denunciation of baniſhment; nor durſt he, till the reign of TIBERIUS, ſupplicate the Prince and Senate for leave to return, and then only truſted to the prevailing credit of his brother MARCUS SILANUS, diſtinguiſh'd by his illuſtrious quality, and eminent for his great Eloquence. MARCUS having return'd thanks to TIBERIUS, had this anſwer before the Senate; "that he himſelf alſo rejoiced that "his brother was return'd from travels ſo long and remote: "that his return home was perfectly unexceptionable; "ſince neither by decree of Senate, nor by any ſentence of "law had he been driven thence: that to himſelf how-"ever ſtill remain'd intire the reſentments of his father "towards him; nor by the return of SILANUS were the "purpoſes of AUGUSTUS violated". Thence forward he remain'd in Rome, but diſtinguiſh'd by no preferment in the State.

THE qualifying of the Law Papia Poppea was afterwards propos'd; a Law which, to enforce thoſe of JULIUS CESAR, AUGUSTUS had made when he was old, for puniſhing Celibacy and enriching the Exchequer. Nor even by this means had marriages and children multiplied, while a paſſion to live ſingle and childleſs ſtill prevail'd: but, in the mean time, the numbers threaten'd and in danger by it increas'd daily, while by the gloſſes and chicane of the impleaders every family was undone. So that, as before the city labour'd under the weight of crimes, ſo now under the peſt of laws. From this thought I am led backwards to the firſt riſe of Laws, and to open the ſteps and cauſes by which we are arriv'd to the preſent number and exceſs; a number infinite and perplex'd.

THE firſt race of men, free as yet from every deprav'd paſſion, liv'd without guile and crimes, and therefore without chaſtizements and reſtraints; nor was there occaſion for rewards, when of their own accord they purſued righteouſneſs: and as they courted nothing contrary to juſtice, they were debar'd from nothing by terrors. But, after they had abandon'd their orginal equality, and from modeſty and ſhame to do evil, proceeded to ambition and violence; Lordly dominion was introduced and arbitrary rule, and in many nations grew perpetual. Some, either from the beginning, or after they were ſurfeited with Kings, preferr'd the ſovereignty of Laws; which, agreeable to the artleſs minds of men, were at firſt ſhort and ſimple. The laws in moſt renown were thoſe fram'd for the Cretans by MINOS; for the Spartans by LYCURGUS; and afterwards ſuch as SOLON deliver'd to the Athenians, now greater in number and more exquiſitely compos'd. To the Romans juſtice was adminiſter'd by ROMULUS according to his pleaſure: after him, NUMA managed the people by religious devices, and laws divine. Some inſtitutions were made by TULLUS HOSTILIUS, ſome by ANCUS MARTIUS; but above all our laws were thoſe founded by SERVIUS TULLIUS; they were ſuch as even our Kings were bound to obey.

UPON the expulſion of TARQUIN; the people, for the ſecurity of their freedom againſt the encroachment and factions

ons of the Senate, and for binding the publick concord, prepar'd many ordinances: hence were created the Decemviri, and by them were compos'd the twelve Tables, out of a collection of the moſt excellent inſtitutions found abroad. The period this of all upright and impartial Laws. What laws follow'd, tho' ſometimes made againſt crimes and offenders, were yet chiefly made by violence, through the animoſity of the two Eſtates, and for ſiezing unjuſtly withholden offices or continuing unjuſtly in them, or for baniſhing illuſtrious Patriots, and to other wicked ends. Hence the GRACCHI and SATURNINI, inflamers of the people; and hence DRUSUS vying, on behalf of the Senate, in popular conceſſions with theſe inflamers; and hence the corrupt promiſes made to our Italian Allies, promiſes deceitfully made, or, by the interpoſition of ſome Tribune, defeated. Neither during the War of Italy, nor during the Civil War, was the making of regulations diſcontinued; many and contradictory were even then made. At laſt SYLLA the Dictator, changing or aboliſhing the paſt, added many of his own, and procur'd ſome reſpit in this matter, but not long; for preſently follow'd the turbulent purſuits and propoſals of LEPIDUS, and ſoon after were the Tribunes reſtor'd to their licentious authority of throwing the people into combuſtions at pleaſure. And now Laws were not made for the publick only, but for particular men particular laws; and corruption abounding in the Commonwealth, the Commonwealth abounded in laws.

POMPEY was, now in his third Conſulſhip, choſen to correct the publick enormities; and his remedies prov'd to the State more grievous than its diſtempers. He made Laws ſuch as ſuited his ambition, and broke them when they thwarted his will; and loſt by arms the regulations which by arms he had procured. Hence-forward for twenty years diſcord rag'd, and there was neither law nor ſettlement; the moſt wicked found impunity in the exceſs of their wickedneſs; and many virtuous men, in their uprightneſs met deſtruction. At length, AUGUSTUS CESAR in his ſixth Conſulſhip, then confirmed in power without a rival, aboliſh'd the orders which during the Triumvirate he had eſtabliſh'd, and gave us laws proper for peace and a ſingle ruler. Theſe laws had ſanctions ſeverer than any heretofore ſore known: as their guardians, Informers were appointed, who by the Law Papia Poppea were encouraged with rewards, to watch ſuch as neglected the privileges annext to marriage and fatherhood, and conſequently could claim no legacy or inheritance, the ſame, as vacant, belonging to the Roman people who were the publick parent. But theſe Informers ſtruck much deeper: by them the whole City, all Italy, and the Roman Citizens in every part of the Empire, were infeſted and perſecuted: numbers were ſtript of their intire fortunes, and terror had ſiez'd all; when TIBERIUS, for a check to this evil, choſe twenty Noblemen, five who were formerly Conſuls, five who were formerly Pretors, with ten other Senators, to review that law. By them many of its intricacies were explained, its ſtrictneſs qualified; and hence ſome preſent alleviation was yielded.

TIBERIUS about this time, to the Senate recommended NERO, one of the ſons of GERMANICUS, now ſeventeen years of age, and deſir'd "that he might be exempted from "executing the office of the Vigintivirate, and have leave "to ſue for the Queſtorſhip five years ſooner than the laws "directed". A piece of mockery this requeſt to all who heard it: but, TIBERIUS pretended "that the ſame con"ceſſions had been decreed to himſelf and his brother DRU"SUS, at the requeſt of AUGUSTUS". Nor do I doubt but there were then ſuch who ſecretly ridicul'd that ſort of petitions from AUGUSTUS: ſuch policy was however natural to that Prince, while he was but yet laying the foundations of the Imperial power, and while the Republick and its late laws were ſtill freſh in the minds of men: beſides, the relation was lighter between AUGUSTUS and his wife's ſons, than between a grandfather and his grandſons. To the grant of the Queſtorſhip was added a ſeat in the College of Pontifs; and the firſt day he enter'd the Forum in his manly Robe, a donative of corn and money was diſtributed to the populace, who exulted to behold a ſon of GERMANICUS now of age. Their joy was ſoon heighten'd by his marriage with JULIA the daughter of DRUSUS. But as theſe tranſactions were attended with publick applauſes; ſo the intended marriage of the daughter of SEJANUS with the ſon of CLAUDIUS was receiv'd with popular indignation. By this alliance the nobility of the Claudian houſe ſeem'd ſtain'd; and by it SEJANUS already ſuſpected of aſpiring views, was lifted ſtill higher.

AT the end of this year died LUCIUS VOLUSIUS and SALLUSTIUS CRISPUS; great and eminent men. The family of VOLUSIUS was ancient, but, in the exerciſe of publick offices, roſe never higher than the Pretorſhip; it was he who honoured it with the Conſulſhip: he was likewiſe created Cenſor for modelling the claſſes of the Equeſtrian Order; and firſt accumulated the wealth which gave that family ſuch immenſe grandeur. CRISPUS was born of an Equeſtrian houſe, great nephew by a ſiſter to CAIUS SALLUSTIUS, the renown'd Roman Hiſtorian, and by him adopted: the way to the great offices was open to him; but, in imitation of MECENAS, he liv'd without the dignity of Senator, yet outwent in power many who were diſtinguiſh'd with Conſulſhips and triumphs: his manner of living, his dreſs and daintineſs were different from the ways of antiquity; and, in expence and affluence, he border'd rather upon luxury. He poſſeſſed however a vigour of ſpirit equal to great affairs, and exerted the greater promptneſs for that he hid it in a ſhew of indolence and ſloth: he was therefore, in the life time of MECENAS, the next in favour, afterwards chief confident in all the ſecret Counſels of AUGUSTUS and TIBERIUS, and privy and conſenting to the order for ſlaying AGRIPPA POSTHUMUS. In his old age he preſerv'd with the Prince rather the outſide than the vitals of authority: the ſame had happened to MECENAS. It is the fate of power, which is rarely perpetual; perhaps from ſatiety on both ſides, when Princes have no more to grant, and Miniſters no more to crave.

NEXT followed the Conſulſhip of TIBERIUS and DRUSUS; to TIBERIUS the fourth, to DRUSUS the ſecond: a Conſulſhip remarkable, for that in it the father and ſon were Collegues. There was indeed the ſame fellowſhip between TIBERIUS and GERMANICUS, two years before; but beſides the diſtaſtes of jealouſy in the uncle, the ties of blood were not ſo near. In the beginning of the year, TIBERIUS, on pretence of his health, retired to Campania; either already meditating a long and perpetual retirement, or to leave to DRUSUS, in his father's abſence, the honour of executing the Conſulſhip alone: and there happen'd a thing which, ſmall in it ſelf, yet as it produced mighty conteſtation, furniſh'd the young Conſul with matter of popular affection. DOMITIUS CORBULO, formerly Pretor, complain'd to the Senate of LUCIUS SYLLA, a noble youth, "that in the ſhew of Gladiators, SYLLA would "not yield him place". Age, domeſtick cuſtom, and the ancient men were for CORBULO: on the other ſide, MAMERCUS SCAURUS, LUCIUS ARRUNTIUS, and others labour'd for their kinſman SYLLA: warm ſpeeches were made, and the examples of our anceſtors were urg'd, "who "by ſevere decrees had cenſur'd and reſtrain'd the irreve-"rence of the youth". DRUSUS interpos'd with arguments proper for calming animoſities, and CORBULO had ſatisfaction made him by SCAURUS, who was to SYLLA both father-in-law and uncle, and the moſt copious Orator of that age. The ſame CORBULO, exclaming againſt "the "condition of moſt of the roads through Italy, that "through the fraud of the undertakers and negligence of "the overſeers, they were broken and unpaſſable"; undertook of his own accord the cure of that abuſe; an undertaking which he executed not ſo much to the advantage of the publick as to the ruin of many private men in their fortunes and reputation, by his violent mulcts and unjuſt judgments and forfeitures.

SOON after TIBERIUS by a Letter acquainted the Senate, "that by the incurſions of TACFARINAS there were freſh "commotions in Africa; and that they muſt chooſe a Pro-"conſul, one of military experience, vigorous, and equal "to that war". SEXTUS POMPEIUS, taking this occaſion to diſcharge his hate, reproach'd MARCUS LEPIDUS "as daſtardly, indigent, a ſcandal to his anceſtors, and "therefore to be diveſted even of the Government of Aſia, "his province by lot". The Senate oppos'd him: they took LEPIDUS for a man rather mild than ſlothful; and that, as in his narrow fortune bequeath'd to him, but not impair'd by him, he ſupported his quality without blemiſh, he merited honour rather than contumely: he was therefore ſent to Aſia. Concerning Africa, it was decreed that the appointment of a Governor ſhould be left to the Emperor.

Upon this occaſion cecina severus propos'd, "that "no Magiſtrate ſhould go into any province accompani-"ed by his wife". He introduced this motion with a long preface, "that he liv'd with his own in perfect con-"cord, by her he had ſix children; and what he offer'd "to the publick he had practis'd himſelf, having during "forty years ſervice, left her ſtill behind him, confin'd "to Italy. It was not indeed, without cauſe, eſtabliſh'd of "old, that women ſhould neither be carried by their huſ-"bands into confederate nations nor foreign. A train of "women introduced luxury in peace, by their fears retard-"ed war, and made a Roman army reſemble, in their "march, a mixt hoſt of Barbarians. The ſex was not "tender only and unfit for travel, but, if ſuffer'd, cruel, "aſpiring and greedy of authority: they even march'd "amongſt the ſoldiers, and were obey'd by the officers. A "woman had lately preſided at the exerciſes of the troops, "and at the decurſions of the Legions. The Senate them-"ſelves might remember that as often as any of the Ma-"giſtrates were charg'd with plundering the provinces, "their wives were always engaged in the guilt. To the La-"dies the moſt profligate in the province ever apply'd; by "them all affairs were undertaken, by them tranſacted: "at home two diſtinct courts were kept, and abroad the "wife had her diſtinct train and attendance. The Ladies "too iſſued diſtinct orders, but more imperious and better "obey'd. Such feminine exceſſes were formerly reſtrain'd "by the Oppian and other Laws; but now theſe reſtraints "were violated, women ruled all things, their families, the "Forum, and even the armies".

This ſpeech was heard by few with approbation, and many proclaim'd their diſſent; "for that neither was that "the point in debate; nor was cecina conſiderable "enough to cenſure ſo weighty an affair". He was preſently anſwer'd by valerius messalinus, who was the ſon of messala and inherited a ſparkling of his father's Eloquence: "that many rigorous inſtitutions of the ancients were ſof-"ten'd and chang'd for the better: for, neither was Rome "now, as of old, beſet with wars, nor Italy with hoſtile "provinces; and a few conceſſions were made to the con-"veniences of women, who were ſo far from burdening

" the provinces, that to their own husbands there they were " no burden. As to honours, attendance and expence, they " enjoy'd them in common with their husbands, who could " receive no embarraſſment from their company in time of " peace. To war indeed we muſt go equipp'd and unincumber'd; but after the fatigues of war, what was more " allowable than the conſolations of a wife? But it ſeem'd, " the wives of ſome Magiſtrates had given a looſe to ambition and avarice? And were the Magiſtrates themſelves free " from theſe exceſſes? were not moſt of them govern'd by " many exorbitant appetites? did we therefore ſend none into " the provinces? It was added, that the husbands were corrupted by their corrupt wives: and were therefore all ſingle " men uncorrupt? The Oppian Laws were once thought neceſſary, becauſe the exigencies of the State requir'd their " ſeverity: they were afterwards relax'd and mollified, " becauſe that too was expedient for the State. In vain we " cover'd our own ſloth with borrow'd names: if the wife " broke bounds, the husband ought to bear the blame. It " was moreover unjuſtly judged, for the weak and uxorious " ſpirit of one or a few, to bereave all others of the fellowſhip of their wives, the natural partners of their proſperity and diſtreſs. Beſides, the ſex, weak by nature, " would be left defenceleſs, expoſs'd to the luxurious bent " of their native paſſions, and a prey to the allurements of " adulterers: ſcarce under the eye and reſtraint of the huſband, was the marriage bed preſerv'd inviolate: what " muſt be the conſequence, when by an abſence of many " years, the ties of marriage would be forgot, forgot as " it were in a divorce? It became them therefore, ſo to " cure the evils abroad as not to forget the enormities at " Rome". To this DRUSUS added ſomewhat concerning his own wedlock. " Princes, he ſaid, were frequently obliged to viſit the remote parts of the Empire: how " often did the deified AUGUSTUS travel to the Eaſt, how " often to the Weſt, ſtill accompanied with LIVIA? He " himſelf too had taken a progreſs to Illyricum, and, if it " were expedient, was ready to viſit other nations; but " not always with an eaſie ſpirit, if he were to be torn " from his dear wife, her by whom he had ſo many children". Thus was CECINA's motion eluded.

When the Senate met next, they had a Letter from Tiberius. In it he affected to chide the fathers, "that upon "him they caſt all publick cares"; and nam'd them M. Lepidus and Junius Blesus, to chooſe either for Proconſul of Africa. They were then both heard as to this nomination: Lepidus excuſed himſelf with earneſtneſs; he pleaded "his bodily frailty, the tender age of his chil"dren, and a daughter fit for marriage". There was another reaſon too, of which he ſaid nothing; but it was eaſily underſtood: Blesus was uncle to Sejanus, and therefore had the prevailing intereſt. Blesus too made a ſhew of refuſing, but not with the like poſitiveneſs, and was heard with partiality by the flatterers of power.

Now at laſt broke out a grievance which had lain hitherto ſmother'd in the uneaſy minds of men. The Statues of the Emperor were become ſanctuaries to every profligate, who by laying hold on theſe Statues had aſſumed the licentious inſolence of venting with impunity their invectives and hatred againſt worthy men: even ſlaves and freedmen were thence grown terrible to their maſters; and wantonly inſulted and threaten'd them. Againſt this abuſe it was argued by Caius Sestius the Senator, "that Prin"ces were indeed the repreſentatives of the Gods; but by "the Gods juſt petitions only were heard: nor did any one "betake himſelf to the Capitol, or the other Temples of "Rome, that under their ſhelter he might exerciſe villa"nies. That the laws were aboliſh'd and finally overturn'd, "if a criminal convict could in the publick Forum, nay "at the door of the Senate, aſſault her proſecutor with "invectives and menaces: and yet thus had Annia Ru"filla aſſaulted him; ſhe whom he had got judicially "condemn'd for forgery: neither durſt he ſeek relief from "the law, for that ſhe protected her ſelf with the Emperor's "Statue". Much the ſame reaſoning was offer'd by others: ſome aggravated the offence with greater bitterneſs, and beſought Drusus to ſhew an exemplary inſtance of vengeance. So ſhe was ſummon'd, convicted of the charge, and by his command committed to priſon.

Cansidius Equus too, and Celius Cursor, Roman Knights, were at the motion of Drusus, puniſh'd by a decree of Senate, for forging a charge of treaſon againſt the Pretor MAGIUS CECILIANUS. From this their puniſhment and that of RUFILLA, DRUSUS reap'd publick praiſe; "that by him, living thus ſociably at Rome, and "frequenting the publick aſſemblies, the dark ſpirit and "deſigns of his father were ſoften'd". Neither did the luxury in which the young Prince liv'd, give much offence. "Let him, it was ſaid, be rather thus imploy'd, his days "in ſhews and acts of popularity, his nights in banqueting, "than in diſmal ſolitude, withdrawn from publick gayety, "worried with inceſſant diſtruſts, and foſtering black de-"ſigns".

FOR neither was TIBERIUS nor the impleaders, yet tir'd with accuſations. ANCHARIUS PRISCUS had accus'd CESIUS CORDUS, Proconſul of Crete, of robbing the publick, with an additional charge of high treaſon; a charge, which at that time was the main bulwark of all accuſations. ANTISTIUS VETUS, a Nobleman of the firſt rank in Macedonia, had been tried for adultery and abſolv'd: this offended TIBERIUS, who reproach'd the Judges, and recall'd him to be tried for treaſon, as a diſturber of the publick, and confederate with the late King RHESCUPORIS, when having ſlain his brother COTYS, he meditated war againſt us. So that VETUS was condemn'd, and interdicted from fire and water: to this ſentence it was added, "that he ſhould be confin'd to an Iſland neither in the "neighbourhood of Macedon nor of Thrace". For, upon the diviſion of that Kingdom between RHEMETALCES and the ſons of COTYS, who being children had for their guardian TREBELLIENUS RUFUS; the Thracians not us'd to our Government, wax'd diſcontented and tumultuous; nor did they leſs cenſure RHEMETALCES than TREBELLIENUS, for leaving unpuniſh'd the violences done them. The Celeteans, Odryſeans, and others, all powerful nations, took arms, under diſtinct Captains, but equal in incapacity. For this reaſon, their armies were not united, nor did the war wax terrible: ſome committed ravages at home; others travers'd Mount Hemus, to engage in the inſurrection the diſtant provinces: the greateſt part, and beſt appointed, beſieg'd Philippopolis, (a City founded by PHILIP of Macedon) and in it King RHEMETALCES.

PUBLIUS VELLEIUS commanded the army in the neighbouring province. When he heard of theſe commotions, he diſpatch'd parties of horſe and light foot; ſome againſt thoſe who roam'd about for plunder; ſome againſt ſuch as rambled from place to place to ſollicit ſuccours: he himſelf led the body of the Infantry to raiſe the ſiege. Theſe ſeveral enterprizes were at once ſucceſsfully executed: the rovers were cut off; diviſions aroſe amongſt the beſiegers, and the King fortunately ſallied, juſt as the Roman forces ariv'd. This gang of Thracians deſerve not the name of an army, nor this rout to be call'd a battle, where vagabonds half arm'd were ſlaughter'd, without blood on our ſide.

THE ſame year the Cities of Gaul, ſtimulated by their exceſſive debts, began a Rebellion. The moſt vehement incendiaries were JULIUS FLORUS, and JULIUS SACROVIR; the firſt amongſt thoſe of Treves, the ſecond amongſt the Eduans. They were both diſtinguiſh'd by their nobility, and by the good ſervices of their anceſtors, who thence had acquir'd of old the right of Roman Citizens; a privilege rare in thoſe days, and then only the prize of virtue. When by ſecret meetings they had gain'd thoſe who were moſt prompt to rebel; with ſuch as were deſperate through indigence, or, from guilt of paſt crimes, forced to commit more; they agreed that FLORUS ſhould begin the inſurrection in Belgia; SACROVIR amongſt the neighbouring Gauls. In order to this, they had many conſultations and cabals, where they utter'd ſeditious harangues; they urg'd "their tribute "without end, their devouring uſury, the pride and cruelty "of their Governors: that they had now a glorious opportu"nity to recover their liberty; for that ſince the report of "the murder of GERMANICUS, diſcord had ſiez'd the Ro"man ſoldiery: they need only conſider their own ſtrength "and numbers; while Italy was poor and exhauſted; the "Roman populace weak and unwarlike, the Roman armies "deſtitute of all vigour, but that deriv'd from foreign"ers".

SCARCE one City remain'd untainted with the ſeeds of this Rebellion; but it firſt broke at Angiers and Tours. The former were reduced by ACILIUS AVIOLA, a Legate, with the aſſiſtance of a Cohort drawn from the garriſon at Lions. Thoſe of Tours were ſuppreſſed by the ſame

AVIOLA, aſſiſted with a detachment ſent from the Legions, by VISELLIUS VARRO, Lieutenant-Governor of lower Germany. Some of the Chiefs of the Gauls had likewiſe join'd him with ſuccours, the better to diſguiſe their defection, and to puſh it with more effect hereafter. Even SACROVIR was beheld engaged in fight for the Romans, with his head bare, *a demonſtration*, he pretended, *of his bravery*; but the priſoners averr'd, that "he did it to be known to his country-men, and to eſcape their darts".

AN account of all this was laid before TIBERIUS, who ſlighted it, and by heſitation foſter'd the war. FLORUS the while puſh'd his deſigns, and tried to debauch a Regiment of horſe, levied at Treves, and kept under our pay and diſcipline: he would have engaged them to begin the war, by putting to the ſword the Roman Merchants; and ſome few were corrupted, but the body remain'd in their allegiance. A rabble however of his own followers and deſperate debtors, took arms and were making to the Foreſt of Arden, when the Legions ſent from both armies by VISELLIUS and CAIUS SILIUS, thro' different routs to intercept them, marr'd their march: and JULIUS INDUS, one of the ſame country with FLORUS, at enmity with him, and therefore more eager to engage him, was diſpatch'd forward with a choſen band, and broke the ill appointed multitude. FLORUS by lurking from place to place, fruſtrated the ſearch of the conquerors: but at laſt, when he ſaw all the paſſes beſet with ſoldiers, he fell by his own hands. This was the iſſue of the inſurrection at Treves.

AMONGST the Eduans the revolt was ſtronger, as much ſtronger as the ſtate was more opulent; and the forces to ſuppreſs it were to be brought from afar. Auguſtodunum the capital of the nation, was ſiez'd by SACROVIR, and in it all the noble youth of Gaul, who were there inſtructed in the Liberal Arts. By ſecuring theſe pledges he aim'd to bind in his intereſt their parents and relations; and at the ſame time diſtributed to the young men the arms which he had caus'd to be ſecretly made. He had forty thouſand men, the fifth part arm'd like our Legions, the reſt with poles, hangers, and other weapons us'd by hunters. To the number were added ſuch of the ſlaves as had been appointed to be Gladiators; theſe were cover'd, after the faſhion of the country, with a continued armour of iron; and ſtil'd *Crupellarii*; a ſort of militia unweildy at excerciſing their own weapons, and impenetrable by thoſe of others. Theſe forces were ſtill increas'd by Volunteers from the neighbouring Cities, where, tho' the publick body did not hitherto avow the revolt, yet the zeal of particulars was manifeſt: they had likewiſe leiſure to increaſe from the contention of the two Roman Generals; a contention for ſome time undecided, while each demanded the command in that war. At length VARRO, old and infirm, yielded to the ſuperior vigour of SILIUS.

NOW at Rome, “ not only the inſurrection of Treves “ and of the Eduans, but likewiſe, that threeſcore and four “ Cities of Gaul had revolted; that the Germans had join'd “ in the revolt, and that Spain fluctuated ”; were reports all believ'd with the uſual aggravations of fame. The beſt men griev'd in ſympathy for their country: many from hatred of the preſent government and thirſt of change, rejoiced in their own perils: they inveighed againſt TIBERIUS, “ that “ in ſuch a mighty uproar of rebellion, he was only employ'd in peruſing the informations of the State-Accuſers ”. They ask'd, “ did he mean to ſurrender JULIUS “ SACROVIR to the Senate, to try him for treaſon ”? They exulted, “ that there were at laſt found men, who would “ with arms reſtrain his bloody orders for private murders ”. And declar'd “ that even War was a happy change for a “ moſt wretch'd peace ”. So much the more for this, TIBERIUS affected to appear wrapt up in ſecurity and unconcern; he neither changed place nor countenance, but behav'd himſelf at that time as at other times; whether from elevation of mind, or whether he had learnt that the ſtate of things was not alarming, and only heighten'd by vulgar repreſentation.

SILIUS the while ſending forward a band of Auxiliaries, march'd with two Legions, and in his march ravaged the villages of the Sequanians next neighbours to the Eduans, and their aſſociates in arms. He then advanced towards Auguſtodunum; a haſty march, the Standard-bearers mutually vying in expedition, and the common men breathing ardour and eagerneſs: they deſir'd, “ that no time might be waſted “ in the uſual refreſhments, none of their nights in ſleep; “ let them only ſee and confront the foe: they wanted no

“ more to be victorious ”. Twelve miles from Auguſtodunum SACROVIR appear'd with his forces upon the plains: in the front he had placed the iron troop; his Cohorts in the wings; the half arm'd in the rear: he himſelf, upon a fine horſe, attended by the other chiefs, addreſs'd himſelf to them from rank to rank; he reminded them “ of the glori-“ ous atchievements of the ancient Gauls; of the victorious “ miſchiefs they had brought upon the Romans; of the li-“ berty and renown attending victory; of their redoubled “ and intolerable ſervitude, if once more vanquiſh'd ”.

A ſhort ſpeech, and an unattentive, and diſhearten'd audience! For, the embattled Legions approach'd; and the crowd of townſmen, ill appointed and novices in war, ſtood aſtoniſh'd, bereft of the preſent uſe of eyes and hearing. On the other ſide, SILIUS, tho' he preſumed the victory, and thence might have ſpar'd exhortations, yet call'd to his men, “ that they might be with reaſon aſham'd that they, the “ Conquerors of Germany, ſhould be thus led againſt a “ rabble of Gauls as againſt an equal enemy: one Cohort “ had newly defeated the rebels of Tours; one Regiment of “ horſe thoſe of Treves; a handful of this very army had “ routed the Sequanians: the preſent Eduans, as they are “ more abounding in wealth, as they wallow more in vo-“ luptuouſneſs, are by ſo much more ſoft and unwarlike: “ this is what you are now to prove, and your task to pre-“ vent their eſcape ”. His words were return'd with a mighty cry. Inſtantly the horſe ſurrounded the foe; the foot attack'd their front, and the wings were preſently routed: the iron-band gave ſome ſhort obſtruction, as the bars of their coats withſtood the ſtroaks of ſword and pike: but the ſoldiers had recourſe to their hatchets and pick-axes, and, as if they had batter'd a wall, hew'd their bodies and armour: others with clubs, and ſome with forks, beat down the helpleſs lumps, who as they lay ſtretch'd along, without one ſtruggle to riſe, were left for dead. SACROVIR fled firſt to Auguſtodunum; and thence, fearful of being ſurrender'd, to a neighbouring town, accompanied by his moſt faithful adherents: there he ſlew himſelf, and the reſt one another; having firſt ſet the town on fire, by which they were all conſum'd.

Now at laſt TIBERIUS writ to the Senate about this war, and at once acquainted them with its riſe and concluſion, neither aggravating facts nor leſſening them; but added "that "it was conducted by the fidelity and bravery of his Lieu"tenants, guided by his counſels". He likewiſe aſſigned the reaſons why neither he, nor DRUSUS, went to that war; "that the Empire was an immenſe body; and it became "not the dignity of a Prince, upon the revolt of one or "two towns, to deſert the capital, whence motion was "deriv'd to the whole: but ſince the alarm was over, he "would viſit thoſe nations and ſettle them". The Senate decreed vows and ſupplications for his return, with other cuſtomary honours. Only CORNELIUS DOLABELLA, while he ſtrove to outdo others, fell into ridiculous ſycophancy, and mov'd "that from Campania he ſhould enter "Rome in the Triumph of Ovation". This occaſioned a Letter from TIBERIUS: in it he declared, "he was not "ſo deſtitute of glory, that after having in his youth ſub"dued the fierceſt nations, and enjoyed or ſlighted ſo many "Triumphs, he ſhould now in his old age ſeek empty ho"nours from a ſhort progreſs about the ſuburbs of Rome".

About the ſame time he deſired of the Senate, that "the "corps of PUBLIUS QUIRINIUS might be diſtinguiſhed "with a publick Funeral". QUIRINIUS was born at Lanuvium, a Municipal town, and no wiſe related to the ancient Patrician family of the SULPITII; but being a brave ſoldier, was for his vigorous military ſervices to AUGUSTUS, rewarded with the Conſulſhip; and ſoon after with a Triumph, for driving the Homonades out of their ſtrong holds in Cilicia: next when the young CAIUS CESAR was ſent to ſettle the affairs of Armenia, QUIRINIUS was appointed his Governor, and at the ſame time paid all court to TIBERIUS, then in his retirement at Rhodes. This the Emperor repreſented now to the Senate; he extoll'd the kind offices of QUIRINIUS, and branded MARCUS LOLLIUS as the author of the perverſe behaviour of CAIUS CESAR to himſelf, and of all the jarring between them. In other inſtances the memory of QUIRINIUS was not acceptable to the Senate, for his above mention'd deadly perſecution againſt LEPIDA, and for his ſordid and formidable old age.

At the end of the year, CAIUS LUTORIUS PRISCUS, a Roman Knight, who had compos'd a celebrated Poem, bewailing the Death of GERMANICUS, and receiv'd a reward from TIBERIUS, was attacked by an informer. His charge was, "that during an illneſs of DRUSUS, he had "compos'd another, which, if the diſtemper prov'd mor-"tal, he hoped to publiſh with a reward ſtill greater". This Poem LUTORIUS had, in the fulneſs of vanity, rehearſed at the houſe of PUBLIUS PETRONIUS, in the preſence of VITELLIA, mother-in-law to PETRONIUS, and of other Ladies of quality; who were all ſummon'd by the impleader, and all, except VITELLIA, were terrified into a confeſſion: ſhe alone perſiſted that ſhe had heard nothing. But the evidence tending to deſtroy him had moſt credit; and it was the ſentence of HATERIUS AGRIPPA, Conſul elect, that death ſhould be his puniſhment.

This was oppos'd by M. LEPIDUS who ſpoke on this wiſe. "Conſcript fathers, if we only regard, with what abomina-"ble effuſions LUTORIUS PRISCUS has defil'd his own "ſoul, and the ears of men; neither dungeon, nor rope, "nor indeed the puniſhments peculiar to ſlaves, are ſuffici-"ent for him. But tho' wickedneſs and enormities abound "without meaſure; yet ſince in coercions and penalties, "we muſt obſerve the limits ſet by the moderation of the "Prince, ſet by preſidents made by our anceſtors and your "ſelves; and ſince we muſt diſtinguiſh the vanity of the "head from the malignity of the heart, and words from "evil doings: there is room left for a middle judgment, "by which neither his offence need eſcape unpuniſh'd, nor "we repent of our tenderneſs or ſeverity. I have often heard "our Prince complain, when any criminal had, by a deſpe-"rate death, prevented his mercy. The life of LUTORI-"US is ſtill untouch'd: to ſave it, will no wiſe endanger "the State; nor will the taking it away have any influence "upon others. His ſtudies, as they are full of wildneſs, "are likewiſe empty and periſhing: neither is ought im-"portant or terrible to be apprehended from one who thus "betrays his own follies, and makes his court not to the "minds of men, but the imaginations of women: let him "however be expell'd Rome, interdicted from fire and wa-"ter, and his eſtate be forfeited: which judgment of mine

" is the ſame as if he were charged with high trea-
" ſon ".

Of all the Conſulars, only RUBELLIUS BLANDUS aſſented to this opinion of LEPIDUS; the reſt voted with AGRIPPA. PRISCUS was led to the dungeon, and inſtantly put to death. TIBERIUS, in a Letter to the Senate, diſcanted upon this proceeding, with his uſual doubles and ambiguities; he magnified " their tenderneſs and zeal in avenging thus with " ſeverity even the ſlight injuries done to the Prince"; he entreated them, " not to be ſudden in puniſhing for " words"; he prais'd LEPIDUS, and cenſur'd not AGRIPPA. Hence an order was made, " that the decrees of Senate " ſhould not in leſs than ten days be carried to the Exche- " quer, and to the condemn'd ſo much time ſhould be " granted ". But to the Senate remain'd no liberty of reviſal or annulling; nor was TIBERIUS ever ſoften'd by time.

CAIUS SULPITIUS and DECIMUS HATERIUS were the following Conſuls. Their year was exempt from diſturbances abroad; but at home ſome ſevere blow was apprehended againſt luxury, which prevail'd monſtrouſly in all things that create a profuſion of money. But as the more pernicious articles of expence were cover'd by concealing their prices; therefore from the exceſſes of the table, which were become the common ſubject of daily animadverſion, apprehenſions were rais'd of ſome rigid correction from a Prince, who obſerv'd himſelf the ancient parcimony. For, CAIUS BIBULUS having begun the complaint, the other Ediles took it up, and argued " that the ſumptuary Laws " were deſpiſed; the pomp and expence of plate and en- " tertainments, in ſpite of reſtraints, increas'd daily, and " by moderate penalties were not to be ſtopped". This grievance thus repreſented to the Senate, was by them referr'd intire to the Emperor. TIBERIUS having long weighed with himſelf whether ſuch an abandon'd propenſity to prodigality could be ſtemmed; whether the ſtemming it would not bring heavier evils upon the publick; how diſhonourable it would be to attempt what could not be effected, or at leaſt effected by the diſgrace of the nobility, and by the ſubjecting illuſtrious men to infamous puniſhments; wrote at laſt to the Senate in this manner:

“ In other matters, Conſcript Fathers, perhaps it might “ be more expedient for you to conſult me in the Senate, “ and for me to declare there what I judge for the publick “ weal: but in the debate of this affair, it was beſt that my “ eyes were withdrawn; leſt, while you mark'd the countenances and terror of particulars charg'd with ſcandalous “ luxury, I too ſhould have obſerv'd them, and, as it were, “ caught them in it. Had the vigilant Ediles firſt ask'd “ counſel of me, I know not whether I ſhould not have “ advis'd them rather to have paſs'd by potent and inveterate corruptions, than only make it manifeſt, what enormities are an over-match for us: but they in truth have “ done their duty, as I would have all other Magiſtrates “ fullfil theirs. But for my ſelf, it is neither commendable “ to be ſilent; nor does it belong to my ſtation to ſpeak “ out; ſince I neither bear the character of an Edile, nor of “ a Pretor, nor of a Conſul: ſomething ſtill greater and “ higher is requir'd of a Prince. Every one is ready to “ aſſume to himſelf the credit of whatever is well done, “ while upon the Prince alone are thrown the miſcarriages “ of all. But what is it that I am firſt to prohibit, what exceſs retrench to the ancient ſtandard? Am I to begin “ with that of our country ſeats, ſpatious without bounds; “ and with the number of domeſticks, a number diſtributed “ into nations in private families? or with the quantity of “ plate, ſilver, and gold? or with the pictures, and works, “ and ſtatues of braſs, the wonders of art? or with the gorgeous veſtments, promiſcuouſly worn by men and women? or with what is peculiar to the women, thoſe precious ſtones, for the purchaſe of which our corn is carried “ into foreign and hoſtile nations? I am not ignorant that “ at entertainments and in converſation, theſe exceſſes “ are cenſur'd, and a regulation is requir'd: and yet “ if an equal Law were made, if equal penalties were “ preſcrib'd, theſe very cenſurers would loudly complain, “ *that the State was utterly overturn'd, that ſnares and* “ *deſtruction were prepar'd for every illuſtrious houſe, that no* “ *men could be guiltleſs, and all men would be the prey of informers.* And yet bodily diſeaſes grown inveterate and “ ſtrengthen'd by time, cannot be check'd but by medicins “ rigid and violent: it is the ſame with the ſoul: the ſick

“ and raging ſoul, it ſelf corrupted and ſcattering its corruption, is not to be qualified but by remedies equally ſtrong with its own flaming luſts. So many Laws made by our anceſtors, ſo many added by the deified AUGUSTUS; the former being loſt in oblivion, and (which is more heinous) the latter in contempt, have only ſerv'd to render luxury more ſecure. When we covet a thing yet unforbid, we are apt to fear that it may be forbid; but when once we can with impunity and defiance o'er-leap prohibited bounds, there remains afterwards nor fear nor ſhame. How therefore did Parcimony prevail of old? It was becauſe, every one was a Law to himſelf; it was becauſe we were then only maſters of one City: nor afterwards, while our dominion was confin'd only to Italy, had we found the ſame inſtigations to voluptuouſneſs. By foreign Conqueſts we learn'd to waſte the property of others, and in the Civil Wars to conſume our own. What a mighty matter is it that the Ediles remonſtrate! how little to be weigh'd in the balance with others? It is wonderful that no body repreſents, that Italy is in conſtant want of foreign ſupplies; that the lives of the Roman people are daily at the mercy of uncertain ſeas and of tempeſts: were it not for our ſupports from the provinces; ſupports, by which the maſters, and their ſlaves, and their eſtates, are maintain'd; would our own Groves and Villas maintain us? This care therefore, Conſcript Fathers, is the buſineſs of the Prince; and by the neglect of this care, the foundations of the ſtate would be diſſolved. The cure of other defects depends upon our own private ſpirits: ſome of us ſhame will reclaim; neceſſity will mend the poor; ſatiety the rich. Or if any of the Magiſtrates from a confidence of his own firmneſs and perſeverence, will undertake to ſtemm the progreſs of ſo great an evil; he has both my praiſes, and my acknowledgment, that he diſcharges me of part of my fatigues: but if ſuch will only impeach corruptions, and when they have gained the glory, would leave upon me the indignation; (indignation of their own raiſing;) believe me, Conſcript Fathers, I am not fond of bearing reſentments: I already ſuffer many for the Commonwealth; many that are grievous and almoſt all unjuſt; and therefore with reaſon I

“ intreat that I may not be loaded with ſuch as are wan-
“ tonly and vainly rais’d, and promiſe no advantage to you
“ nor to me ”.

The Senate, upon reading the Emperor’s Letter, releas’d the Ediles from this purſuit: and the luxury of the table which, from the battle of Actium till the revolution made by GALBA, flow’d, for the ſpace of an hundred years, in all profuſion; at laſt gradually declin’d. The cauſes of this change are worth knowing. Formerly the great families, great in nobility or abounding in riches, were carried away with a paſſion for magnificence: for even then it was allow’d to court the good graces of the Roman people, with the favour of Kings, and confederate Nations; and to be courted by them: ſo that each was diſtinguiſh’d by the luſtre of popularity and dependences, in proportion to his affluence, the ſplendour of his houſe, and the figure he made. But after Imperial fury had long raged in the ſlaughter of the Grandees, and the greatneſs of reputation was become the ſure mark of deſtruction; the reſt grew wiſer: beſides, new men frequently choſen Senators from the Muncipal towns, from the Colonies, and even from the Provinces, brought into the Senate their own domeſtick parcimony; and tho’, by fortune or induſtry, many of them grew wealthy as they grew old, yet their former frugal ſpirit continued. But above all, VESPASIAN prov’d the promoter of thrifty living, being himſelf the pattern of ancient Oeconomy in his perſon and table: hence the compliance of the publick with the manners of the Prince, and an emulation to practiſe them; an incitement more prevalent than the terrors of Laws and all their penalties. Or perhaps all human things go a certain round, and, as in the revolutions of time, there are alſo viciſſitudes in manners: nor indeed have our anceſtors excell’d us in all things; our own age has produced many excellences worthy of praiſe and the imitation of poſterity. Let us ſtill preſerve this ſtrife in virtue with our forefathers.

TIBERIUS having gained the fame of moderation; becauſe, by rejecting the project for reforming luxury, he had diſarmed the growing hopes of the accuſers; wrote to the Senate, to deſire the *Tribunitial Power* for DRUSUS. AUGUSTUS had deviſ’d this title as beſt ſuiting the unbounded height of his views, while avoiding the odious name of *King* or *Dictator*, he was yet obliged to uſe ſome particular appellation, under it to controul all other powers in the State. He afterwards aſſumed MARCUS AGRIPPA into a fellowſhip in it; and, upon his death, TIBERIUS; that none might doubt who was to be his ſucceſſor. By this means, he conceiv'd, he ſhould defeat the aſpiring views of others: beſides, he confided in the moderation of TIBERIUS, and in the mightineſs of his own authority. By his example, TIBERIUS now advanced DRUSUS to the ſupreme Magiſtracy; whereas, while GERMANICUS yet liv'd, he acted without diſtinction towards both. In the beginning of his Letter he beſought the Gods "that by his counſels the "Republick might proſper", and then added a modeſt teſtimony concerning the qualities and behaviour of the young Prince, without aggravation or falſe embelliſhments; "that he had a wife and three children, and was of the "ſame age with himſelf when call'd by the deified AUGUSTUS to that office: that DRUSUS was not now by him "adopted a partner in the toils of Government, precipitately; but after eight years experience made of his qualifications; after ſeditions ſuppreſs'd, wars concluded, the "honour of Triumph and two Conſulſhips".

THE Senators had foreſeen this addreſs; hence they receiv-ed it with the more elaborate adulation. However, they could deviſe nothing to decree, but "Statues to the two Princes, "altars to the Gods, arches", and other uſual honours: only that MARCUS SILANUS ſtrove to honour the Princes by the diſgrace of the Conſulſhip: he propos'd "that all records "publick and private ſhould, for their date, be inſcrib'd "no more with the names of the Conſuls, but of thoſe who "exercis'd the Tribunitial power". But HATERIUS AGRIPPA, by moving to have "the Decrees of that day engrav'd "in Letters of gold, and hung up in the Senate", became an object of deriſion; for that, as he was an ancient man, he could reap from his moſt abominable flattery no other fruit but that of infamy.

IN the mean time, as the Province of Africa was continued to JUNIUS BLESUS; SERVIUS MALUGINENSIS Prieſt of Jupiter, demanded that of Aſia. He inſiſted "that it "was vainly alledged that ſuch Prieſts were not allow'd to "leave Italy: that he was under no other reſtriction than

“ thoſe of Mars and Romulus ; and if they were admitted to the lots of Provinces, why were thoſe of Jupiter debarr'd ? That the ſame was neither adjudged by “ the authority of the people, nor in the books which aſcertain'd the ſacred rites. That frequently, when the “ Prieſts of Jupiter were detain'd by ſickneſs, or engaged “ in the publick ; their function was ſupplied by the Pontifs. That the function itſelf lay unfill'd for two and “ ſeventy years together, after the Death of CORNELIUS “ MERULA, and yet the exerciſe of Religion never ceas'd. “ Now if in ſuch a ſeries of years, Religion could ſubſiſt “ unhurt without the creation of any ſuch Prieſt at all ; how “ much eaſier might his abſence be borne in the exerciſe of “ the Proconſular power, for one year ? That it was to “ ſatiate private piques, if formerly the Prieſts of Jupiter “ were by the chief Pontifs debarr'd from the Government “ of Provinces. But now, by the goodneſs of the Gods, “ the chief Pontif was alſo the chief of men ; a Pontif to “ whom emulation, hatred, and other perſonal prepoſſeſſions, had no acceſs ”.

To theſe his reaſonings ſeveral anſwers were made by LENTULUS the Augur, and others, but all diſagreeing ; ſo that the reſult was “ to wait for the deciſion of the ſupreme Pontif ”. TIBERIUS in his anſwer to the Senate, poſtponing his notice of the pretenſions of the Prieſt of Jupiter, qualified the honours decreed to DRUSUS with the Tribunitial power ; and eſpecially cenſur'd the “ extravagance of the motion of golden letters, as contrary to the “ cuſtom of Rome ”. Letters from DRUSUS were likewiſe read, and tho' modeſt in expreſſion, were conſtrued to be full of haughtineſs ; “ had all things then taken ſuch a miſerable turn, that even a youth, and a youth juſt diſtinguiſh'd with ſuch ſupreme honour, daign'd not to viſit “ the Gods of Rome, nor appear in Senate, nor begin in “ his native City the auſpices of his dignity ? No war detain'd “ him ; he had no journey to make from remote countries, “ while he was only diverting himſelf upon the lakes and “ ſhores of Campania, and pleaſure his chief avocation. With “ ſuch tuition was he prepar'd the future ruler of human “ kind ; and this the leſſon he had learnt from the maxims “ of his father ! In truth, the Emperor himſelf, an ancient

" man, might find uneaſineſs in living under the eye of the
" publick, and plead a life already fatigued with age and
" occupations; but what beſides pride and ſtatelineſs could
" obſtruct DRUSUS"?

TIBERIUS, while he fortified the vitals of his own domination, afforded the Senate a ſhadow of their ancient Juriſdiction; by referring to their examination petitions and claims from the Provinces. For there had now prevail'd amongſt the Greek Cities a latitude of inſtituting Sanctuaries at pleaſure. Hence the Temples were fill'd with the moſt profligate fugitive ſlaves: here debtors found protection againſt their creditors; and hither were admitted ſuch as were purſued for capital crimes. Nor was any force of Magiſtracy or Laws ſufficient to bridle the mad zeal of the people, who confounding the ſacred villanies of men with the worſhip peculiar to the Gods, ſeditiouſly defended theſe profane ſanctuaries. It was therefore order'd that theſe cities ſhould ſend deputies to repreſent their claims. Some of the cities voluntarily relinquiſh'd the nominal privileges which they had arbitrarily aſſum'd: many confided in their rights; a confidence grounded on the antiquity of their ſuperſtitions, or on the merits of their kind offices to the Roman people. Glorious to the Senate was the appearance of that day, when the grants from our anceſtors, the engagements of our confederates, the ordinances of Kings, ſuch Kings who had reign'd as yet independent of the Roman power; and when even the ſacred worſhip of the Gods, were now all ſubjected to their inſpection, and their judgment free, as of old, to ratify or aboliſh with abſolute power.

FIRST of all the Epheſians applied. They alledged, that " Diana and Apollo were not, according to the credu-
" lity of the vulgar, born at Delos: in their territory flow'd
" the river Cenchris; where alſo ſtood the Ortygian Grove:
" there the big-bellied Latona, leaning upon an Olive-
" tree, which even then remain'd, was deliver'd of theſe
" Deities; and thence by their appointment the Grove be-
" came ſacred. Thither Apollo himſelf, after his ſlaughter
" of the Cyclops, retir'd for a ſanctuary from the wrath of
" Jupiter: ſoon after, the victorious Bacchus pardon'd the
" ſuppliant Amazons, who ſought refuge at the Altar of
" Diana: by the conceſſion of Hercules, when he reign'd

“ in Lydia, her Temple was dignified with an augmentation of immunities; nor during the Perſian Monarchy were they abridged: they were next maintain’d by the Macedonians, and then by us ”.

THE Magneſians next aſſerted their claim, founded on an eſtabliſhment of LUCIUS SCIPIO, confirmed by another of SYLLA: the former after the defeat of Antiochus; the latter after that of Mithridates, having, as a teſtimony of the faith and bravery of the Magneſians, dignified their Temple of the Leucophrynean Diana with the privileges of an inviolable Sanctuary. After them, the Aphrodiſians and Stratoniceans produced a grant from CESAR the Dictator, for their early ſervices to his party; and another lately from AUGUSTUS, with a commendation inſerted, “ that with zeal unſhaken towards the Roman people, they had borne the irruption of the Parthians ”. But theſe two people ador’d different Deities: Aphrodiſium was a city devoted to Venus; that of Stratonicea maintain’d the worſhip of Jupiter and of Diana Trivia. Thoſe of Hieroceſarea exhibited claims of higher antiquity, “ that they poſſeſs’d the Perſian Diana, and her Temple conſecrated by King CYRUS ”. They likewiſe pleaded the authorities of PORPENNA, ISAURICUS, and of many more Roman Captains, who had allow’d the ſame ſacred immunity not to the Temple only, but to a precinct two miles round it. Thoſe of Cyprus pleaded right of ſanctuary to three of their Temples; the moſt ancient founded by AERIAS to the Paphian Venus; another by his ſon AMATHUS to the Amathuſian Venus; the third to the Salaminian Jupiter by TEUCER, the ſon of TELAMON, when he fled from the fury of his father.

THE deputies too of other cities were heard. But the Senate tir’d with ſo many, and becauſe there was a contention begun amongſt particular parties for particular cities; gave power to the Conſuls “ to ſearch into the validity of their ſeveral pretenſions, and whether in them no fraud was interwoven ”; with orders “ to lay the whole matter once more before the Senate ”. The Conſuls reported, that, beſides the cities already mention’d, “ they had found the Temple of ESCULAPIUS at Pergamos to be a genuine Sanctuary: the reſt claim’d upon originals, from

" the darkneſs of antiquity, altogether obſcure. Smyrna " particularly pleaded an Oracle of Apollo, in obedience " to which they had dedicated a Temple to Venus Stratonices; as did the Iſle of Tenos an oracular order from " the ſame God, to erect to Neptune a Statue and Temple. " Sardis urged a later authority, namely a grant from the " Great ALEXANDER; and Miletus inſiſted on one from " King DARIUS: as to the Deities of theſe two cities; " one worſhiped Diana; the other, Apollo. And Crete " too demanded the privilege of Sanctuary to a Statue of " the deified AUGUSTUS". Hence diverſe orders of Senate were made, by which, tho' great reverence was expreſs'd towards the Deities, yet the extent of the Sanctuaries was limited; and the ſeveral people were injoin'd " to hang " up in each Temple the preſent Decree engraven in braſs, " as a ſacred Memorial, and a reſtraint againſt their lapſing, " under the colour of Religion, into the abuſes and claims " of ſuperſtition".

AT the ſame time, a vehement diſtemper having ſiez'd LIVIA, obliged the Emperor to haſten his return to Rome; ſeeing hitherto the mother and ſon lived in apparent unanimity; or perhaps mutually diſguis'd their hate: for, not long before, LIVIA, having dedicated a Statue to the deified AUGUSTUS, near the Theatre of MARCELLUS, had the name of TIBERIUS inſcrib'd after her own. This he was believed to have reſented heinouſly, as a degrading the dignity of the Prince; but to have buried his reſentment under dark diſſimulation. Upon this occaſion therefore, the Senate decreed " ſupplications to the Gods; " with the celebration of the greater Roman Games, under " the direction of the Pontifs, the Augurs, the College of " fifteen, aſſiſted by the College of ſeven, and the frater- " nity of Auguſtal Prieſts". LUCIUS APRONIUS had mov'd, that " with the reſt might preſide the company of " Heralds". TIBERIUS oppos'd it; he diſtinguiſh'd between the juriſdiction of the Prieſts and theirs; " for that " at no time had the Heralds arriv'd to ſo much prehemi- " nence: but for the Auguſtal fraternity, they were there- " fore added, becauſe they exercis'd a Prieſthood peculiar " to that family for which the preſent vows and ſolemnities " were made".

It is no part of my purpoſe to trace all the votes of particular men, unleſs they are memorable for integrity, or for notorious infamy: this I conceive to be the principal duty of an Hiſtorian, that he ſuppreſs no inſtance of virtue; and that by the dread of future infamy and the cenſures of poſterity, men may be deterr'd from deteſtable actions and proſtitute ſpeeches. In ſhort, ſuch was the abomination of thoſe times, ſo prevailing the contagion of flattery, that not only the firſt Nobles, whoſe obnoxious ſplendour found protection only in obſequiouſneſs; but all who had been Conſuls, a great part of ſuch as had been Pretors, and even many of the unregiſter'd Senators, ſtrove for priority in the vileneſs and exceſs of their votes. There is a tradition, that TIBERIUS, as often as he went out of the Senate, was wont to cry out in Greek, *Oh men prepar'd for bondage!* Ye, even TIBERIUS, he who could not bear publick liberty, nauſeated this proſtitute tameneſs of ſlaves.

Hence by degrees they proceeded from acts of abaſement to thoſe of vengeance. CAIUS SILANUS, Proconſul of Aſia, accus'd by theſe our Allies of robbing the publick, was farther impleaded by MAMERCUS SCAURUS once Conſul, JUNIUS OTHO Pretor, and BRUTIDIUS NIGER Edile: they charged him with "violating the Divinity of "AUGUSTUS, and with deſpiſing the Majeſty of TIBE-"RIUS". MAMERCUS boaſted, that he imitated the great examples of old; "that LUCIUS COTTA was accus'd "by SCIPIO; SERVIUS GALBA by CATO the Cenſor; PUB-"LIUS RUTILIUS by MARCUS SCAURUS". A wild compariſon! as if ſuch crimes, then not exiſting, and now begot by flattery, were avenged by SCIPIO and CATO; or by that very SCAURUS, whom this ſame MAMERCUS his great grandſon, and the reproach of his progenitors, was now diſgracing by the vile occupation of an Informer! The old employment of JUNIUS OTHO, was that of a Schoolmaſter. Thence being by the power of SEJANUS created a Senator, he labour'd by notorious attempts to triumph over the baſeneſs of his original. BRUTIDIUS abounded in worthy accompliſhments; and, had he proceeded in the upright road, was in the ready way to every the moſt diſtinguiſh'd honour: but eagerneſs hurried him, while he puſh'd to out-travel firſt his equals, afterwards his ſuperiors, and at laſt his own very hopes: a courſe which has overwhelm'd even many virtuous men, who ſcorning acquirements that came ſlow but attended with ſecurity, graſp'd at ſuch as were ſudden tho' link'd to deſtruction.

GELLIUS POPLICOLA, and MARCUS PACONIUS increas'd the number of the accuſers; the former Queſtor to SILANUS, the other his Lieutenant. Neither was it doubted but the accus'd was guilty of cruelty and extortion. But he was beſet with a ſeries of hardſhips, dangerous even to the innocent; when, beſides ſo many Senators his open foes, he was to reply ſingle to the moſt eloquent pleaders of all Aſia, choſen purpoſely to accuſe him; ignorant as he was of pleading and beſet with capital terrors; a circumſtance which diſables the moſt practis'd Eloquence: neither did TIBERIUS ſpare him; but, with an awful voice and countenance, daunted and interrupted him with inceſſant queſtions; nor was he allow'd leiſure to refute or evade them; nay, he was often forced to confeſs, leſt the Emperor ſhould have ask'd in vain. The ſlaves too of SILANUS, in order to be examin'd by torture, were deliver'd in ſale to the City-Steward; and that none of his relations might engage in his defence, or aid him under ſuch a heavy proſecution, crimes of Treaſon were ſubjoin'd; a ſure bar to all help, and a ſeal upon their lips. Having therefore requeſted an interval of a few days, he tried the Emperor by a Memorial, in which he menaced him with the publick odium, and blended expoſtulations with prayers.

TIBERIUS, the better to palliate by precedent his purpoſes againſt SILANUS, caus'd to be recited a Repreſentation from AUGUSTUS, concerning VOLESUS MESSALA, Proconſul of the ſame province, and the Decree of Senate made againſt him. He then ask'd LUCIUS PISO his opinion: PISO, after a long preface of the Emperor's clemency, propos'd "to interdict SILANUS from fire and water, "and to baniſh him into the Iſland Gyarus". The reſt voted the ſame thing; only that CNEIUS LENTULUS mov'd "that the eſtate deſcending from his mother COR"NELIA ſhould be diſtinguiſh'd from his own, and reſtor'd "to his ſon". TIBERIUS aſſented. But CORNELIUS DOLABELLA purſuing his old ſtrain of adulation, and having firſt expos'd the morals of SILANUS, added "that no

" man of profligate manners, and mark'd with infamy, ſhould " be admitted to the lot of Provinces; and of this their " character the Prince was to judge. Tranſgreſſions, he ſaid, " were puniſh'd by the Laws: but how much more merciful would it be to prevent tranſgreſſors! more merciful " to the men themſelves, more to the Provinces ".

AGAINST this TIBERIUS reaſon'd, " that in truth he " was not ignorant of the prevailing rumours concerning " the conduct of SILANUS; but eſtabliſhments muſt not " be built upon rumours: in the adminiſtration of Provinces, many had diſappointed our hopes; and many our " fears. Some were by the great weight of affairs, rous'd " into vigilance and amendment; others degenerated and " ſunk under them: the Prince could not within his own " view comprize all things; nor was it at all expedient for " him to make himſelf anſwerable for the characters of other men engaged in purſuits of ambition. Laws were " therefore appointed againſt facts committed, becauſe all " things future are hid in uncertainty. Such were the inſtitutions of our anceſtors; that if crimes preceded, puniſhments were to follow: nor ſhould they change eſtabliſhments wiſely contriv'd and always approv'd. The " Prince had already ſufficiency of burdens, and even " ſufficiency of power: the authority of the Laws decreas'd " when that of the Prince advanced; nor was Sovereignty to be exerciſed where the Laws would ſerve ". A popular ſpeech; and the more joyfully heard as acts of popularity were rare with TIBERIUS. To it he added, prudent as he was in mitigating exceſſes, where his own proper reſentments did not controul him; " that Gyarus was an " unhoſpitable Iſland, and devoid of human culture; that, " in favour to the Junian family, and to a Patrician lately " of their own Order, they ſhould allow him for his place of " exile the Iſle of Cythera: that this too was the requeſt of " TORQUATA the ſiſter of SILANUS, a Veſtal virgin of " primitive ſanctity ". This motion prevail'd.

THE Cyrenians were afterwards heard; and CESIUS CORDUS charged by them, and impleaded by ANCHARIUS PRISCUS, for plundering the Province, was condemn'd. LUCIUS ENNIUS a Roman Knight, was impeach'd of Treaſon, " for that he had converted an Effigies of the Prince

" into common uſes of ſilver"; but TIBERIUS withſtood admitting him as a criminal. Againſt this acquittal ATEIUS CAPITO openly declar'd his Proteſt from an affected ſpirit of liberty: "for that the Emperor ought not to ſnatch from "the fathers the power of penalties; nor ought ſuch "a mighty iniquity to paſs unpuniſh'd: that truly he "might be paſſive under his own grievances; but let him "not give up the indignation of the Senate and the injuries "done the Commonwealth". TIBERIUS conſider'd rather the drift of theſe words than the expreſſion, and perſiſted in his interpoſition. The infamy of CAPITO was the more ſignal, becauſe learned as he was in Laws human and divine, he thus debas'd the dignity of the State, and his own perſonal accompliſhments.

THE next was a religious debate, in what Temple to place the gift vow'd by the Roman Knights to *Fortune* ſtil'd the *Equeſtrian*, for the recovery of LIVIA: for, tho' in the City were many Temples to this Goddeſs, yet none had that title. At laſt it was diſcover'd that at Antium was one thus named: and as all the religious Inſtitutions in the cities of Italy, all the Temples and Statues of the Deities, were included in the Juriſdiction and Sovereignty of Rome; the gift was order'd to be preſented there. While matters of Religion were on foot, the anſwer lately deferr'd, concerning SERVIUS MALUGINENSIS, Prieſt of Jupiter, was now produced by TIBERIUS, who recited a Statute of the Pontifs, "that when the Prieſt of Jupiter was taken ill, he "might with the conſent of the Chief Pontif be abſent two "nights, except on days of publick ſacrifice, and never "more than twice in the ſame year". This regulation made under AUGUSTUS, ſufficiently ſhew'd that a year's abſence and the adminiſtration of Provinces, were not allow'd to the Prieſts of Jupiter. He likewiſe quoted the example of LUCIUS METELLUS, Chief Pontif, who reſtrain'd to Rome AULUS POSTUMIUS, who was under that character. So the lot of Aſia was conferr'd on that Conſular who was next in ſeniority to MALUGINENSIS.

DURING this time LEPIDUS ask'd leave of the Senate, to ſtrengthen and beautify at his expence the Baſilick of Paulus; a peculiar Monument of the Emilian family. For even then it was uſual with private men to be magnificent in publick ſtructures. Nor had AUGUSTUS blam'd TAURUS, PHILIPPUS, or BALBUS, for applying their overflowing wealth, or the ſpoils of the enemy, towards the decoration of the City, and the perpetuation of their own renown. By their example LEPIDUS, tho' but moderately rich, meant now to refreſh with this ſolemnity the venerable glory of his Anceſtors. But, as the Theatre of Pompey was comſum'd by accidental fire, TIBERIUS undertook to rebuild it; becauſe none of the family were equal to the charge; and promis'd that it ſhould, notwithſtanding, be ſtill call'd by the name of POMPEY. At the ſame time, he celebrated the praiſes of SEJANUS, and to his vigilance and efforts aſcrib'd it, that a flame ſo violent was ſtopp'd at one building only. Hence the fathers decreed a Statue to SEJANUS, to be placed upon the Theatre of Pompey: nor was it long after that the Emperor, when he dignified JUNIUS BLESUS with the enſigns of Triumph, declar'd “that in honour to SEJANUS he did it”; for, to SEJANUS, BLESUS was uncle.

AND yet the actions of BLESUS were entitled to ſo much diſtinction. For, TACFARINAS, tho' often repulſ'd, yet ſtill repairing his forces in the heart of Africa, had arriv'd to ſuch a pitch of arrogance, that he ſent Embaſſadors to TIBERIUS with demands, “for a ſettlement to himſelf and his army”; otherwiſe he threaten'd “everlaſting War”. They ſay that upon no occaſion did ever TIBERIUS, for any inſult offer'd himſelf and the Roman name, manifeſt a more ſenſible indignation; “that a deſerter and a robber ſhould thus, like an equal foe, offer terms: when, in truth, not to ſuch a terrible foe as SPARTACUS was granted an admiſſion to the privilege of treaty and pacification, while, after the ſlaughter of ſo many Conſular armies, he ſtill carried, with impunity, fire and deſolation through Italy; tho' the Commonwealth, then engaged in two mighty wars, with SERTORIUS and MITHRIDATES, was gaſping under them. Much leſs was TACFARINAS, a free booter, when the Roman people were in their moſt glorious elevation, to be bought off by terms of peace and the conceſſion of lands”. Hence he commiſſion'd BLESUS, “to engage all his followers, by the hopes of indemnity, to lay down their arms; but to get

“ into his hands the leader himſelf, by whatever means”.

So that by this pardon many were brought over; and the war was forthwith proſecuted againſt him by ſtratagems not unlike his own. For as he, who in ſtrength of men was unequal, but in arts of ſtealth and pillaging ſuperior, made his incurſions in ſeparate bands, and thence could at once elude any attack of ours, and haraſs us by ambuſhes of his; ſo on our ſide, three diſtinct routs were reſolv'd, and three ſeveral bodies form'd. SCIPIO, the Proconſul's Lieutenant, commanded on that quarter whence TACFARINAS made his depredations upon the Leptitanians, and then his retreat amongſt the Garamantes: in another quarter BLESUS the ſon led a band of his own, to protect the territory of the Cirtenſians from ravages: between both march'd the Proconſul himſelf, with the flower of the army, erecting forts and caſting up entrenchments in convenient places. By theſe diſpoſitions he cramp'd the foe, croſs'd their motions, and made all their proceedings painful: for which ever way they turn'd, ſtill ſome party of the Roman forces was upon them; in front; in flank; and often at their heels: and by this means were many ſlain, or made priſoners. This triple army was again ſplit by BLESUS into bands ſtill ſmaller, and over each a Centurion of tried bravery placed. Neither did he, as uſual at the end of the ſeaſon, draw off his forces from the field, or diſpoſe them into winter-quarters in the old Province; but, as in the firſt heat of war, having rais'd more forts, he diſpatch'd light parties, acquainted with the wilderneſs, who drove TACFARINAS before them, continually ſhifting his huts; 'till having taken his brother, he retreated; too ſuddenly however for the good of the province, as there were ſtill left behind inſtruments to rekindle the war. But TIBERIUS took it for concluded, and likewiſe granted to BLESUS that he ſhould be by the Legions ſaluted *Imperator:* an ancient honour, uſually done to the old Roman Captains, who, upon their ſucceſsful exploits for their country, were in the ſhouts and vehemence of victory, thus complemented by their armies: and there have been at once ſeveral *Imperators*; without any pre-eminence of one over the reſt. It was a title vouchſafed to ſome even by AUGUSTUS; and now, for the laſt time, by TIBERIUS to BLESUS.

THIS year died two illuſtrious men; the firſt, ASINIUS SALONINUS, ſplendid in his relations and deſcent: MARCUS AGRIPPA and ASINIUS POLLIO were his grandfathers; DRUSUS his half brother, and himſelf betroth'd to the Emperor's grand-daughter. The ſecond, ATEIUS CAPITO, already mention'd above: in civil acquirements, the foremoſt man in Rome; for pedigree, his grandfather was only a Centurion under SYLLA, but his father arriv'd to the Pretorſhip. AUGUSTUS had puſh'd him early into the Conſulſhip, that by the grandeur of that office, he might be ſet above ANTISTIUS LABEO, who excell'd in equal accompliſhments; for, that age produced together theſe two ornaments of peace: but LABEO preſerv'd unſtain'd a ſpirit of liberty, and thence was more the object of popular renown; while CAPITO gain'd by obſequiouſneſs, greater credit with thoſe who bore rule. The former, as he was never ſuffer'd to riſe beyond the Pretorſhip, met with matter of praiſe from a ſource of injury: to the other, with the glory of the Conſulate, accrued likewiſe the envy, and with envy hatred.

JUNIA too, now ſixty four years after the Battle of Philippi, finiſh'd her courſe; the niece of CATO, ſiſter of BRUTUS and wife of CASSIUS. Her Will made much noiſe amongſt the populace; for that being immenſely rich, and having honourably diſtinguiſh'd with legacies almoſt all the great men of Rome, ſhe omitted TIBERIUS: an omiſſion which he took civilly, nor hinder'd her Panegyrick from being pronounced in publick, nor her Funeral from being celebrated with other cuſtomary ſolemnities. Before it, were borne the Images of twenty the moſt noble families, the MANLII, the QUINCTII, and other names of equal luſtre: but ſuperior to all ſhone CASSIUS and BRUTUS, on this very account, that their Images were not, upon this occaſion, ſeen.

FOURTH ANNAL.

WHEN CAIUS ASINIUS and CAIUS ANTISTIUS were Conſuls, TIBERIUS was in his ninth year; the ſtate compos'd, and his family flouriſhing (for the death of GERMANICUS he reckon'd amongſt the incidents of his proſperity) when ſuddenly fortune began to grow boiſterous, and he himſelf to tyrannize, or to furniſh others with the weapons of tyranny. The beginning and cauſe of this turn aroſe from ELIUS SEJANUS, Captain of the Pretorian Cohorts. Of his power I have above made mention; I ſhall now explain his original, his manners, and by what black deeds he ſtrove to ſnatch the Sovereignty. He was born at Vulſinii, ſon to SEJUS STRABO a Roman Knight; in his early youth he was a follower of CAIUS CESAR (grand-ſon of AUGUSTUS) and lay then under the contumely of having for hire expos'd himſelf to the conſtupration of APICIUS; a debauchee wealthy and profuſe: next by various artifices he ſo enchanted TIBERIUS, that he who to all others was dark and unſearchable, became to SEJANUS alone deſtitute of all reſtraint and caution: nor did he ſo much accompliſh this by any ſuperior efforts of policy (for at his own ſtratagems he was vanquiſh'd by others) as by the rage of the Gods againſt the Roman State, to which he prov'd alike deſtructive when he flouriſh'd and when he fell. His perſon was hardy and equal to fatigues; his ſpirit daring but cover'd; ſedulous to diſguiſe his own counſels, dextrous to blacken others; alike fawning and imperious; to appearance exactly modeſt; but in his heart foſtering the luſt of domination; and, with this view, engaged at one time in profuſion, largeſſes, and luxury; and again, often laid out in application and vigilance; qualities no leſs pernicious, when perſonated by ambition for the acquiring of Empire.

THE authority of his Command over the Guards, which was but moderate before his time, he extended, by gathering into one Camp all the Pretorian Cohorts then diſperſed over the City; that thus united, they might all at once receive his orders, and by continually beholding their own numbers and ſtrength, conceive confidence in themſelves and prove a terror to all other men. He pretended, "that "the ſoldiers, while they liv'd ſcatter'd, liv'd looſe and "debauch'd; that when gather'd into a body, there could, "in any haſty emergency, be more reliance upon their "ſuccour; and that when encamp'd, remote from the al-"lurements of the town, they would in their diſcipline

" be more exact and ſevere ". When the encampment was finiſh'd, he began gradually to allure the affections of the ſoldiers, by all the ways of affability, court, and familiarity: it was he too who choſe the Centurions, he who choſe the Tribunes. Neither in his purſuits of ambition did the Senate eſcape him; but by diſtinguiſhing his followers in it with offices and provinces, he cultivated power and a party there: for, to all this TIBERIUS was intirely reſign'd; and even ſo paſſionate for him, that not in converſation only, but in publick, in his ſpeeches to the Senate and people, he treated and extoll'd him, as *the ſharer of his burdens*; nay, allow'd his Effigies to be publickly ador'd, in the ſeveral Theatres, in all places of popular convention, and even amongſt the Eagles of the Legions.

BUT to his deſigns were many retardments: the Imperial houſe was full of Ceſars; the Emperor's ſon a grown man, and his grand-ſons of age: and becauſe the cutting them off all at once, was dangerous; the treaſon he meditated, requir'd a gradation of murders. He however choſe the darkeſt method, and to begin with DRUSUS; againſt whom he was tranſported with a freſh motive of rage. For, DRUSUS impatient of a rival, and in his temper inflamable, had upon ſome occaſional conteſt, ſhaken his fiſt at SEJANUS, and, as he prepar'd to reſiſt, given him a blow on the face. As he therefore caſt about for every expedient of revenge, the readieſt ſeem'd to apply to LIVIA his wife: ſhe was the ſiſter of GERMANICUS, and from an uncomely perſon in her childhood, grew afterwards to excel in lovelineſs. As his paſſion for this Lady was vehement, he tempted her to adultery, and having fulfil'd the firſt iniquity (nor will a woman, who has ſacrificed her chaſtity, ſtick at any other) he carried her greater lengths, to the views of marriage, a partnerſhip in the Empire, and even the murder of her huſband. Thus ſhe, the niece of AUGUSTUS, the daughter-in-law of TIBERIUS, the mother of children by DRUSUS, defil'd her ſelf, her anceſtors, and her poſterity, with a municipal adulterer; and all to exchange an honourable condition poſſeſs'd, for purſuits flagitious and uncertain. Into a fellowſhip in the guilt was aſſum'd EUDEMUS Phyſician to LIVIA, and, under colour of his profeſſion, frequently with her in private. SEJANUS too, to avoid the jealouſy of the adultereſs, diſcharged from his bed API-

CATA his wiſe, her by whom he had three children. But ſtill the mightineſs of the iniquity terrified them, and thence created caution, delays, and frequently oppoſite counſels.

DURING this, in the beginning of the year, DRUSUS one of the ſons of GERMANICUS, put on the manly Robe; and upon him the Senate conferr'd the ſame honours decreed before to his brother NERO. A ſpeech was added by TIBERIUS with a large Encomium upon his ſon, "that "with the tenderneſs of a father he us'd the children of his "brother". For, DRUSUS, however rare it be for power and unanimity to ſubſiſt together, was eſteem'd benevolent, certainly not ill diſpos'd, towards theſe youths. Now again was reviv'd by TIBERIUS the propoſal of a progreſs into the Provinces; a ſtale propoſal, always hollow, but often feign'd. He pretended "the multitude of Veterans diſ-"charged, and thence the neceſſity of recruiting the ar-"mies; that Volunteers were wanting, or if already ſuch "there were, they were chiefly the neceſſitous and vaga-"bonds, and deſtitute of the like modeſty and courage". He likewiſe curſorily recounted the number of the Legions, and what Countries they defended: a detail which I think it behoves me alſo to repeat; that thence may appear what was then the complement of the Roman forces, what Kings their confederates, and how much more narrow the limits of the Empire.

ITALY was on each ſide guarded by two fleets; one at Miſenum, one at Ravenna; and the coaſt joining to Gaul, by the Gallies taken by AUGUSTUS at the Battle of Actium, and ſent powerfully mann'd to Forojulium. But the chief ſtrength lay upon the Rhine; they were eight Legions, a common guard upon the Germans and the Gauls. The reduction of Spain, lately completed, was maintain'd by three. Mauritania was poſſeſſed by King JUBA; a Realm which he held as a gift from the Roman people: the reſt of Africa by two Legions; and Egypt by the like number. Four Legions kept in ſubjection all the mighty range of country, extending from the next limits of Syria, as far as the Euphrates, and bordering upon the Iberians, Albanians, and other Principalities, who by our might are protected againſt foreign Powers. Thrace was held by RHEMETALCES, and the ſons of COTYS; and both banks of the Danube by four Legions; two in Pannonia, two in

Meſia. In Dalmatia likewiſe were placed two; who, by the ſituation of the country, were at hand to ſupport the former, and had not far to march into Italy, were any ſudden ſuccours requir'd there: tho' Rome too had her peculiar ſoldiery; three City-Cohorts, and nine Pretorian, liſted chiefly out of Etruria and Umbria, or from the ancient Latium and the old Roman Colonies. In the ſeveral Provinces, beſides, were diſpoſed, according to their ſituation and neceſſity, the fleets of the ſeveral confederates, with their ſquadrons and battalions; a number of forces not much different from all the reſt: but the particular detail would be uncertain; ſince, according to the exigency of times, they often ſhifted ſtations, with numbers ſometimes enlarged, ſometimes reduced.

It will, I believe, fall in properly here to review alſo the other parts of the Adminiſtration, and by what meaſures it was hitherto conducted, 'till with the beginning of this year the Government of TIBERIUS began to wax worſe. Firſt then, all publick, and every private buſineſs of moment, was determin'd by the Senate: to the great men he allow'd liberty of debate: thoſe who in their debates laps'd into flattery, he check'd: in conferring preferments, he was guided by merit, by ancient nobility, renown in war abroad, by civil accompliſhments at home; inſomuch that it was manifeſt, his choice could not have been better. There remain'd to the Conſuls, there remain'd to the Pretors the uſual marks of their dignities; to inferiour Magiſtrates the independent exerciſe of their charges; and the Laws, where the power of the Prince was not concern'd, were in proper force. The tributes, duties, and all publick receipts, were directed by companies of Roman Knights: the management of his own revenue he committed only to thoſe of the moſt noted qualifications; moſtly known by himſelf, and to ſome known by reputation alone: and when once taken, they were continued, without all reſtriction of term; ſince moſt grew old in the ſame employments. The populace were indeed aggriev'd by the dearth of proviſions; but without any fault of the Prince: nay, he ſpar'd no poſſible expence nor pains to remedy the effects of barrenneſs in the earth, and of wrecks at ſea. He provided that the Provinces ſhould not be oppreſſed with new impoſitions; and that no extortion, or violence ſhould be committed by the Magiſtrates in raiſing the old: there were no infamous corporal puniſhments, no confiſcations of goods.

THE Emperor's poſſeſſions through Italy, were thin; the behaviour of his ſlaves modeſt; the freedmen who managed his houſe, few; and in his diſputes with particulars, the Courts were open and the Law equal. All which reſtraints he obſerv'd, not, in truth, in the ways of complaiſance and popularity; but always ſtern, and for the moſt part terrible; yet ſtill he retain'd them, 'till by the death of DRUSUS they were abandon'd: for, while he liv'd they continued; becauſe SEJANUS, while he was but laying the foundations of his power, ſtudied to recommend himſelf by good counſels. He then had beſides, an avenger to dread, one who diſguis'd not his enmity, but was frequent in his complaints; "that when the ſon was in "his prime, another was call'd, as Coadjutor, to the Go-"vernment; nay, how little was wanting to his being de-"clar'd Collegue in the Empire? That the firſt advances to "Sovereignty are ſteep and perillous; but, once you are "enter'd, parties and inſtruments are ready to eſpouſe you. "Already a Camp for the Guards was form'd, by the plea-"ſure and authority of the Captain: into his hands the "ſoldiers were deliver'd: in the Theatre of Pompey his "Statue was beheld: in his grand-children would be mixt "the blood of the DRUSI with that of SEJANUS. After "all this what remain'd but to ſupplicate his modeſty "to reſt contented". Nor was it rarely that he utter'd theſe diſguſts, nor to a few; beſides, his wife being debauch'd, all his ſecrets were betray'd.

SEJANUS therefore judging it time to diſpatch, choſe ſuch a poyſon as by operating gradually, might preſerve the appearances of a caſual diſeaſe. This was adminiſter'd to DRUSUS by LYGDUS the Eunuch, as, eight years after, was learnt. Now during all the days of his illneſs, TIBERIUS diſcloſed no ſymptoms of anguiſh (perhaps from oſtentation of a firmneſs of ſpirit) nay, when he had expir'd, and while he was yet unburied, he enter'd the Senate; and finding the Conſuls placed upon a common ſeat, as a teſtimony of their grief; he admoniſh'd them of their dignity and ſtation: and as the Senators burſt into tears, he ſmother'd his riſing ſighs, and, by a Speech utter'd without heſitation, animated them. "He, in truth, was not ig-

“ norant, he ſaid, that he might be cenſur’d, for having thus “ in the firſt throbs of ſorrow, beheld the face of the Senate; “ when moſt of thoſe who feel the freſh pangs of mourning, “ can ſcarce endure the ſoothings of their kindred, ſcarce “ behold the day: neither were ſuch to be condemn’d of “ weakneſs: but for himſelf, he had more powerful conſola-“ tions; ſuch as aroſe from embracing the Commonwealth, “ and purſuing her welfare”. He then lamented “ the ex-“ treme age of his mother, the tender years of his grand-ſons, “ his own days in declenſion”; and deſir’d that, “ as the on-“ ly alleviation of the preſent evils, the Children of GERMA-“ NICUS might be introduced”. The Conſuls therefore went for them, and having with kind words fortified their young minds, preſented them to the Emperor. He took them by the hand and ſaid, “ Conſcript Fathers, theſe infants, bereft of “ their father, I committed to their uncle; and beſought him “ that, tho’ he had iſſue of his own, he would rear and nou-“ riſh them no otherwiſe than as the immediate offspring of “ his blood; that he would appropriate them as ſtays to him-“ ſelf and poſterity. DRUSUS being ſnatch’d from us, to “ you I addreſs the ſame prayers; and in the preſence of the “ Gods, in the face of your country, I adjure you, receive “ into your protection, take under your tuition the great “ grand-children of AUGUSTUS; children, deſcended from an-“ ceſtors the moſt glorious in the State: towards them ful-“ fil your own, fulfil my duty. To you, NERO; to you, “ DRUSUS, theſe Senators are in the ſtead of a father; and “ ſuch is the ſituation of your birth, that on the Common-“ wealth muſt light all the good and evil which befalls you”.

ALL this was heard with much weeping, and followed with propitious prayers and vows: and had he only gone thus far, and in his ſpeech obſerv’d a medium, he had left the ſouls of his hearers full of ſympathy and applauſe. But, by renewing an old project, always chimerical and ſo often ridicul’d, about “ reſtoring the Republick, reinſtating it again in the Conſuls, “ or whoever elſe would undertake the adminiſtration”; he forfeited his faith even in aſſertions which were commendable and ſincere. To the memory of DRUSUS were decreed the ſame ſolemnities as to that of GERMANICUS; with many ſuperadded; agreeably to the genius of flattery, which delights in variety and improvements. Moſt ſignal was the luſtre of the Funeral in a conſpicuous proceſſion of Images; when at

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it appear'd in a pompous train, ENEAS, father of the Julian race; all the Kings of Alba, and ROMULUS founder of Rome; next the Sabine Nobility, ATTUS CLAUSUS, and his deſcendents of the Claudian family.

IN relating the death of DRUSUS, I have follow'd the greateſt part of our Hiſtorians, and the moſt faithful: I would not however omit a rumour which in thoſe times was ſo prevailing that it is not extinguiſh'd in ours; "that SEJANUS having by adultery gain'd LIVIA to the murder, had likewiſe "engaged by conſtupration the affections and concurrence of "LYGDUS the Eunuch; becauſe LYGDUS was, for his youth "and lovelineſs, dear to his maſter, and one of his chief attendants: that when the time and place of poyſoning, were "by the conſpirators concerted; the Eunuch carried his boldneſs ſo high, as to charge upon DRUSUS a deſign of poyſoning TIBERIUS; and ſecretly warning the Emperor of "this, adviſed him to ſhun the firſt draught offer'd him in "the next entertainment at his ſon's: that the old man poſſeſſed with this fictitious Treaſon, after he had ſate down "to table, having received the cup deliver'd it to DRUSUS, "who ignorantly and gayly drank it off: that this heighten'd the jealouſy and apprehenſions of TIBERIUS, as if "thro' fear and ſhame his ſon had ſwallow'd the ſame death, "which for his father he had contriv'd".

THESE bruitings of the populace, beſides that they are ſupported by no certain Author, may be eaſily refuted. For, who of common prudence (much leſs TIBERIUS ſo long practiſed in great affairs) would to his own ſon, without hearing him, preſent the mortal bane; with his own hands too, and cutting off for ever all poſſibility of retraction? Why would he not rather have tortured the miniſter of the poyſon? Why not inquir'd into the author of the poyſon? Why not obſerv'd towards his only ſon, a ſon hitherto convicted of no iniquity, that ſlowneſs and heſitation, which even in his proceedings againſt ſtrangers, was inherent in him? But as SEJANUS was reckon'd the framer of every wickedneſs, therefore, from the exceſſive fondneſs of TIBERIUS towards him, and from the hatred of all others towards both, things the moſt fabulous and direful, were believed of them; beſides that common fame is ever moſt fraught with tales of horrour upon the departure of Princes. In truth, the plan and proceſs of the murder were firſt diſcover'd by APICATA, wife of SEJANUS, and laid open upon the rack by EUDEMUS and LYGDUS. Nor has any Writer appear'd ſo outrageous to charge it upon TIBERIUS; tho' in other inſtances they have ſedulouſly collected and inflam'd every action of his. My own purpoſe in recounting and cenſuring this rumour, was to blaſt, by ſo glaring an example, the credit of groundleſs tales; and to requeſt of thoſe into whoſe hands our preſent undertaking ſhall come, that they would not prefer hear-ſays, void of credibility and raſhly ſwallow'd, to the narrations of truth not adulterated with romance.

To proceed; whilſt TIBERIUS was pronouncing in publick the Panegyrick of his ſon, the Senate and people aſſum'd the port and accent of mourners, rather in appearance than cordially; and in their hearts exulted to ſee the houſe of GERMANICUS begin to revive. But this dawn of fortune, and the conduct of AGRIPPINA, ill diſguiſing her hopes, quicken'd the overthrow of that houſe. For SEJANUS, when he ſaw the death of DRUSUS paſs unrevenged upon his murderers, and no publick lamentation following it; undaunted as he was in villany ſince his firſt efforts had ſucceeded; caſt about in himſelf, how he might deſtroy the ſons of GERMANICUS, whoſe ſucceſſion to the Empire was now unqueſtionable. They were three, and, from the diſtinguiſh'd fidelity of their Governours, and incorruptible chaſtity of AGRIPPINA, could not be all circumvented by poyſon. He therefore choſe to attack her another way; to raiſe alarms from the haughtineſs and contumacy of her ſpirit; to rouſe the old hatred of LIVIA the elder, and the guilty mind of his late accomplice, LIVIA the younger; that to the Emperor they might repreſent her "as elated with the credit and renown of her fruitfulneſs; "and that confiding in it, and in the zeal of the populace, "ſhe graſp'd with open arms at the Empire". The young LIVIA acted in this engagement by crafty calumniators; amongſt whom ſhe had particularly choſen JULIUS POSTHUMUS, a man every way qualified for her purpoſes; as he was the adulterer of MUTILIA PRISCA, and thence a confident of her grand-mother's; (for over the mind of the Empreſs, PRISCA had powerful influence) and by their means the old woman, in her own nature tender and anxious of power, was render'd utterly irreconcileable to the widow of her grand-ſon. Such too as were neareſt the perſon of AGRIPPINA, were promoted to be continually enraging her tempeſtuous heart by perverſe repreſentations.

TIBERIUS the while no ways relaxing the cares of Government, but applying for conſolation to affairs, attended the adminiſtration of juſtice at Rome, and diſpatch'd the petitions from the Provinces. By a Decree of Senate, at his motion, the City of Cibyra in Aſia, and that of Egyra in Achaia, both overthrown by an Earthquake, were eas'd of tribute for three years. VIBIUS SERENUS too, Proconſul of the furthermoſt Spain, was condemn'd for arbitrary adminiſtration; and for the ſavageneſs of his conduct baniſh'd into the Iſle of Amorgos. CARSIUS SACERDOS, charged with ſupplying corn to the enemy TACFARINAS, was acquitted; as was CAIUS GRACCHUS of the ſame crime. This CAIUS was in his childhood carried by his father SEMPRONIUS into the Iſland Cercina, a companion in his exile: he grew up there amongſt fugitives and men deſtitute of liberal education; and afterwards ſuſtain'd himſelf by ſordid traffick between Africa and Sicily: nor thus low did he eſcape the perils that wait on elevated fortune: but, had not ELIUS LAMIA and LUCIUS APRONIUS, ſucceſſively Proconſuls of Africa, protected him; he muſt have fallen an innocent victim to the obnoxious ſplendour of his illuſtrious unhappy race, and to the calamitous fate of his father.

THIS year alſo brought deputations from the Grecian Cities; one from the people of Samos; one from thoſe of Coos; the former to requeſt that the ancient right of Sanctuary in the Temple of Juno might be confirm'd; the latter to ſolicit the ſame confirmation for that of Eſculapius. The Samians claim'd upon a Decree of the Council of Amphictions, the ſupreme Judicature of Greece, at the time when the Greeks by their Cities founded in Aſia, poſſeſſed the maritime Coaſts. Nor had they of Coos a weaker title to Antiquity; to which likewiſe accrued the pretenſions of the place to the friendſhip of Rome: for they had lodg'd in the Temple of Eſculapius all the Roman Citizens there, when by the order of King MITHRIDATES, ſuch were univerſally butchered throughout all the Cities of Aſia and the Iſles. And now after many complaints from the Pretors, for the moſt part ineffectual, the Emperor at laſt made a repreſentation to the Senate, concerning the licentiouſneſs of the Players; "that in "many inſtances they raiſed ſeditious tumults, and violated "the publick peace; and, in many, promoted debauchery "in private families: that the *Oſcan Farce*, formerly only "the contemptible delight of the vulgar, was riſen to ſuch

“ a prevailing pitch of credit and enormity, that it requir’d “ the authority of the Senate to check it ”. The Players therefore were driven out of Italy.

THE ſame year carried off one of the twins of DRUSUS, and thence afflicted the Emperor with freſh woe; nor with leſs for the death of a particular friend. It was LUCILLIUS LONGUS, the inſeparable companion of all the traverſes of his fortune ſmiling or ſad; and, of all the Senators, the only one who accompanied him in his retirement at Rhodes. For this reaſon, tho’ but a new man, the Senate decreed him a publick Funeral; and a Statue to be placed, at the expence of the Treaſury, in the ſquare of AUGUSTUS. For by the Senate even yet all affairs were tranſacted; inſomuch that LUCILLIUS CAPITO, the Emperor’s Comptroller in Aſia, was, at the accuſation of the Province, brought upon his defence before them: the Emperor too upon this occaſion proteſted with great earneſtneſs, “ that from him LUCILLIUS had no authority but “ over his ſlaves, and in collecting his domeſtick rents: that “ if he had uſurp’d the Juriſdiction of Pretor, and employ’d “ military force, he had ſo far violated his orders; they “ ſhould therefore hear the allegations of the Province ”. Thus the accus’d was upon trial condemn’d. For this juſt vengeance, and that inflicted the year before on CAIUS SILANUS, the Cities of Aſia decreed a Temple to TIBERIUS, and his mother, and the Senate; and obtain’d leave to build it. For this conceſſion NERO made a ſpeech of thanks to the Senators and his grandfather; a ſpeech which charm’d the affections of his hearers, who, as they were full of the Memory of GERMANICUS, fancied it was him they heard, and him they ſaw. There was alſo in the youth himſelf an engaging modeſty, and a gracefulneſs becoming a princely perſon: ornaments, which, by the known hatred that threaten’d him from SEJANUS, became ſtill more dear and ador’d.

ABOUT the ſame time the Emperor made a diſcourſe “ about the choice of a new Prieſt of Jupiter, in the room of “ SERVIUS MALUGINENSIS deceas’d: for that it was the “ ancient cuſtom to name three, born of parents who had in “ their nuptials obſerv’d the form of Confarreation: but now “ that the buſineſs of Confarreation was quite omitted, or by “ few obſerv’d; there remain’d not then as formerly the ſame “ ſcope for choice ”. He repreſented, “ the ſeveral cauſes “ of that omiſſion; the principal, a want of zeal both in men

“ and women for that rite; the cumberſome difficulties too “ attending it, prompted them to avoid it; beſides that the paternal authority was for ever loſt over any ſon who acquir'd “ that Prieſthood; and over any daughter who thus marry'd “ him. The Senate therefore ought by ſome expedient to remove theſe diſcouragements; after the example of AUGUSTUS, who had ſoften'd ſome rigid uſages of antiquity, and “ adapted them to the genius of the times ”. The Senate therefore having diſcuſs'd the grounds and qualifications of that Prieſthood, agreed “ to make no change from the firſt “ inſtitution ”. Only a Law paſt, “ that the Prieſteſs of Jupiter, ſhould, in the adminiſtration of things ſacred, be under the dominion of her husband; but enjoy, in other “ things, the common privileges of other women ”. To conclude, MALUGINENSIS the ſon ſucceeded his father. And to raiſe the reputation of the Prieſthood, and warm the affections of the Prieſts themſelves towards ſacred ſolemnities; a preſent of two thouſand great ſeſterces was decreed to CORNELIA, choſen Superior of the Veſtal virgins in the place of SCANTIA; and to AUGUSTA a privilege granted, that as often as ſhe went to the Theatre, ſhe ſhould ſit amongſt them.

IN the Conſulſhip of CORNELIUS CETHEGUS and VISELLIUS VARRO; the Pontifs, and by their example the other Prieſts, while they were offering vows for the proſperity of the Emperor, recommended likewiſe NERO and DRUSUS to the care of the ſame Gods: not ſo much from any tenderneſs towards theſe youths, as from the meanneſs of flattery; a practice which, when the publick manners are corrupt, it is dangerous to exceed in, and alike dangerous to forbear. For, TIBERIUS, never benevolent to the houſe of GERMANICUS, was now provok'd beyond all patience, that “ no difference was made between their youth and his years ”; and ſending for the Pontifs, examin'd them, “ whether to the entreaties, or menaces of AGRIPPINA, they had paid that “ compliment ”? And tho' they deny'd both, he reprov'd them; but reprov'd them gently, for moſt of them were his own kinſmen, or men of the firſt diſtinction in Rome. But in the Senate he made a ſet Speech, warning all of them for the time to come, “ not to intoxicate the giddy ſpirit of the “ youths with the pride of over-early and precipitate honours”. He was in truth inſtigated continually by SEJANUS, who urged, “ that Rome was rent into contending parties; rent as in

“ a

" a Civil War: that already there were thoſe who boldly call'd " themſelves the Partizans of AGRIPPINA; and if no ſtop " were put, the faction would increaſe. Nor was there any " other remedy for the prevailing ſpirit of faction, than the " cutting off, under other pretences, one or two of the moſt " formidable ".

WITH this view he fell upon CAIUS SILIUS and TITIUS SABINUS. The friendſhip of GERMANICUS was fatal to both; but other conſiderations help'd to ruin SILIUS: he had for ſeven years commanded a powerful army; he had for his exploits in Germany been diſtinguiſh'd with the enſigns of Triumph; he had ſubdued the revolting Gauls under SACROVIR; hence he was mark'd for a ſacrifice; becauſe the higher and more ſignal he fell, the more extenſive and effectual would be the terror of his fall. It was believ'd by many that by his own intemperate ſpeeches he had heighten'd the diſpleaſure conceiv'd againſt him; while he boaſted without meaſure, " that his ſoldiers perſiſted in obedience, when others laps'd " into ſedition; nor had the Empire remain'd to TIBERIUS, " if in his Legions too there had been a thirſt of change ". By theſe pretenſions of his the Emperor thought his own fortune degraded, and too low to recompence ſuch mighty ſervices. For benefits are only ſo far acceptable, as it ſeems poſſible to diſcharge them; but when once they have exceeded all retaliation, hatred is return'd for gratitude.

SOSIA GALLA was wife to SILIUS, and for her dearneſs to AGRIPPINA, hated by TIBERIUS. It was agreed to arraign him and her, and to poſtpone for ſome time the trial of SABINUS. Againſt them was engaged as an accuſer, VARRO the Conſul, who under colour " of revenging his father's " quarrel ", gratified, by his own infamy, the vengeance of SEJANUS. The requeſt of the accus'd for a ſhort reſpit, 'till VARRO ceas'd to be Conſul, was thwarted by the Emperor; " for that it was cuſtomary for other Magiſtrates to bring particulars upon trial; nor ought the prerogative of a Conſul " in the like inſtance to be infringed; ſince upon his vigilance " it depended that no damage accrued to the Commonweal". It was a policy peculiar to TIBERIUS, to ſhelter under venerable old names the methods of violence lately invented. The Senate is therefore ſummon'd with great parade and earneſtneſs, as if SILIUS were to be dealt with by the Laws, or as if VARRO had been in truth acting as Conſul and protecting

ing the publick, or as if the preſent domination had been the ancient Republick. SILIUS made no defence, or only enough to ſhew by whoſe fury he was oppreſs'd. To him were objected, "his confederacy with SACROVIR, and thence the "revolt ſo long conceal'd; his deteſtable avarice after victory, "and the behaviour of his wife". Without doubt, neither could be acquitted of publick rapine: but the whole charge was brought under the article of Treaſon; and SILIUS prevented by a voluntary death the impending condemnation.

HIS eſtate however eſcap'd not the cruelty of the ſentence; not that out of it might be repaid the money extorted from the Gauls; for none of the Gauls reclaim'd it: but the preſident of AUGUSTUS, and his conſtant bounty to the children of the condemn'd, being now rejected; an exact calculation and payment was made of all the effects of SILIUS claim'd by the Exchequer. This was, in TIBERIUS, his firſt attempt upon any man's wealth. SOSIA was ſentenced to baniſhment at the motion of ASINIUS GALLUS, who propos'd, "that half her effects ſhould be forfeited, "half left to her children". MARCUS LEPIDUS on the contrary voted "the fourth part to the accuſers, as the Law "requir'd; all the reſt to the children". This LEPIDUS I find to have been, for thoſe times, a wiſe and upright man: for, by him the torrent of flattery was frequently turn'd, and many of its cruel counſels mitigated: nor yet did he in theſe his interpoſitions neglect a temperament; ſince he ſtill maintain'd at an equal heighth his character with the publick, and the favour of TIBERIUS. Hence I am driven to doubt, whether the good liking of Princes to ſome, and their prejudices and antipathy to others, be, like other things, owing to blind fate and the lot of nativity, or whether the difference be determin'd by the wiſdom and conduct of men; and if it be poſſible to proceed in a ſafe path, at an equal diſtance from abrupt contumacy, and ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion, neither courting power nor threaten'd by it. COTTA MESSALINUS, a man deſcended from anceſtors no leſs illuſtrious than LEPIDUS, but of a different ſpirit, mov'd to provide by a Decree of Senate; "that the Magiſtrates of the ſeveral Provinces, however "innocent themſelves, and even unacquainted with the miſ"management of others, ſhould yet be equally puniſh'd for "the crimes of their wives, as for their own.

THE next proceeding was againſt CALPURNIUS PISO, a man of noble deſcent, and an undaunted heart. For, it was he who, as I have related, proteſted with vehemence in the Senate, "that he would abandon Rome, "to eſcape the implacable bands of the accuſers;" it was he who had in defiance of the power of AUGUSTA, dar'd to proſecute her favourite URGULANIA; and to continue the proſecution, tho' ſhe ſought ſhelter in the palace of the Emperor. All which TIBERIUS paſs'd over for the preſent courteouſly; but in a ſoul like his brooding over vengeance, tho' the tranſports of reſentment had abated, the deep impreſſions remain'd. QUINTUS GRANIUS charg'd PISO with treaſonable words privately utter'd againſt the Emperor; and added, "that he kept "poiſon in his houſe, and came into the Senate arm'd "with a dagger:" an article too heinous to be true, and therefore dropp'd. But for other crimes, which were accumulated manifold, he was put upon his trial; yet, through the intervention of a ſeaſonable death, never condemn'd. Then too came before them the buſineſs of CASSIUS SEVERUS, the exile; a man ſordid in his birth; in his life miſchievous, but a powerful ſpeaker; who in conſequence of the enemies he had made, powerful and many without meaſure, had drawn upon himſelf an order of Senate, paſſed with the ſolemnity of ſwearing, for his baniſhment into Crete: where, by following continually his wonted practices, he excited a combination of old enmities and new: ſo that he was now bereft of his eſtate, interdicted from fire and water, and grew old in exile upon the rocks of Seriphos.

ABOUT the ſame time PLAUTIUS SILVANUS the Pretor, for what cauſe is uncertain, kill'd APRONIA his wife, by throwing her headlong. When he was carried by APRONIUS his father-in-law, before the Emperor, he anſwer'd in confuſion of ſpirit; "as if while he was ſound "aſleep, and unappriz'd, his wife had wilfully diſpatch'd "her ſelf." TIBERIUS inſtantly haſted to viſit the chamber; and in it were apparent the marks of his violence and her ſtruggling. This he reported to the Senate; and Judges being appointed, URGULANIA the grand-mother of PLAUTIUS ſent him a dagger; which it was believ'd ſhe did by the advice of TIBERIUS, in regard of the friendſhip of AUGUSTA for her. The criminal having in vain eſſay'd to uſe the ſteel, caus'd his veins to be open'd. Preſently after NUMANTINA his former wife, was accus'd of having by charms and potions diſorder'd the underſtanding of her huſband; but declar'd innocent.

THIS year at laſt reliev'd the Romans from a long war with TACFARINAS the Numidian. For, the former Generals, as ſoon as they believ'd their exploits had entitled them to the ornaments of triumph, always abandon'd the enemy. Inſomuch that there were already in Rome three Statues adorn'd with victorious laurel, and ſtill TACFARINAS ravag'd Africa. He was ſtrengthen'd by auxiliaries from the Moors, who, govern'd as they were by Royal freedmen under the thoughtleſs reign of the youth their King, (PTOLOMY ſon of JUBA) had exchang'd even for war the domeſtick domination of ſlaves. For the harbourer of his plunder, and partner in depredations, he had the King of the Garamantes: not that this King march'd at the head of an army; but only detach'd out light parties, which were magnified by great diſtance and report. From the province itſelf too flow'd in all that were indigent in their fortune, all that were diſorderly in their lives; the more readily, becauſe the Emperor, after the feaſts perform'd by BLESUS, as if there had no longer remain'd any enemy in Africa, had order'd the ninth Legion to be brought back: nor durſt PUBLIUS DOLABELLA that year Proconſul there, retain it; as he dreaded more the orders of the Prince than the caſualties of the war.

TACFARINAS therefore diſpers'd a rumour, "that ſeveral other nations too were tearing piecemeal the Roman ſtate: that hence their forces were by degrees drawing off from Africa: and that the remainder might be wholly deſtroy'd, if all to whom liberty was dearer than bondage, would with all their might engage them." By this rumour his forces were augmented, and he begirt the city of Thubuſcum. But DOLABELLA drawing together what ſoldiers there were, at his firſt approach rais'd the ſiege, by the terror of the Roman name; and becauſe the Numidians cannot ſtand the attack of our foot. He likewiſe

wiſe fortified the proper places, and at the ſame time executed the chiefs of the Muſulanians, juſt ready to revolt. Now becauſe by many expeditions againſt TACFARINAS, it was manifeſt that, not by a heavy army and a ſingle onſet, ſuch a rambling foe was to be effectually puſh'd; the Proconſul having therefore call'd to his aid King PTOLOMY, with a body of his ſubjects the Moors, form'd four bands. Theſe he committed to the Commanders of the Legions and Tribunes: certain parties appointed to ſcour and pillage the country, were conducted by ſome choſen Moors: he himſelf mov'd from quarter to quarter to direct the whole.

NOT long after tydings came, "that the Numidians " had pitch'd their huts about a ruinous caſtle burnt " down formerly by themſelves, its name Auzea; truſt" ing now to its ſituation, becauſe it was ſhut in on " every ſide by vaſt foreſts." Forthwith were diſpatch'd the horſe and foot; a rapid march, themſelves not knowing whither; and juſt at dawn of day, with trumpets ſounding and dreadful ſhouts, they were upon the Barbarians ſtill half aſleep, their horſes fetter'd or ſtraggling looſly at graſs. The Romans were come prepar'd; their foot in cloſe array, their troops marſhall'd; all things diſpos'd for battle: the enemy, on the contrary, intirely unappriz'd, without arms, or order, or counſel, were, with the paſſiveneſs of ſheep, caught, ſlaughter'd and dragg'd away captive. The ſoldiers embitter'd by the remembrance of all their labours, and againſt a foe which had ſo long eluded the fight ſo often courted, had each his fill of vengeance and blood. Through all the ranks the word ran, "that they muſt particularly make ſure of " TACFARINAS, known to them all by ſo many conflicts: " nothing beſides killing the leader could extinguiſh the " war." His Guards were already fallen round him; his ſon was already in bonds, and the Romans on every ſide pouring upon him; deſperately, therefore, he ruſh'd amongſt the darts, and, by a death accompanied with many of ours, eſcap'd captivity. And thus was an end put to the war.

DOLABELLA deſir'd the enſigns of triumph, but was refus'd by TIBERIUS, in complement to SEJANUS; that the late fame of his uncle BLESUS might not thence be obliterated. But this deriv'd no new luſtre upon BLESUS; while to DOLABELLA more glory accrued from honour denied; ſince with a ſmaller army he had ſlain the General, led many diſtinguiſh'd captives, and bore the renown of having wholly concluded the war. He was alſo attended with Ambaſſadors from the Garamantes; a rare ſight in Rome! that nation ſtruck with the death of TACFARINAS, and conſcious of guilt, had ſent them to appeaſe the reſentment of the Roman people. And now that the zeal of PTOLOMY during that war was known; in his favour was reviv'd a cuſtom of remote antiquity, and one of the Senators ſent to deliver him the ivory ſtaff and painted robe; (the preſents of the ancient Roman Senate,) and to ſalute him *King*, *Friend*, *and Confederate*.

THE ſame ſummer the ſeeds of a ſervile war ſpreading through Italy, were by a chance ſuppreſsd. The author of the ſtir was TITUS CURTISIUS, formerly a ſoldier of the Pretorian Guards. His firſt eſſays were at clandeſtine meetings in Brundiſium, and the neighbouring towns; afterwards by declarations publickly hung up, he was inciting to liberty the agrarian ſlaves, who, from living in wild and remote foreſts, were themſelves wild and fierce; when, as it were by the bounty and interpoſition of the Gods, three galleys belonging to the merchants landed on that coaſt. CURTIUS LUPUS too, the Queſtor, was then in theſe parts, as to him had fallen for his juriſdiction, according to ancient eſtabliſhment, the reſtraining of robberies in the woods and roads of the foreſts. LUPUS marſhall'd the ſeamen, and by them routed the conſpiracy, juſt breaking out: ſo that STAIUS the Tribune diſpatch'd thither by the Emperor, with a ſtout band, dragg'd the leader himſelf and his moſt reſolute partizans, to Rome; which was already in a terror, on account of the multitude of domeſtick ſlaves, that were ſtill augmenting immenſly, while the genuine commonalty daily dwindled.

DURING the ſame Conſuls, were brought into the Senate a father arraign'd and his ſon the accuſer, both nam'd VIBIUS SERENUS; a ſad example of horror and unnatural cruelty! the father already an exile, but haul'd back to a freſh trial, in a habit of miſery, cover'd with naſtineſs and deformity, and then bound in chains, heard himſelf impleaded by his ſon. The young man dreſs'd with mighty elegance, his countenance chearful and elated, alledg'd, "a plot fram'd againſt the Emperor, and that "ſome of the conſpirators were ſent into Gaul to inſti- "gate a rebellion there;" and thus became againſt his father a witneſs as well as an informer. He likewiſe charg'd "CECILIUS CORNUTUS formerly Pretor, with having "furniſh'd money." CORNUTUS had in truth with his own hands diſpatch'd himſelf; but from the pain of anxiety he did it, and becauſe he held accuſation only for a ſignal of deſtruction. The accus'd, on the other ſide, with a ſpirit nothing dejected, turning full upon his ſon, and ſhaking his chains, invok'd "the avenging Gods, "that to himſelf they would firſt reſtore his place of ex- "ile, where far from ſuch direful doings he might paſs "his days; and that juſt vengeance might one day over- "take his ſon." He inſiſted too, "that CORNUTUS was "innocent, and only terrified with forg'd crimes; as might "be eaſily learnt if other accomplices were produced; "for it was not probable that, with one confederate only, "he ſhould have meditated the murder of the Prince, "and a change of the ſtate."

THE accuſer then nam'd CNEIUS LENTULUS, and SEIUS TUBERO, to the great confuſion of TIBERIUS; when men of the firſt figure in Rome, his own intimate friends, LENTULUS extremely old, TUBERO broken with infirmities, were charg'd with deviſing hoſtile inſurrections againſt the ſtate. But they were both inſtantly acquitted. Againſt the father his ſlaves were examin'd upon the rack; and their examination went againſt the accuſer; who diſtracted with guilt, and frighten'd beſides with the threatnings of the populace, dooming him to the dungeon, the rack, and the pains of parricide, fled out of Rome. He was dragg'd back from Ravenna and compell'd to proſecute his accuſation; TIBERIUS no wiſe concealing his old hatred to the exile SERENUS: for after the condemnation of LIBO, he had by letters upbraided the Emperor, that ſuch ſignal zeal as he had ſhewn in that trial remain'd ſtill without reward: he had likewiſe inſerted ſome expreſſions more contumacious than ſafe in the tender ears of a Prince naturally proud and quick of reſentment. His words were eight years after rehears'd by TIBERIUS, who alſo charg'd him with many miſdemeanours during that interval, though through the obſtinacy of his ſlaves nothing, he ſaid, could be diſcover'd by torture.

THE votes being taken, and SERENUS ſentenc'd "to "death according to the rigour of antiquity;" TIBERIUS, to ſoften the publick odium, interpos'd. Then ASINIUS GALLUS mov'd, "to ſhut him up in the Iſle "of Gyarus or Donuſa:" a motion which TIBERIUS alſo rejected; arguing, "that both theſe Iſles were deſti-"tute of water; and that to whom they granted life, "the conveniencies of life ought likewiſe to be granted." So SERENUS was carried back to Amorgos. And now that CORNUTUS had died by his own hands, it was mov'd, "to abrogate the rewards of the accuſers, as of-"ten as any perſon charg'd with treaſon, ſhould before "judgment paſſed, put an end to his own life." And this motion had been follow'd but that TIBERIUS complain'd, with ſterneſs, and now contrary to his wonted reſerves an open advocate for the accuſers, "that by it "the laws would be defeated, and the Commonwealth "overthrown: let them rather, he ſaid, diſſolve the laws "than diſmiſs their guardians." Thus the accuſers, a ſort of baneful engines invented for the deſtruction of human kind, and indeed never, by any pains or terrors, ſufficiently curb'd, were now allur'd and prompted by wages.

IN ſuch a continued ſeries of doleful proceedings, a ſmall inſtance of joy interven'd: CAIUS COMINIUS a Roman Knight, the convicted author of a ſcurrilous Poem againſt the Emperor, he pardon'd at the ſupplication of his brother, who was a Senator. From this inſtance of mercy and the popular effects of it, it was reckon'd the more aſtoniſhing, that he who knew better things, he who found what publick renown attended clemency, ſhould yet rather chuſe as he did the ways of tyranny and horrour. For neither did he tranſgreſs through want of diſcernment; nor is it ever too intricate to be diſtinguiſh'd, whether the doings of Princes be applauded with uprightneſs, or whether only with the falſe guiſe of joy. Nay, TIBERIUS himſelf, who, upon other occaſions ſtudied his words, and whoſe ſpeech ſeem'd to labour, yet, whenever he ſpoke as an advocate, ſpoke with readineſs and volubility. At this time, PUBLIUS SILIUS, formerly Queſtor to GERMANICUS, now convicted of having taken money in an affair where he was to decree as a Judge, was, for his puniſhment, to be expell'd Italy: a ſentence too mild for the Emperor; who adjudg'd him to baniſhment into an Iſland; with ſuch impetuoſity of ſpirit, that with the tye and ſolemnity of an oath he declar'd it "for the "intereſt of the Commonwealth:" a behaviour which at that time was ſharply cenſur'd, but turn'd afterwards to his praiſe, when SILIUS was again return'd to Rome: a following reign ſaw that exile; a powerful minion; an abandon'd mercenary, one who poſſeſs'd the confidence of CLAUDIUS long, but never honeſtly. CATUS FIRMIUS the Senator was adjudg'd to the ſame puniſhment, "for "having forg'd treaſonable crimes againſt his own ſiſter." CATUS, as I have before declar'd, had hir'd LIBO into his pernicious ſnares, and then, by informing againſt him, procur'd his overthrow. TIBERIUS mindful of this ſervice, but pretending other motives, beſought a reverſal of the ſentence of baniſhment; but to his expulſion from the Senate, made no oppoſition.

I am aware that moſt of the tranſactions which I have already related, or ſhall hereafter relate, may perhaps appear minute, and too trivial to be remember'd. But, none muſt compare theſe my Annals with the writings of thoſe who compil'd the Story of the ancient Roman people. They had for their ſubjects mighty wars, potent cities ſack'd, great Kings routed and taken captive: or if they ſometimes review'd the domeſtick affairs of Rome, they there found the mutual ſtrife and animoſities of the Conſuls and Tribunes; the Agrarian and Frumentary laws, puſh'd and oppos'd; and the laſting ſtruggles between the Nobles and Populace. Large and noble topicks theſe, at home and abroad, and recounted by the old Hiſtorians with full room and free ſcope. To me remains a ſtreighten'd task, and void of glory; ſteady peace, or ſhort intervals of war; the proceedings at Rome ſad and affecting; and a Prince careleſs of extending the Empire:

nor yet will it be without its profit to look minutely into ſuch tranſactions, as however ſmall at firſt view, give riſe and motion to great events.

FOR, all nations and cities are govern'd either by the populace, by the nobility, or by ſingle rulers. As to the frame of a ſtate choſen and compacted out of all theſe three, it is eaſier applauded than accompliſh'd; or if accompliſh'd, cannot be of long duration. So that, as during the Republick, either when the power of the people prevail'd, or when the Senate bore the chief ſway; it was neceſſary to know the genius of the commonalty, and by what meaſures they were to be humour'd and reſtrain'd; and ſuch too who were throughly acquainted with the ſpirit of the Senate and leading men, came to be eſteem'd skilful in the times, and men of proweſs: ſo now when that eſtabliſhment is chang'd, and the preſent ſituation ſuch as if one rul'd all; it is of advantage to collect and record theſe later incidents, as matters of publick example and inſtruction; ſince few can by their own wiſdom diſtinguiſh between things crooked and upright; few between counſels pernicious and profitable; and ſince moſt men are taught by the fate of others. But the preſent detail, however inſtructive, yet brings ſcanty delight. It is by the deſcriptions and accounts of nations; by the variety of battles; by the brave fall of illuſtrious Captains, that the ſoul of the reader is engag'd and refreſh'd. For my ſelf, I can only give a ſad diſplay of cruel orders, inceſſant accuſations, faithleſs friendſhips, the deſtruction of innocents, and endleſs trials, all attended with the ſame iſſue, death and condemnation: an obvious round of repetition and ſatiety! Beſides that the old Hiſtorians are rarely cenſur'd; nor is any man now concern'd whether they chiefly magnify the Roman or Carthaginian armies. But, of many who under TIBERIUS ſuffer'd puniſhment, or were mark'd with infamy, the poſterity are ſtill ſubſiſting; or if the families themſelves are extinct, there are others found, who from a ſimilitude of manners, think that, in reciting the evil doings of others, they themſelves are charg'd: nay, even virtue and a glorious name create foes, as they expoſe in a light too obvious the oppoſite characters. But I return to my undertaking.

Whilſt CORNELIUS COSSUS and ASINIUS AGRIPPA were Conſuls, CREMUTIUS CORDUS was arraign'd for that, "having publiſh'd Annals and in them prais'd BRUTUS, he "had ſtil'd CASSIUS the laſt of the Romans:" a new crime, then firſt created. SATRIUS SECUNDUS and PINARIUS NATTA were his accuſers; creatures of SEJANUS: a mortal omen this to the accus'd; beſides that TIBERIUS receiv'd his defence with a countenance ſettled into cruelty. He began it on this wiſe, caſting away all hopes of life:

"As to facts, I am ſo guiltleſs, Conſcript Fathers, that "my words only are accus'd: but neither are any words of "mine pointed againſt the Emperor, or his Mother; who "are the only perſons comprehended in the Law concerning violated Majeſty. It is alledg'd that I have prais'd "BRUTUS and CASSIUS; men whoſe lives and actions "have been compil'd by a cloud of writers, and their "memory treated by none but with honour. TITUS "LIVIUS, an hiſtorian eminently famous for eloquence "and veracity, ſignaliz'd POMPEY with ſuch abundant "encomiums, that he was thence by AUGUSTUS named "POMPEIANUS; nor did this prejudice their common "friendſhip. Neither SCIPIO, nor AFRANIUS, nor even "this ſame CASSIUS, nor this ſame BRUTUS, are any where "mention'd by him as *traitors* and *parricides*, the common "nick-names now beſtow'd on them; but often as great "and memorable men. The writings of ASINIUS POLLIO have convey'd down the memory of the ſame men "under honourable characters. CORVINUS MESSALA "gloried to have had CASSIUS for his General: and yet "both POLLIO and CORVINUS became ſignally powerful in wealth and honours under AUGUSTUS. That "Book of CICERO's, in which he exalted CATO to the "skies; what other animadverſion did it draw from CESAR the Dictator, than a written reply, in the ſame ſtile "and equality as if before his Judges he had made it? The "letters of MARC ANTHONY; the ſpeeches of BRUTUS, "are full of reproaches, and recriminations againſt AUGUSTUS; falſe in truth, but urg'd with ſignal aſperity: the Poems of BIBACULUS and thoſe of CATULLUS, ſtuffed with virulent ſatyrs againſt the CESARS,

“ are ſtill read. But even the deified JULIUS, even the
“ deified AUGUSTUS, bore all theſe invectives and diſ-
“ dain'd them; whether with greater moderation or wiſ-
“ dom, I cannot eaſily ſay. For, if they are deſpis'd,
“ they fade away; if you wax wroth, you ſeem to avow
“ them to be juſt.

“ INSTANCES from the Greeks I bring none: with
“ them not the freedom only, but even the licentiouſneſs
“ of ſpeech, is unpuniſh'd: or if any correction is re-
“ turn'd, it is only by revenging words with words. It
“ has been ever allow'd, without reſtriction or rebuke,
“ to paſs our judgment upon thoſe whom death has with-
“ drawn from the influence of affection and hate. Are
“ CASSIUS and BRUTUS now in arms? do they at preſent
“ fill with arm'd troops the fields of Philippi? or do I
“ fire the Roman people, by inflammatory harangues, with
“ the ſpirit of civil rage? BRUTUS and CASSIUS, now
“ above ſeventy years ſlain, are ſtill known in their Sta-
“ tues, which even the conqueror did not aboliſh: and
“ as theſe exhibit their perſons, why not the Hiſtorian
“ their characters? Impartial poſterity to every man re-
“ pays his proper praiſe: nor will there be wanting ſuch
“ as, if my death is determin'd, will not only revive the
“ ſtory of CASSIUS and BRUTUS, but even my ſtory.”
Having thus ſaid he withdrew from the Senate, and ended his life by abſtinence. The Fathers condemn'd the Books to be by the Ediles burn'd; but they ſtill continued conceal'd and diſpers'd: hence we may juſtly mock the ſtupidity of thoſe, who imagine that they can, by preſent power, extinguiſh the lights and memory of ſucceeding times: for, quite otherwiſe, the puniſhment of writers exalts the credit of the writings: nor did ever foreign Kings, or any elſe, reap other fruit from it, than infamy to themſelves, and glory to the ſufferers.

TO proceed; for this whole year there was ſuch an inceſſant torrent of accuſations, that even during the ſolemnity of the Latin feſtival, when DRUSUS for his inauguration, as Governor of Rome, had aſcended the Tribunal, he was accoſted by CALPURNIUS SALVIANUS with a charge againſt SEXTUS MARIUS: a proceeding openly reſented by the Emperor, and thence SALVIANUS was baniſhed.

niſhed. The city of Cyzicus was next accus'd, "of not "obſerving the eſtabliſh'd worſhip of the deified AUGUSTUS;" with additional crimes, "of violences committed upon ſome Roman citizens." Thus that city loſt her liberties; which by her behaviour during the Mithridatick war, ſhe had purchas'd; having in it ſuſtain'd a ſiege; and as much by her own bravery, as by the aid of LUCULLUS, repuls'd the King. But FONTEIUS CAPITO, who had as Proconſul govern'd Aſia, was acquitted, upon proof that the crimes brought againſt him by VIBIUS SERENUS were forged: and yet the forgery drew no penalty upon SERENUS: nay, the publick hate render'd him the more ſecure: for, every accuſer, the more eager and inceſſant he was, the more ſacred and inviolable he became: the ſorry and impotent were ſurrender'd to chaſtiſement.

ABOUT the ſame time, the furthermoſt Spain beſought the Senate by their Ambaſſadors, "that after the example of Aſia, they might erect a Temple to TIBERIUS "and his Mother." Upon this occaſion, the Emperor, always reſolute in contemning honours, and now judging it proper to confute thoſe, who expos'd him to the popular cenſure, of having deviated into ambition; ſpoke in this manner: "I know, Conſcript Fathers, that it is generally blam'd, and aſcrib'd to a defect of firmneſs in "me, that when the cities of Aſia petition'd for this very "thing, I withſtood them not. I ſhall therefore now unfold at once the motives of my ſilence then, and the "rules which for the future I am determin'd to obſerve. "Since the deified AUGUSTUS had not oppos'd the founding at Pergamus a Temple to himſelf and the city of "Rome; I, with whom all his actions and ſayings have "the force of laws, follow'd an example already approv'd; "and follow'd it the more chearfully, becauſe to the "worſhip beſtow'd upon me, that of the Senate was annex'd. But as the indulging of this, in one inſtance, "will find pardon; ſo a general latitude of being "ador'd through every province, under the ſacred repreſentations of the Deities, would denote a vain ſpirit; "a heart ſwell'd with ambition. The glory too of AUGUSTUS will evaniſh, if by the promiſcuous courtſhip "of flattery it comes to be vulgarly proſtituted.

"For my ſelf, Conſcript Fathers, I am a mortal man; "I am confin'd to the functions of human nature; and if "I well ſupply the principal place amongſt you, it ſuffices "me. This I acknowledge to you, and this acknowledgment I would have poſterity to remember. They will do "abundant right to my memory, if they believe me to have "been worthy of my anceſtors; watchful of the Roman "ſtate; unmov'd in perils, and in maintaining the publick "intereſt, fearleſs of private enmities. Theſe are the Temples which in your breaſts I would raiſe; theſe the faireſt "pourtraitures, and ſuch as will endure. As to Temples and Statues of ſtone, if the Idol ador'd in them "comes to be hated by poſterity, they are deſpis'd as his "ſepulchres. Hence it is I here invoke the Gods, that "to the end of my life they would grant me a ſpirit "undiſturb'd, and diſcerning in duties human and divine: and hence too I here implore our Citizens and "Allies, that whenever my diſſolution comes, they would "with approbation and benevolent teſtimonies of remembrance, celebrate my actions and retain the odour of "my name." And thenceforward he perſever'd in ſlighting upon all occaſions, and even in private converſation, this divine worſhip of himſelf. A conduct which was by ſome aſcrib'd to modeſty; by many to a conſcious diffidence; by others to degeneracy of ſpirit. "Since the moſt "ſublime amongſt men naturally covet the moſt exalted "honours: thus HERCULES and BACCHUS amongſt the "Greeks, and with us ROMULUS, were added to the "ſociety of the Gods: AUGUSTUS too had choſen the "nobler part, and hop'd for deification: all the other "gratifications of Princes were inſtantly procur'd: one "only was to be purſued inſatiably; the praiſe and perpetuity of their name. For by contemning fame, the "virtues that procure it, are contemn'd.

Now SEJANUS, intoxicated with exceſs of fortune, and moreover ſtimulated by the importunity of LIVIA, who with the reſtleſs paſſion of a woman, crav'd the promis'd marriage, compos'd a Memorial to the Emperor. For, it was then the cuſtom to apply to him in writing, tho' he were preſent. This of SEJANUS was thus conceiv'd: "That ſuch had been towards him the benevolence of

“ AUGUSTUS; ſuch and ſo numerous, ſince, the inſtances “ of affection from TIBERIUS, that he was thence ac“ cuſtom'd, without applying to the Gods, to carry his “ hopes and prayers directly to the Emperors: yet of them “ he had never ſought a blaze of honours: watching and “ toils like thoſe of common ſoldiers, for the ſafe-guard “ of the Prince, had been his choice and ambition. How“ ever what was moſt glorious for him he had attain'd; “ to be thought worthy of alliance with the Emperor: “ hence the ſource of his preſent hopes: and, ſince he “ had heard that AUGUSTUS, in the diſpoſal of his daugh“ ter, had not been without thoughts even of ſome of “ the Roman Knights; he begg'd that if a husband were “ ſought for LIVIA, TIBERIUS would remember his friend; “ one whoſe ambition aim'd no higher than the pure and “ diſintereſted glory of the affinity: for that he would “ never abandon the burden of his preſent truſt; but hold “ it ſufficient to be, by that means, enabled to ſupport “ his houſe againſt the injurious wrath of AGRIPPINA; “ and in this he only conſulted the ſecurity of his chil“ dren. For himſelf; his own life would be abundantly “ long, whenever finally ſpent in the miniſtry of ſuch a “ Prince.”

For a preſent anſwer, TIBERIUS prais'd the loyalty of SEJANUS; recapitulated curſorily the inſtances of his own favours towards him, and requir'd time, as it were for a thorough deliberation. At laſt he made this reply: “ that all other “ men were, in their purſuits, guided by the notions of “ conveniency: far different was the lot and ſituation of “ Princes, who were in their actions to conſider chiefly “ the applauſe and good liking of the publick: he there“ fore did not delude SEJANUS with an obvious and plau“ ſible anſwer; that LIVIA could herſelf determine whe“ ther, after DRUSUS, ſhe ought again to marry, or ſtill “ perſiſt his widow, and that ſhe had a mother and “ grand-mother, nearer relations and more intereſted to “ adviſe. He would deal more candidly with him: and “ firſt as to the enmity of AGRIPPINA; it would flame “ out with freſh fury, if by the marriage of LIVIA, the “ family of the CESARS were rent as it were into two “ contending parties: that even as things ſtood, the emu-

“ lation of theſe Ladies broke into frequent ſallies, and, by their animoſities, his grand-ſons were inſtigated different ways. What would be the conſequence; if, by ſuch a marriage, the ſtrife were inflam'd? For you are deceiv'd, SEJANUS, if you think to continue then in the ſame rank as now; or that LIVIA, ſhe who was firſt the wife of the young CAIUS CESAR, and afterwards the wife of DRUSUS, will be of a temper to grow old with a husband no higher than a Roman Knight: nay, allowing that I ſuffer'd you afterwards to remain what you are; do you believe that they who ſaw her father, they who ſaw her brother, and the anceſtors of our houſe, cover'd with the ſupreme dignities, will ever ſuffer it? You in truth propoſe, yourſelf, to ſtand ſtill in the ſame ſtation: but the great Magiſtrates and Grandees of the ſtate, thoſe very Magiſtrates and Grandees who, in ſpight of your ſelf, break in upon you, and in all affairs court you as their Oracle, make no ſecret of maintaining that you have long ſince exceeded the bounds of the Equeſtrian Order, and far outgone in power all the confidents of my father; and from their hatred to you, they alſo cenſure me. But ſtill, AUGUSTUS deliberated about giving his daughter to a Roman Knight. Where is the wonder, if perplex'd with a croud of diſtracting cares, and appriz'd to what an unbounded height above others he rais'd whomſoever he dignified with ſuch a match, he talk'd of PROCULEIUS, and ſome like him; remarkable for the retiredneſs of their life, and no wiſe engag'd in the affairs of ſtate? But if we are influenc'd by the heſitation of AUGUSTUS, how much more powerful is his deciſion; ſince he beſtow'd his daughter on AGRIPPA, and then on me? Theſe are conſiderations which in friendſhip I have not with-held: however, neither your own inclinations, nor thoſe of LIVIA, ſhall be ever thwarted by me. The ſecret and conſtant purpoſes of my own heart towards you, and with what further ties of affinity, I am contriving to bind you ſtill faſter to me; I at preſent forbear to recount. Thus much only I will declare, that there is nothing ſo high but thoſe abilities, and your ſingular zeal and fidelity "towards me, may juſtly claim: as when opportunity "preſents, either in Senate, or in a popular aſſembly, I "ſhall not fail to teſtify."

In anſwer to this, SEJANUS no longer ſolliciting the marriage, but fill'd with higher apprehenſions, beſought him "to reſiſt the dark ſuggeſtions of ſuſpicion; to deſpiſe the pratings of the vulgar, nor to admit the hoſtile breath of envy." And as he was puzzled about the crouds which inceſſantly haunted his houſe; leſt by keeping them off he might impair his power; or by encouraging them, furniſh a handle for criminal imputations; he came to this reſult, that he would urge the Emperor out of Rome, to ſpend his life remote from thence in delightful retirements. From this counſel he foreſaw many advantages: upon himſelf would depend all acceſs to the Emperor; all letters and expreſſes would, as the ſoldiers were the carriers, be in great meaſure under his direction; in a little time the Prince, now in declining age, and then ſoften'd by receſs, would more eaſily transfer upon him the whole charge of the Empire: he ſhould be remov'd from the multitude of ſuch as to make their court, attended him at Rome; and thence one ſource of envy would be ſtopt. So that by diſcharging the empty phantoms of power, he ſhould augment the eſſentials. He therefore began by little and little to rail at the hurry of buſineſs at Rome, the throng of people, the flock of ſuitors: he applauded "retirement and quiet; where, "while they were ſeparate from irkſome fatigues, nor "expos'd to the diſcontents and reſentments of particulars, all affairs of moment were beſt diſpatch'd."

Opportunely for SEJANUS, there happen'd about that time the trial of VOTIENUS MONTANUS, a man of celebrated wit; a trial which determin'd TIBERIUS to ſhun all aſſemblies of the fathers, and thence eſcape hearing the true and painful reflections which to his face were there utter'd. For, as VOTIENUS was charg'd with contumelious ſpeeches againſt CESAR; EMILIUS the witneſs, a man of the ſword, from a zeal to make good his evidence, rehears'd every tittle he had heard; and notwithſtanding the clamour rais'd to ſtop his mouth, he perſiſted in the detail with notable obſtinacy. By this means

TIBERIUS heard the bitter reproaches by which he was ſecretly goaded; and he was ſo ſtricken that he wax'd vehement, and cried, "he would inſtantly clear himſelf "in their preſence, or before an aſſembly of the people:" nor ſcarce could the prayers of his particular friends, and flatteries of all, calm him. VOTIENUS ſuffer'd the pains of treaſon. For TIBERIUS; having learnt that he was upbraided with cruelty towards the accus'd, and growing thence more obſtinately cruel, he puniſh'd AQUILA with exile, for adultery with VARIUS LIGUR; tho' ſhe were already ſentenc'd by LENTULUS GETULICUS, Conſul elect, to the penalties of the Julian law. He alſo raz'd APIDIUS MERULA from the liſt of Senators, "because he had not ſworn upon the Acts of the deified "AUGUSTUS."

NEXT were heard Ambaſſadors from the Lacedemonians and Meſſenians, about the right that each people claim'd to the Temple of Diana Limenetis; which the Lacedemonians aſſerted to be theirs, "founded in their "territory, and dedicated by their anceſtors," and offer'd as proofs the ancient authority of their Annals, and the Hymns of the old Poets. "It had been in truth taken "from them by the ſuperior force of PHILIP of Macedon, when at war with him; but reſtor'd afterwards "by the judicial deciſion of JULIUS CESAR and MARC "ANTHONY." The Meſſenians, on the contrary, pleaded, "the ancient partition of Peloponneſus amongſt "the deſcendents of HERCULES; whence the territory "where the Temple ſtood, had fallen to their King; "and the monuments of that allotment ſtill remain'd, engraven in ſtone and old tables of braſs: but, if the "teſtimony of Hiſtories and Poets were appeal'd to; they "themſelves had the moſt and the fulleſt. Nor had "PHILIP, in his deciſion, acted by power, but from equity: the ſame afterwards was the adjudgment of King "ANTIGONUS; the ſame that of the Roman Commander MUMMIUS. Thus too the Mileſians had awarded, "they who were by both ſides choſen arbitrators: and "thus laſtly it had been determin'd by ATIDIUS GEMINUS, Pretor of Achaia." The Meſſenians therefore gain'd the ſuit. The Citizens alſo of Segeſtum applied on behalf of "the Temple of Venus on Mount Eryx; "which fallen through age, they deſir'd might be re"ſtor'd." They repreſented the ſtory of its Origin and Antiquity; a well pleaſing flattery to TIBERIUS; who frankly took upon himſelf the charge, as Kinſman to the Goddeſs. Then was diſcuſs'd the petition from the Citizens of Marſeills, and what they claim'd according to the precedent of PUBLIUS RUTILIUS, was approv'd: for RUTILIUS, tho' by a law expell'd from Rome, had been by thoſe of Smyrna adopted a citizen: and as VOLCATIUS MOSCHUS, another exile, had found at Marſeills the ſame privilege and reception, he had to their Republick, as to his country, left his eſtate.

THERE died this year thoſe noble Romans, CNEIUS LENTULUS and LUCIUS DOMITIUS. LENTULUS to his publick honours, thoſe of the Conſulſhip, and the enſigns of triumph over the Getulæ, had added that of private poverty honourably borne; and afterwards the ſplendor of mighty wealth, virtuouſly acquir'd and modeſtly enjoy'd. Upon DOMITIUS devolv'd the luſtre of his father, who in the Civil War held the dominion of the ſea, till he eſpous'd firſt the intereſt of MARC ANTHONY, and anon that of AUGUSTUS: his grand-father had fallen for the cauſe of liberty in the battle of Pharſalia. He himſelf was choſen for the husband of the younger ANTONIA, daughter of OCTAVIA: he afterwards led an army over the Elb, and advanc'd farther into Germany than any Roman before him. Theſe things procur'd him the enſigns of triumph. There alſo died LUCIUS ANTONIUS, of a race greatly illuſtrious, but unhappy: for, JULIUS ANTONIUS his father having ſuffer'd death for adultery with JULIA, AUGUSTUS remov'd this LUCIUS, then a child, and the grand-ſon of his ſiſter, to the city of Marſeills, where under the guiſe of his ſtudies, the name of his exile might be hid. To his death, however, publick honour was paid; and by a decree of Senate his bones were repoſited in the tomb of the OCTAVII.

DURING the ſame Conſuls, a bloody aſſaſſination was perpetrated in the nethermoſt Spain, by a boor in the territory of Termes. By him LUCIUS PISO, Governor of the Province, as he travell'd careleſs and unattended, relying on the eſtabliſh'd peace, was ſurpriz'd, and diſpatch'd at one deadly blow. The aſſaſſin however eſcap'd to a foreſt by the fleetneſs of his horſe, and there diſmiſs'd him: from thence travelling over rocks and pathleſs places, he battled his purſuers: but their ignorance of his perſon was ſoon remov'd; for his horſe being taken and ſhewn through the neighbouring villages, it was thence learn'd who was the owner; ſo that he too was found; but when put to the rack to declare his accomplices, he proclaim'd with a mighty and aſſur'd voice, in the language of his country, "that in vain they queſtion'd him; his aſſociates "might ſtand ſafely by and witneſs his conſtancy: and "that no force of torture could be ſo exquiſite as from "him to extort a diſcovery." Next day as he was dragg'd back to the rack, he burſt with a vehement effort from his guard, and daſh'd his head ſo deſperately againſt a ſtone, that he inſtantly expir'd. PISO is believ'd to have been aſſaſſinated by a plot of the Termeſtinians; as in exacting the repayment of ſome money, ſeiz'd from the publick, he acted with more aſperity, than a rough people could bear.

IN the Conſulſhip of LENTULUS GETULICUS and CAIUS CALVISIUS, the triumphal enſigns were decreed to POPPEUS SABINUS for having routed ſome clans of Thracians, who living wildly on the high mountains, acted thence with the more outrage and contumacy. The ground of their late commotion, not to mention the ſavage genius of the people, was their ſcorn and impatience, to have recruits rais'd amongſt them, and all their ſtouteſt men liſted in our armies; accuſtom'd as they were not even to obey their native Kings further than their own humour, nor to aid them with forces but under Captains of their own chuſing, nor to fight againſt any enemy but their own borderers. Their diſcontents too were inflam'd by a rumour which then ran current amongſt them; that they were to be diſpers'd into different regions; and exterminated from their own, to be mixt with other nations. But before they took arms and began hoſtilities, they ſent Ambaſſadors to SABINUS, to repreſent "their paſt "friendſhip and ſubmiſſion, and that the ſame ſhould "continue, if they were provok'd by no freſh impoſiti-

“ ons: but if like a people ſubdued by war, they were “ doom'd to bondage; they had able men and ſteel, and “ ſouls determin'd upon liberty or death.” The Ambaſſadors at the ſame time pointed to their ſtrong holds founded upon precipices; and boaſted that they had thither convey'd their wives and parents; and threaten'd a war intricate, hazardous and bloody.

Sabinus amus'd them with gentle anſwers till he could draw together his army; while POMPONIUS LABEO was advancing with a Legion from Mœſia, and King RHEMETALCES with a body of Thracians who had not renounc'd their allegiance. With theſe and what forces he had of his own he march'd towards the foe, now ſettled in the paſſes of the foreſt: ſome more bold preſented themſelves upon the hills; againſt the laſt the Roman General firſt bent his forces in battle, and without difficulty drove them thence, but with ſmall ſlaughter of the Barbarians, becauſe of their immediate refuge. Here he ſtreight rais'd an encampment, and with a ſtout band took poſſeſſion of a hill, which extended with an even narrow ridge to the next fortreſs, which was garriſon'd by a great hoſt of arm'd men and rabble: and as the moſt reſolute were, in the way of the nation, rioting without the fortification in dances and ſongs, he forthwith diſpatch'd againſt them his ſelect archers. Theſe, while they only pour'd in volleys of arrows at a diſtance did thick and extenſive execution; but, approaching too near, were by a ſudden ſally put in diſorder. They were however ſupported by a Cohort of the Sigambrians, purpoſely poſted by SABINUS in readineſs againſt an exigency; a people theſe equally terrible in the boiſterous and mixt uproar of their voices and arms.

He afterwards pitch'd his camp nearer to the enemy; having in his former entrenchments left the Thracians whom I have mention'd to have join'd us. To them too was permitted “ to lay waſte, burn, and plunder; on “ condition that their ravages were confin'd to the day; “ and that, at nights, they kept within the camp, ſecure “ under guard.” This reſtriction was at firſt obſerv'd; but, anon lapſing into luxury, and grown opulent in plunder, they neglected their guards, and reſign'd themſelves to gayety and banquetting, to the intoxication and ſloth of wine and ſleep. The enemy therefore appriz'd of their negligence, form'd themſelves into two bands; one to ſet upon the plunderers; the other to aſſault the Roman camp, with no hopes of taking it; but only that the ſoldiers alarm'd with ſhouts and darts, and all intent upon their own defence, might not hear the dinn of the other battle: moreover to heighten the terror, it was to be done by night. Thoſe who aſſail'd the lines of the Legions were eaſily repuls'd: but, the auxiliary Thracians were terrified with the ſudden encounter, as they were utterly unprepar'd. Part of them lay along the entrenchments; many were roaming abroad; and both were ſlain with the keener vengeance, as they were upbraided "for "fugitives and traitors, who bore arms to eſtabliſh ſervi-"tude over their country and themſelves."

NEXT day SABINUS drew up his army in view of the enemy, on ground equal to both; to try, if elated with their ſucceſs by night, they would venture a battle: and, when they ſtill kept within the fortreſs, or on the cluſter of hills, he began to begird them with a ſiege; and ſtrengthening his old lines and adding new, enclos'd a circuit of four miles. Then to deprive them of water and forage, he ſtreighten'd his entrenchment by degrees, and hemm'd them in ſtill cloſer. A bulwark was alſo rais'd, whence the enemy now within throw, were annoy'd with diſcharges of ſtones, darts, and fire. But nothing aggriev'd them ſo vehemently as thirſt, whilſt only a ſingle fountain remain'd amongſt a huge multitude of arm'd men and families: their houſes too and cattle, penn'd up with the people, after the barbarous manner of the country, periſh'd for want of provender: amongſt the carcaſſes of beaſts lay thoſe of men; ſome dead of thirſt, ſome of their wounds; a noyſom mixture of miſery and death; all was foul and tainted with putrefaction, ſtench, and filthy contamination. To theſe diſtreſſes alſo accrued another, and of all calamities the moſt conſummate, the calamity of diſcord: ſome were diſpos'd to ſurrender; others propos'd preſent death, and to fall upon one another. There were ſome too who advis'd a ſally, and to die avenging their deaths. Nor were theſe laſt mean men, tho' diſſenting from the reſt.

BUT there was one of their leaders, his name DINIS, a man ſtricken in years, who, by long experience acquainted with the power and clemency of the Romans, argued, "that they muſt lay down their arms, the ſame "being the ſole cure for their preſſing calamities;" and was the firſt who ſubmitted, with his wife and children to the conqueror. There follow'd him all that were weak through ſex or age, and ſuch as had a greater paſſion for life than glory. The young men were parted between TARSA and TURESIS; both determin'd to fall with liberty: but TARSA declar'd earneſtly "for inſtant death; "and that by it all hopes and fears were at once to be "extinguiſh'd;" and ſetting an example, buried his ſword in his breaſt. Nor were there wanting ſome who diſpatch'd themſelves the ſame way. TURESIS and his band ſtaid for night: of which our General was aware. The Guards were therefore ſtrengthen'd with extraordinary reinforcements: and now with the night darkneſs prevail'd, its horror heighten'd by outrageous rain; and the enemy with tumultuous ſhouts, and by turns with vaſt ſilence, alarm'd and puzzled the beſiegers. SABINUS therefore going round the camp, warn'd the ſoldiers, "that they "ſhould not be miſguided by the deceitful voice of up"roar, nor truſt to a feign'd calm, and thence open an "advantage to the enemy, who by theſe wiles ſought it; "but keep immoveably to their ſeveral poſts; nor throw "their darts at random."

JUST then came the Barbarians, pouring in diſtinct droves: here, with ſtones, with wooden javelins harden'd in the fire, and with the broken limbs of trees, they batter'd the paliſade: there with hurdles, faggots and dead bodies, they fill'd the trench: by others, bridges and ladders, both before fram'd, were planted againſt the battlements; theſe they violently grappled and tore, and ſtruggled hand to hand with thoſe who oppos'd them. The Romans, on the other ſide, beat them back with their bucklers, drove them down with darts, and hurl'd upon them great mural ſtakes and heaps of ſtones. On both ſides were powerful ſtimulations: on ours the hopes of victory almoſt gain'd, if we perſiſted; and thence the more glaring infamy, if we recoil'd: on theirs, the laſt ſtruggle for their life; moſt of them too inſpir'd with the affecting preſence of their mothers and wives, and made deſperate by their dolorous wailings. The night was an advantage to the cowardly and the brave; by it the former became more reſolute; by it the latter hid their fear: blows were dealt, the ſtriker knew not upon whom; and wounds receiv'd, the wounded knew not whence: ſuch was the utter indiſtinction of friend and foe. To heighten the general jumble and blind confuſion, the eccho from the cavities of the mountain repreſented to the Romans the ſhouts of the enemy as behind them: hence in ſome places they deſerted their lines, as believing them already broken and enter'd: and yet ſuch of the enemy as broke through were very few. All the reſt, their moſt reſolute champions being wounded or ſlain, were at the returning light driven back to their fort; where they were at length forced to ſurrender; as did the places circumjacent of their own accord. The remainder could then be neither forced nor famiſh'd; as they were protected by a furious winter, always ſudden about Mount Hemus.

AT Rome diſcord ſhook the Prince's family: and, to begin the ſeries of deſtruction which was to end in AGRIPPINA, CLAUDIA PULCHRA her couſin was accus'd, DOMITIUS AFER the accuſer. This man, juſt out of the Pretorſhip, in eſtimation ſmall, but haſty to ſignalize himſelf by ſome notable exploit however heinous, alledged againſt her the "crimes of proſtitution, of adultery with FURNIUS, of magical execrations and poiſon "prepar'd againſt the life of the Emperor." AGRIPPINA ever vehement, and then in a flame for the peril of her kinſwoman, flew to TIBERIUS, and by chance found him ſacrificing to the Emperor his father. Having got this handle for upbraiding him, ſhe told him "that it "ill became the ſame man to ſlay victims to the deified "AUGUSTUS and to perſecute his children: his divine ſpirit was not transfus'd into dumb Statues: the "genuine Images of AUGUSTUS were the living deſcendents from his celeſtial blood: ſhe herſelf was one; "one ſenſible of impending danger, and now in the "mournful ſtate of a ſupplicant. In vain were foreign "crimes pretended againſt PULCHRA; when the only

“ cauſe of her concerted overthrow was her affection for “ AGRIPPINA, fooliſhly carried even to adoration; for-“ getful as ſhe was of the fate of SOSIA, a condemn'd “ ſufferer for the ſame fault.” All theſe bitter words drew ſmall anſwer from the dark breaſt of TIBERIUS: he rebuk'd her by quoting a Greek verſe; “ that ſhe was “ therefore aggriev'd, becauſe ſhe did not reign:” PULCHRA and FURNIUS were condemn'd. AFER, having thus diſplay'd his genius, and gain'd a declaration from TIBERIUS, pronouncing him *eloquent in his own independent right*, was rank'd with the moſt celebrated Orators: afterwards in proſecuting accuſations, or in protecting the accus'd, he flouriſh'd more in the fame of Eloquence than in that of uprightneſs: however, old age eminently ſunk the credit and vigour of his eloquence; while, with parts decay'd, he ſtill retain'd a paſſion for haranguing.

AGRIPPINA ſtill foſtering her wrath, and ſeiz'd too with a bodily diſorder, receiv'd the Emperor, come purpoſely to ſee her, with many tears and long ſilence. At laſt ſhe accoſted him with invidious expoſtulations and prayers; “ that he would relieve her ſolitude, and give “ her a husband. She was ſtill endow'd with proper “ youth; to virtuous women there was no conſolation but “ that of marriage; and Rome afforded illuſtrious men “ who would readily aſſent to entertain the wife of GER-“ MANICUS, and his children.” TIBERIUS was not ignorant to what mighty power in the ſtate, that demand tended; but, that he might betray no tokens of reſentment or fear, he left her, tho' inſtant with him, without an anſwer. This paſſage, not related by the Authors of our Annals, I found in the Commentaries of her daughter AGRIPPINA; her who was the mother of the Emperor NERO, and has publiſh'd her own Life with the fortunes of her family.

As to AGRIPPINA; ſtill grieving and void of foreſight, ſhe was yet more ſenſibly diſmay'd by an artifice of SEJANUS, who employ'd ſuch as under colour of friendſhip warn'd her, “ that poiſon was prepar'd for her, and that “ ſhe muſt ſhun eating at her father-in-law's table.” She was a ſtranger to all diſſimulation: ſo that as ſhe ſat near him at table, ſhe continued ſtately and unmov'd; not a word, not a look eſcap'd her, and ſhe touch'd no part of the meat. TIBERIUS obſerv'd her, whether accidentally, or that he was before appriz'd; and, to be convinc'd by a more powerful experiment, praiſing the apples that ſtood before him, preſented ſome with his own hand to his daughter-in-law. This only increas'd the ſuſpicion of AGRIPPINA; and, without ever putting them to her mouth, ſhe deliver'd them to the ſervants. For all this, the reſerv'd TIBERIUS let not a word drop from him openly; but, turning to his mother; "there was no "wonder, he ſaid, if he had really taken harſh meaſures "with her who thus charg'd him as a poiſoner." Hence a rumour ſpread, "that her doom was contriv'd; and "that the Emperor not daring to purſue it publickly, "choſe to have her diſpatch'd in ſecret.

TIBERIUS, as a means to divert upon other matters the popular talk, attended aſſiduouſly the deliberations of the Senate, and there heard for many days the ſeveral Embaſſadors from Aſia, mutually contending, "in what "city ſhould be built the Temple lately decreed." For this honour eleven Cities ſtrove, with equal ambition, tho' different in power: nor did the pleas urg'd by all, greatly vary; namely, "the antiquity of their original, and their "diſtinguiſh'd zeal for the Roman people, during their "ſeveral wars with PERSEUS, ARISTONICUS, and other "Kings." But, the Trallians, the Laodiceans, the Magneſians and thoſe of the Hypepis, were at once diſmiſs'd, as inſufficient for the charge. Nor, in truth, had they of Ilium, who repreſented, "that Troy was the mother "of Rome," any ſuperiour advantage, beſides the glory of antiquity. The plea of the Halicarnaſſians took ſome ſhort conſideration: they aſſerted, "that for twelve hun"dred years, no earthquake had ſhaken their town; and "that they would fix in a ſolid rock the foundations of "the Temple." The ſame conſiderations were urg'd by the inhabitants of Pergamus; where already was erected a Temple to AUGUSTUS; a diſtinction which was judg'd ſufficient for them. The cities too of Epheſus and Miletus ſeem'd fully employ'd in the ceremonies of their own diſtinct Deities; the former in thoſe of Diana; the other in thoſe of Apollo. Thus the diſpute was confin'd to Sardes and Smyrna. The firſt recited a decree of the Etrurians, which own'd them for kinſmen: "for that "TYRRHENUS and LYDUS, ſons of King ATYS, hav"ing between them divided their people, becauſe of their "multitude, LYDUS re-ſettled in his native country; and "it became the lot of TYRRHENUS to find out a freſh "reſidence; and by the names of theſe chiefs the parted "people came afterwards to be call'd, Lydians in Aſia, "Tyrrhenians in Italy. That the opulence of the Lydians "ſpread yet farther, by their Colonies ſent under PELOPS "into Greece, which from him afterwards took its name." They likewiſe urg'd "the letters of our Generals; their "mutual leagues with us during the war of Macedon; "their plenty of rivers, temperate climate, and the fer"tility of the circumjacent country."

THE Smyrneans having likewiſe recounted their ancient eſtabliſhment, "whether TANTALUS, the ſon of "Jupiter; or THESEUS, the ſon alſo of a God; or one "of the old Amazons, were their founder;" proceeded to conſiderations in which they chiefly truſted; their friendly offices to the Roman people, having aided them with a naval force, not in their foreign wars only, but in thoſe which infeſted Italy. "It was they who firſt rear'd a "Temple to the city of Rome, in the Conſulſhip of "MARCUS PORCIUS; then, in truth, when the power "of the Roman people was already mighty, but however "not yet rais'd to its higheſt glory; for the city of Car"tharge ſtill ſtood, and potent Kings govern'd Aſia. Wit"neſs too their generoſity to SYLLA, when the condition "of his army ready to famiſh in a cruel winter and a "ſcarcity of clothes, being related to the Citizens of "Smyrna then aſſembled; all that were preſent diveſted "themſelves of their rayments, and ſent them to our Le"gions." Thus when the votes of the Senators were gather'd, the pretenſions of Smyrna were preferr'd. It was alſo mov'd by VIBIUS MARSUS, that LENTULUS, to whom had fallen the province of Aſia, ſhould be attended by a Legate extraordinary to ſuperviſe the building of the Temple; and as LENTULUS himſelf through modeſty declin'd to chuſe one, ſeveral who had been Pretors were drawn by lot, and the lot fell upon VALERIUS NASO.

In the mean time, according to a purpoſe long meditated, and from time to time deferr'd, TIBERIUS at laſt retir'd to Campania; in profeſſion to dedicate a Temple to Jupiter at Capua, and one at Nola to AUGUSTUS; but in truth determin'd to remove, for ever, from Rome. The cauſe of his departure I have before referr'd to the ſtratagems of SEJANUS; but tho' in it I have followed moſt of our authors; yet, ſince after the execution of SEJANUS, he perſiſted for ſix years in the like dark receſs; I am rather influenced by a ſtronger probability, that the ground of his abſence is more juſtly to be aſcrib'd to his own ſpirit, while he ſtrove to hide in the ſhades of ſolitude, what in deeds he proclaim'd, the rage of his cruelty and luſt. There were thoſe who believ'd that, in his old age, he was aſham'd of the figure of his perſon; for he was very lean, long and ſtooping, his head bald, his face ulcerous, and for the moſt beſmear'd with ſalves: he was moreover wont, during his receſs at Rhodes, to avoid the publick, and cover his debauches in ſecrecy. It is alſo related that he was driven from Rome by the reſtleſs aſpiring of his Mother, whom he ſcorn'd to admit a partner in the Sovereignty; nor yet could intirely ſeclude, ſince as her gift he had receiv'd the Sovereignty it ſelf. For, AUGUSTUS had deliberated about ſetting GERMANICUS at the head of the Roman ſtate; his ſiſter's grand-ſon, and one ador'd by all men: but ſubdued by the ſollicitations of his wife, he adopted TIBERIUS, and caus'd TIBERIUS to adopt GERMANICUS. With this grandeur of her own procuring LIVIA upbraided her ſon, and even reclaim'd it.

His going was narrowly accompanied; by one Senator, COCCEIUS NERVA, formerly Conſul, and accompliſh'd in the knowledge of the Laws; and, beſides SEJANUS, by one dignified Roman Knight, CURTIUS ATTICUS. The reſt were men of Letters, chiefly Greeks; whoſe converſation pleas'd and amus'd him. The skill'd in Aſtrology declar'd, "that he had left Rome in ſuch a "conjunction of the Planets, as for ever to exclude his "return." Hence a ſource of deſtruction to many, who conjectur'd his end to be at hand, and publiſh'd their conjectures: for, it was an event too incredible to be foreſeen,

ſeen, that for eleven years he ſhould of choice be withdrawn from his country. The ſequel diſcover'd the ſhort bounds between the art and the falſhood of the art, and what obſcurities perplex even the facts it happens to foretell. *That he ſhould never return to Rome*, prov'd not to be falſly ſaid: as to every thing elſe about him they were perfectly in the dark; ſince he ſtill liv'd, never far diſtant, ſometimes in the adjacent champain, ſometimes on the neighbouring ſhore, often under the very walls of the city; and died at laſt in the fulneſs and extremity of age.

THERE happen'd to TIBERIUS, about that time, an accident, which, as it threaten'd his life, fired the empty Prognoſticks at Rome; but to himſelf prov'd matter of more confidence in the friendſhip and faith of SEJANUS. They were eating in a Cave at a villa, thence call'd *Spelunca*, between the Amyclean ſea and the mountains of Fondi: it was a native cave, and its mouth fell ſuddenly in, and buried under it ſome of the attendants: hence dread ſeiz'd all, and they who were celebrating the entertainment fled: as to SEJANUS; he cover'd the Emperor's body with his own, and ſtooping upon his knees and hands, expos'd himſelf to the deſcending ruin: ſuch was the poſture he was found in by the ſoldiers who came to their relief. He grew mightier from thence; and being now conſider'd by TIBERIUS as one regardleſs of himſelf, all his counſels, however bloody and deſtructive, were liſten'd to with blind credulity: ſo that he aſſum'd the office of a Judge againſt the offſpring of GERMANICUS, and ſuborn'd ſuch as were to act the parts of accuſers, and eſpecially to purſue and blacken NERO, the next in ſucceſſion; a young Prince modeſt indeed, but forgetful of that reſtraint and circumſpection which his preſent ſituation requir'd. He was miſguided by his freedmen and the retainers to his houſe; who eager to be maſters of power, animated him with intemperate counſels; "that he would ſhew a ſpirit reſolute and aſſur'd; it was "what the Roman people wiſh'd, what the armies long'd "for: nor would SEJANUS dare then to reſiſt; tho' he "now equally inſulted the tameneſs of an old man and "the ſloth of a young one."

While he liſten'd to theſe and the like ſuggeſtions, there eſcap'd him, no expreſſions, in truth, of any criminal purpoſe, but ſometimes ſuch as were reſentful and unguarded: theſe were catch'd up by the ſpies placed upon him, and charg'd againſt him with aggravations: neither was he allow'd the privilege of clearing himſelf. Several threatning appearances moreover diſmay'd him: ſome avoided to meet him; others having juſt paid him the ſalute, turn'd inſtantly away: many, in the midſt of converſation, broke off and left him; while the creatures of SEJANUS ſtood ſtill fearleſly by and ſneer'd upon him. For TIBERIUS; he always entertain'd him with a ſtern face, or a hollow ſmile; and whether the youth ſpoke or ſaid nothing, there were crimes in his words, crimes in his ſilence: nor was he ſafe even the dead of night; ſince his uneaſineſs and watchings, nay his very ſighs and dreams were, by his wife, divulg'd to her mother LIVIA, and by LIVIA to SEJANUS; who had alſo drawn his brother DRUSUS into the combination, by tempting him with the immediate proſpect of Empire, if his elder brother, already ſinking, were once ſet effectually aſide. The genius of DRUSUS naturally furious, inſtigated beſides by a paſſion for power, and by the uſual hate and competition between brothers, was further kindled by the partiality of AGRIPPINA, who was fonder of NERO. However SEJANUS did not ſo far favour DRUSUS but that againſt him too he was even then ripening the ſtudied meaſures of future deſtruction; as he knew him to be violent, and thence more obnoxious to ſnares.

In the end of the year departed theſe eminent perſons; ASINIUS AGRIPPA, of anceſtors more illuſtrious than ancient, and in his own character not unworthy of them: and QUINTUS HATERIUS, of a Senatorian family, and himſelf, while he yet liv'd, famous for Eloquence: but the monuments of his genius, ſince publiſh'd, are not equally eſteem'd. In truth, he prevail'd more by rapidity than accuracy: inſomuch that, as the elaborate compoſitions of others flouriſh after them; ſo that enchanting melody of voice in HATERIUS, with that fluency of words which was perſonal to him, died with him.

IN the Conſulſhip of MARCUS LICINIUS and LUCIUS CALPURNIUS, the caſualty of an inſtant, its beginning unforeſeen, and ended as ſoon as begun, equal'd in calamity the ſlaughter and overthrow of mighty armies. One ATILIUS had undertaken to erect an Amphitheatre at Fidena, there to exhibit a combat of Gladiators: he was of the race of freedmen, and as he began it from no exuberance of wealth, nor to court popularity amongſt the inhabitants, but purely for the meanneſs of gain, he neither eſtabliſh'd ſolid foundations, nor rais'd the timberwork with ſufficient compactneſs. Thither throng'd from Rome thoſe of every ſex and age, eager for ſuch ſhews, as during the reign of TIBERIUS they were debarr'd from diverſions at home; and, the nearer the place, the greater the crouds: hence the calamity was the more dreadful; for, as the Theatre was ſurcharg'd with the multitude, the ſtructure burſt, and ſinking violently in, while its extremities ruſh'd impetuouſly out, huge was the preſs of people, who intent upon the Gladiators within, or gather'd round the walls, were cruſh'd by the deadly ruin, and even buried under it. And verily, they who in the firſt fury of the havock were ſmitten with final death, eſcap'd as far as in ſuch a doleful diſaſter they could eſcape, the miſery of torture: much more to be lamented were thoſe, who bereft of joints and pieces of their body, were yet not forſaken of life; thoſe who by day could with their eyes behold their wives and children impriſon'd in the ſame ruins; and by night could diſtinguiſh them by their groans, and howlings.

NOW others from abroad excited by the ſad tidings, found here their ſeveral ſorrows: one bewail'd his brother, one his kinſman, another his parents: even they whoſe friends or kindred were abſent on a different account, were yet terrified: for, as it was not hitherto diſtinctly known upon whom the deſtruction had lighted, the dread was widen'd by uncertainty. When the ruins began to be remov'd, great about the dead was the concourſe of the living; frequent the kiſſes and embraces of tenderneſs and ſorrow; and even frequent the contention about the propriety of the dead, where the features diſtorted by death or bruiſes, or where parity of age or reſemblance of perſon, had confounded the ſlain, and led into miſtakes their ſeveral claimers. Fifty thouſand ſouls were deſtroy'd or maim'd by this ſad ſtroke: it was therefore for the future provided by a decree of Senate, "that "no man under the qualification of four hundred thou- "ſand ſeſterces, ſhould exhibit the ſpectacle of Gladia- "tors; and no Amphitheatre ſhould be founded but upon "ground manifeſtly ſolid." ATILIUS was puniſh'd with exile. To conclude; during the freſh pangs of this calamity, the doors of the Grandees were thrown open; medicines were every where furniſh'd; they who adminiſter'd medicines, were every where employ'd to attend: and at that juncture the City tho' ſorrowful of aſpect, ſeem'd to have recall'd the publick ſpirit of the ancient Romans; who, after great battles, conſtantly reliev'd the wounded, ſuſtain'd them by liberality, and reſtor'd them with care.

THE publick agonies from this terrible blow, were not yet deaden'd, when another ſuperven'd; and the City felt the affliction and violence of fire, which with uncommon rage utterly conſum'd Mount Celius. "It was a deadly "and mournful year, they ſaid, and under boding omens "the Prince had form'd the deſign of his abſence." It is the way this of the multitude; who to malignant counſels are wont to aſcribe events altogether fortuitous. But the Emperor diſſipated their murmurs, by beſtowing on each ſufferer money to the value of his ſufferings: hence he had the thanks of men of rank, in the Senate; and was by the populace rewarded with applauſes, "for that "without the views of ambition, without the applicati- "on of friends, he had of his own accord even ſought "out the unknown, and by his bounty reliev'd them." It was likewiſe mov'd and decreed in Senate, "that Mount "Celius ſhould be for the future ſtiled *Mount Auguſtus*, ſince "there the Statue of TIBERIUS, ſtanding in the houſe "of JUNIUS the Senator, eſcap'd unhurt in the flames, "tho' devouring all round them:" It was remember'd, "that the ſame rare exemption had formerly happen'd to "CLAUDIA PULCHRA; that her Statue being twice ſpar'd "by the fury of fire, had thence been placed and con- "ſecrated by our anceſtors in the Temple of the Mother

“ of the Gods. Thus ſacred were the Claudian race, “ and dear to the Deities; and therefore the place, where “ the Gods had teſtified ſuch mighty honour towards “ the Prince, ought to be dignified with conſecration.”

It will not be impertinent to inſert here, that this Mount was of old nam'd *Querquetulanus*, from a grove of Oak which grew thick upon it. It was afterwards call'd *Mount Celius*, from CELES VIBENNA, who having led to Rome a body of Tuſcan auxiliaries, was preſented with that ſettlement by TARQUINIUS PRISCUS, or ſome other of our Kings; for in this particular writers differ: about other circumſtances there remains no diſpute; that theſe forces were very numerous, and extended their dwellings all along the plain below, as far as the Forum. Hence the *Tuſcan ſtreet*, ſo call'd after theſe ſtrangers.

But as the univerſal zeal of the great men, and the bounties of the Prince, had adminiſter'd publick relief againſt the blind blows of fortune; ſo the ſtudied fury of the accuſers, which grew daily more prevailing and deadly, rioted in deſtruction without controul or alleviation. QUINCTILIUS VARUS, a wealthy man and the Emperor's couſin, was aſſail'd by DOMITIUS AFER, the ſame who had procur'd the condemnation of CLAUDIA PULCHRA his mother: nor did any man wonder that he who had liv'd long needy, and already waſted the reward lately earn'd, ſhould be prompt to engage in freſh iniquity and ſpoil: the amazement was, that PUBLIUS DOLABELLA appear'd his aſſociate in the accuſation; becauſe as he was nobly deſcended, he ſhipwreck'd by ſuch proſtitution the antient glory of his houſe; and being the kinſman of VARUS, was wilfully ſpilling his own blood. The Senate however ſtemm'd the proceſs, and voted “ that “ the Emperor's return was to be waited:” a temporary refuge this, and the only one againſt theſe pointed and urging evils.

Tiberius, having dedicated the Temples in Campania; tho' he had by an Edict warn'd the publick, “ that “ none ſhould interrupt his quiet;” and tho' ſoldiers were poſted to keep off all confluence from the neighbouring towns; nevertheleſs, hating the towns themſelves, and the colonies, and every part in the continent, impriſon'd himſelf in Capreæ, an Iſland disjoin'd from the point of the Cape of Surrentum by a channel of three miles. I ſhould chiefly believe that he was taken with its ſolitude, as the ſea above it is void of havens, as the ſtations for the ſmalleſt veſſels are few and difficult, and as none could put in unperceiv'd by the Guards. The genius of the climate is mild in winter, from the ſhelter of a mountain which intercepts the rigour of the winds: its ſummers are refreſh'd by gales from the Weſt; and the ſea open all round it, makes a delightful view: from thence too was beheld a moſt lovely landskip, before the eruptions of Mount Veſuvius had chang'd the face of the proſpect. It is the tradition of fame that the Greeks occupied the oppoſite region, and that Capreæ was particularly inhabited by the Teleboi. However it were, TIBERIUS then confin'd his retirement to twelve Villas, their names famous of old and their ſtructure ſumptuous. And the more intent he had formerly been upon publick cares, he became now ſo much the more buried in dark debauches, and reſign'd over to miſchievous privacy: for, there remain'd ſtill in him his old bent to ſuſpicions, and raſh faith in informers; qualities which even at Rome SEJANUS had always foſter'd, and here inflam'd more vigorouſly; his devices againſt AGRIPPINA and NERO being no longer a ſecret. About them Guards were placed, by whom every petty circumſtance, the meſſages they ſent or receiv'd, their viſits and company, their open behaviour, their private converſation, were all as it were minuted into Journals: there were others too inſtructed to warn them to fly to the armies in Germany; or that embracing the Statue of the deified AUGUSTUS in the great Forum, they would there implore the aid and protection of the Senate and people of Rome. And theſe counſels, tho' rejected by them, were father'd and charg'd upon them, as juſt ripe for execution.

JUNIUS SILANUS and SILIUS NERVA being Conſuls, the year began tragically: TITIUS SABINUS an illuſtrious Roman Knight was hurried to priſon; his crime a conſtant friendſhip for GERMANICUS; whoſe wife and children, he only of all his followers, never ceas'd to reverence, never ceas'd to frequent them at home, never to attend them in publick: a conſtancy applauded by the good, and grievous to their perſecutors. There combin'd againſt him LATINIUS LATIARIS, PORCIUS CATO, PETILIUS RUFUS and MARCUS OPSIUS, who having been all Pretors, were now all paſſionate for the Conſulſhip, to which there was no acceſs but by SEJANUS, and the kindneſs of SEJANUS to be purchas'd only by iniquity. It was ſettled amongſt them that LATIARIS, who had a ſmall acquaintance with SABINUS, ſhould manage the guile, the reſt be witneſſes, and then all together begin the accuſation. LATIARIS therefore accoſted him at firſt with occaſional diſcourſe, and then proceeded to praiſe his conſtancy, "that he had not, like others, been only a friend "to that family, when in its glory, and deſerted it in "affliction." He at the ſame time ſpoke noble things of GERMANICUS, and bewail'd AGRIPPINA. This affected SABINUS; and, as the human ſoul is ſoften'd by calamity and ſorrow, he burſt into tears and complaints; and, being heated, inveigh'd daringly againſt SEJANUS, his cruelty, his pride, his traiterous deſigns; nor, in truth, did TIBERIUS eſcape his invectives. And now, as if they had mutually truſted each other with matters ſecret and forbidden, this their converſation created a ſhew of cloſe friendſhip: ſo that SABINUS henceforward ſought out LATIARIS, frequented his houſe, and carried to him, as to a moſt faithful confident, all his griefs and diſcontents.

THE next conſultation was how to have theſe complaints and invectives utter'd in the hearing of all four: for, the place in which they met to over-hear, muſt retain a ſolemn look of ſecrecy; and if they ſtood behind the door, there was danger of being ſpied; or their own noiſe might diſcover them, or perhaps ſome ſudden apprehenſion might tempt SABINUS to inſpect. They therefore choſe the void over head, between the roof of the houſe and the covering of the room. Into this lurking hole thruſt themſelves three Roman Senators; a concealment as vile, as the treachery for which they did it, was execrable, and there baſely liſten'd, with their ears laid to the chaſms and crannies. LATIARIS the while found out SABINUS abroad, and, as if full of ſome late diſcoveries which he meant to recount, drew him home, and into the ſubdolous chamber: there he diſplay'd the paſt and inſtant cruelties (for of both there was abundant ſtore) with an accumulation too of freſh and impending terrors. SABINUS was warm'd; he took up his former detail and reſentments, and even with greater prolixity; as the diſcharges of grief once broach'd, are with difficulty reſtrain'd. This was enough: the accuſation was forthwith diſpatch'd; and in a written Memorial to TIBERIUS, theſe Senators open'd the order and dexterity of the fraud, and made him a narrative of their own deteſtable infamy. At no time was the city ever ſeiz'd with deeper anxiety and dread: one relation fear'd another: men were afraid to meet, afraid to diſcourſe: ſilence and diſtruſt extended to ſtrangers and acquaintance, and both were equally avoided: even things dumb and inanimate, roofs and walls, rais'd terror and circumſpection.

THE Emperor ſent preſently a Letter to the Senate, and after the uſual complement and wiſh at the entrance of the new year, fell upon SABINUS: he charg'd him with "having corrupted ſome of his ſervants, and aim'd at his own life;" and in words no wiſe obſcure, requir'd vengeance. The condemnation paſſed without delay, and the condemn'd was dragg'd away to inſtant death. His head was muffled in his robe, and his throat girt with a rope; but, as far as he could exert his voice, he cried, "that with theſe ſolemnities the year began; and ſuch were the victims ſlain to SEJANUS. Which ever way he caſt his eyes, whither ſoever he directed his words, nought appear'd but the effects of univerſal terror, namely, flight and ſolitude: all along, as he paſs'd, the people diſappear'd, the ſtreets were empty, the publick places deſerted: there were ſome who having fled, return'd, and again ſhew'd themſelves; dreading this very thing, that they had diſcover'd dread. "What day, they cried, will be free from executions? when even in the midſt of publick aſſemblies, in the midſt of vows and ſacrifices; a time when cuſtom has eſtabliſh'd a forbearance even from profane words, fetters and halters are yet exercis'd? it is not at random that TIBERIUS has thus done an action ſo publickly odious: it is a ſtudied ar-

“ tifice. He would not be thought to debar the new “ Magiſtrates from their ancient privilege of opening the “ priſons as well as the Temples: SABINUS is therefore, “ during the Feſtival, executed without impriſonment.” There follow'd his Letter of thanks to the Senate, “ for “ having puniſh'd an enemy to the Commonwealth:” he added, “ that he liv'd a life of fear and ſollicitude; in “ conſtant apprehenſions of the ſnares of his enemies;” but nam'd none: however it was no wiſe doubted that AGRIPPINA and NERO were deſign'd.

WERE it not my purpoſe to refer the ſeveral incidents to their proper year; my ſpirit longs to poſtpone the immediate events, and inſtantly to relate the juſt doom of LATIARIS, OPSIUS, and the other contrivers of this perfidious wickedneſs, not only after CALIGULA came to the Empire, but even while TIBERIUS yet reign'd; who, tho' he would not ſuffer the miniſters of his cruelties to be cruſh'd by others; yet, as he generally became ſurfeited with their infamy; and as freſh ones daily offer'd for the ſame vile ſervices, was himſelf wont to hew down the old and over odious: but, we ſhall in its order remember the ſevere fate of theſe and other ſons of blood. Now ASINIUS GALLUS, to whoſe children AGRIPPINA was aunt, mov'd “ that the Prince ſhould be deſir'd to “ explain his fears, and ſuffer the Senate to remove the “ cauſes.” TIBERIUS was fonder of his diſſimulation than of all his other virtues; for ſuch he conceiv'd it: he therefore took it the more heinouſly to find thus laid open what he anxiouſly ſmother'd: but SEJANUS mollified him; not from any love to GALLUS; but to wait the lingering gradations of the Prince's vengeance: for, he knew him ſlow in ripening his wrath; but that after the firſt eruption, he would be ſure to link tragical executions to ſad denunciations. About the ſame time died JULIA, grand-daughter to AUGUSTUS; by him condemn'd for adultery, and baniſh'd to the Iſland Trimetus, not far from the coaſt of Apulia. She there ſuffer'd exile twenty years, ſuſtain'd by relief from AUGUSTA, who having by dark devices diſpatch'd, in the midſt of their hopes and glory, CAIUS and LUCIUS, the brothers of JULIA, made a publick ſhew of compaſſion towards others of the family when under the preſſures of adverſity.

The ſame year the Friſians, a people beyond the Rhine, rebell'd; rather enrag'd by our avarice, than impatient of allegiance. The tribute laid on them by DRUSUS was eaſy, and ſuited to their poor ſubſtance; namely, "to furniſh certain hides for the uſes of the ſoldiers." Nor did any one think or inſiſt on the particular ſize or thickneſs, till OLENNIUS an officer ſent to govern them, having procur'd the large hides of ſome wild bulls, demanded that according to that meaſure the tribute ſhould be paid: a hard task even upon any nation; and to the Germans the more intolerable, as their foreſts abound in beaſts of mighty bulk, and their domeſtick cattle are very ſmall. Yet they bore a ſeries of oppreſſions; firſt they parted with the herds themſelves, next they reſign'd their lands, laſt of all they ſurrender'd their wives and children to bondage. Hence much bitterneſs and anguiſh, and ſad complaints: but as theſe brought no relaxation; being grown deſperate they ſought relief from war. At once they ruſh'd upon the ſoldiers appointed over the tribute, and hang'd them on gibbets: OLENNIUS by flight prevented their vengeance, and found ſanctuary in a neighbouring caſtle, its name Flevum, ſituate on the ſea coaſt, and garriſon'd by a ſtout band of ſoldiers, Romans and Auxiliaries.

LUCIUS APRONIUS, Governor of the lower Germany, as ſoon as he was appriz'd of the inſurrection, call'd down from the upper province, ſome companies of the Legions with the choice auxiliary foot and horſe; and, carrying his army down the Rhine, made a deſcent on the Friſians; the revolters having now abandon'd the ſiege of the caſtle, and march'd back to cover their own country: he therefore, by bridges and cauſways laid over the neighbouring fenns, render'd them paſſable to the body of his forces; and the mean while, having diſcover'd certain fordable places, he commanded the cavalry of the Caninefates and all the German foot in our pay, to ſurround the rear of the enemy; who being already drawn up in battle, repuls'd the ſocial troops and even ſome Legionary horſe ſent to ſupport them: ſo that a freſh aid was order'd of three Cohorts; and then two more; and, after ſome ſpace, the whole cavalry of the Legions: forces ſufficient, had they fallen on in a body; but as they advanced by intervals, they not only inſpir'd no freſh courage into thoſe who were already diſorder'd, but were themſelves carried away by the fright of ſuch as fled. To CETHEGUS LABEO therefore, Legate of the fifth Legion, he committed all the reſt of the auxiliary troops: but he too being hardly beſet, and his men in danger of giving way, diſpatch'd meſſages to implore the intire force of the Legions: thoſe of the fifth ran before the reſt to his relief, and, in a ſharp encounter, repulſing the foe, protected our Cohorts and Cavalry, much enfeebled with wounds. The Roman General neither purſued his vengeance, nor even buried the dead; tho' many Tribunes, many horſe Officers, and many Centurions of the firſt rank, were ſlain. It was afterwards learnt from deſerters, that nine hundred Romans, having the whole night long defended themſelves in the wood call'd Baduhenna, were every man cut off; and that another band of four hundred, having poſſeſs'd themſelves of a ſeat of one CRUPTORIX, once our tributary, and coming to fear being deliver'd into the hands of the enemy, had fallen by the hands of one another.

HENCE the name of the Friſians became renown'd amongſt the Germans; whilſt TIBERIUS diſſembled the publick loſs, that he might truſt no man with the conduct of the war: for the Senate; it was no part of their anxiety, what diſgraces were receiv'd on the extremities of the Empire: domeſtick terror had poſſeſs'd their ſouls; a diſtemper for which they ſought a cure from flattery: inſomuch, that tho' they met upon far different deliberations, yet they decreed "an Altar to Clemency; an Al-"tar to Friendſhip; and round them the Statues of TI-"BERIUS and SEJANUS;" and, with repeated ſupplications, importun'd both "that they would pleaſe to afford "their preſence to the publick." But, with all theſe entreaties, they neither viſited Rome, nor the neighbourhood of Rome: to them, it ſeem'd condeſcenſion ſufficient, juſt to leave the Iſland, and ſuffer themſelves to be ſeen on the ſhore of Campania: thither crowded the Senators, the Knights and great part of the people; all ſollicitous for admiſſion to SEJANUS, who was harder of acceſs than the Emperor; nor was it at all to be obtain'd but by being confederate with him in his counſels and purſuits, or by courting thoſe that were. It was abundantly apparent that his natural arrogance was exalted, from ſurveying that filthy hoſt of ſlaves, ſpread all abroad, and crouching before him: for, at Rome the throng of ſycophants were not ſo diſtinctly perceiv'd: the greatneſs of the City, the ordinary hurry of men, and variety of affairs, render'd it uncertain whither they went, or whence they came. But here, they appear'd in a body, the noble and mean, lying along on the fields and ſhores, days and nights, no diſtinction of ranks, the buſineſs of all the ſame; and bore with equal patience the favour and inſults of his porters; till they were finally forbid to apply even to theſe: ſo that all, whom he condeſcended not to ſee; others whom he daign'd not to ſpeak to, return'd to the City ſtruck and trembling; but ſome exulting with deceitful joy, as over them hung the dreadful iſſue of his tragical friendſhip.

For the reſt; TIBERIUS having here betroth'd to CNEIUS DOMITIUS the younger AGRIPPINA, his granddaughter by GERMANICUS, order'd the nuptials to be celebrated at Rome. In DOMITIUS he preferr'd, beſides the antiquity of his family, his near kindred to the CESARS; for OCTAVIA being his grand-mother, AUGUSTUS was his great uncle.

FIFTH ANNAL.

IN the Conſulſhip of RUBELLIUS and FUSIUS, each ſirnam'd GEMINUS, died JULIA AUGUSTA, the Mother of TIBERIUS, in the extremity of age. She was deſcended from the Claudian houſe; adopted through her father into the Livian family; into the Julian by AUGUSTUS; and both by adoption and deſcent, ſignally noble: her firſt marriage was with TIBERIUS NERO; and by him ſhe had children: her huſband, after the ſurrender of Peruſia, in the Civil War became a fugitive; but, upon peace made between SEXTUS POMPEIUS and the Triumvirate, return'd to Rome. Afterwards, OCTAVIUS CESAR ſmitten with her beauty, ſnatch'd her from her huſband; whether with or againſt her own inclinations, is uncertain; but with ſuch precipitation, that, without ſtaying for her delivery, he married her yet big with child by TIBERIUS. Henceforward ſhe had no iſſue; but, by the marriage of GERMANICUS and AGRIPPINA, her blood came to be mixt with that of AUGUSTUS in their great grand-children. In her domeſtick deportment ſhe conform'd to the venerable model of antiquity; but with more complaiſance than was allow'd by the Ladies of old: an eaſy courteous wife, an ambitious mother, and well comporting with the nice arts of her huſband, and the diſſimulation of her ſon: her funeral was moderate, and her laſt will lay long unfulfill'd: her encomium was pronounc'd in publick by CALIGULA, her grand-ſon, afterwards Emperor.

TIBERIUS by a Letter excus'd himſelf to the Senate for not having paid his laſt offices to his Mother; and, tho' he rioted in private luxury without abatement, pleaded "the multitude of publick affairs." He likewiſe abridg'd the honours decreed to her memory, and, of a large number, admitted but very few: for this reſtriction he pretended modeſty, and added, "that no religious worſhip ſhould be appointed her; for that the contrary was her own choice." Nay, in a part of the ſame Letter, he cenſur'd *feminine friendſhips*; obliquely upbraiding the Conſul FUSIUS, a man highly diſtinguiſh'd by the favour of AUGUSTA, and dexterous to engage and cajole the affections of women; a gay talker, and one accuſtom'd to play upon TIBERIUS with biting ſarcaſms; the impreſſions of which never die in the hearts of Princes.

FROM this moment, the domination wax'd compleatly outrageous and devouring: for while ſhe liv'd, ſome refuge ſtill remain'd, as the obſervance of TIBERIUS towards his Mother was ever inviolate; nor durſt SEJANUS arrogate precedence of the authority of a parent: but now, as let looſe from all reſtraint, they broke out with unbridled fury: ſo that Letters were diſpatch'd avowedly againſt AGRIPPINA and NERO; and as they were read in the Senate ſoon after the death of AUGUSTA, the people believ'd them to have been ſent before and by her ſuppreſs'd. The expreſſions were elaborately bitter; and yet by them no hoſtile purpoſe of taking arms, no endeavour to change the ſtate, was objected to the youth; but only "the love of boys, and other impure pleaſures:" againſt AGRIPPINA he durſt not even feign ſo much; and therefore arraign'd "her haughty looks, her impe-"tuous and ſtubborn ſpirit." The Senate were ſtruck with deep ſilence and affright: but as particular men will always be drawing perſonal favour from publick miſeries, there were ſome who, having no hopes founded upon uprightneſs, demanded that "they ſhould proceed upon the "Letters:" amongſt theſe the formoſt in zeal was COTTA MESSALINUS, with a terrible motion: but, the other leading men, and chiefly the Magiſtrates, were embaraſs'd by fear; for TIBERIUS, tho' he had ſent them a flaming invective, left all the reſt a riddle.

IN the Senate was one JUNIUS RUSTICUS, appointed by the Emperor to keep a Journal of their proceedings, and therefore thought well acquainted with his purpoſes. This man, by ſome fatal impulſe (for he had never before ſhewn any inſtance of magnanimity) or blinded by deceitful policy, while forgetful of preſent and impending dangers, he dreaded future poſſibilities, join'd the party that heſitated, and even warn'd the Conſuls, "not "to begin the debate:" he argued "that in a ſhort mo-

“ ment the higheſt affairs might take a new turn: and “ an interval ought to be allow'd to the old man to “ change his paſſion into remorſe.” At the ſame time, the people, carrying with them the Images of AGRIPPINA and NERO, gather'd about the Senate, and proclaiming their good wiſhes for the proſperity of the Emperor, cried earneſtly, “ that the Letters were counterfeit; “ and, againſt the conſent of the Prince, the doom of “ his family was purſued:” ſo that nothing tragical was that day tranſacted. There were alſo diſpers'd amongſt them ſeveral ſpeeches, ſaid to have been utter'd in Senate by the Conſulars, as their motions and advices againſt SEJANUS; but all fram'd, and with the more petulance as the ſeveral authors exercis'd their ſatyrical wit in the dark. Hence SEJANUS boil'd with greater rage, and hence had a handle for branding the Senate, “ that by them the anguiſh and reſentments of the Prince were deſpis'd: the “ people were revolted; popular and diſaffected harangues “ were publickly read and liſten'd to: new and arbitrary “ acts of Senate were paſs'd and publiſh'd: what more “ remain'd, but to arm the populace and place at their “ head, as leaders and Imperial Commanders, thoſe whoſe “ Images they had already choſen for ſtandards?”

TIBERIUS having therefore repeated his reproaches againſt his grand-ſon and daughter-in-law: having chaſtis'd the people by an edict, and complain'd to the Senate, “ that by the fraud of a ſingle Senator the Impe“ rial dignity ſhould be battled and inſulted, requir'd “ that the whole affair ſhould be left to himſelf, intire “ and untouch'd.” The Senate heſitated no longer, but inſtantly proceeded, not now in truth to decree penalties and capital vengeance; for that was forbid them; but to teſtify “ how ready they were to inflict juſt puniſhments, “ and that they were only interrupted by the power and “ pleaſure of the Prince.” * * * * * * *

[HERE *begins a lamentable chaſm in this Annal for almoſt three years; and by it we have loſt the detail of the moſt remarkable incidents in this reign, the exile of* AGRIPPINA *into the Iſle of Pandataria; of* NERO *into that of Pontia; and the murder of both there by the orders of* TI-

BERIUS; *the conſpiracy and execution of* SEJANUS, *with that of all his friends and dependents: the further wickedneſs of* LIVIA, *and her death.*

UPON this ſubject four and forty ſpeeches were made; ſome few upright, but cramp'd by fear; many ſuited to the ſervile genius of the time ******** "I judg'd that either upon my ſelf it would bring infamy, or upon SEJANUS hatred *** his fortune has "now ſuffer'd a mighty turn; and he who even choſe "him for his ſon-in-law, choſe him for his collegue, forgives himſelf. For others; as they flatter'd his living "pride with the vileneſs and proſtitution of ſlaves; they "now purſue him dead, with the fury of baſe enemies "*** which is the more wretched fate, I can hardly "decide; that of accuſing a friend, or of being accus'd "for ſhewing him friendſhip *** I ſhall riſque no man's "cruelty, I ſhall court no man's mercy; but, free as I "am, and approv'd to my own conſcience, will maſter "danger by preventing it. As to all you preſent; I adjure "you that you do not preſerve my memory in ſorrow, but "rejoice over it, and add me too to the number of thoſe "who, by a noble end, have eſcap'd the ſad view of "publick miſeries."

HE then ſpent part of the day in converſation with thoſe that came to ſee him; receiv'd one, took leave of another, talk'd to all indifferently, as they ſtood about him, with perfect calmneſs and preſence of ſpirit. A throng of company yet remain'd, and, while they all beheld his countenance ſtill eaſy and void of perturbation, and thence believ'd that he meant to live ſome longer ſpace, he fell upon a ſword which under his robe he had conceal'd. Nor did TIBERIUS, after his death, perſecute his memory with any reproach, or blacken him with any crime: whereas he had loaded BLESUS with many and hideous imputations.

NEXT were tried PUBLIUS VITELLIUS, and POMPONIUS SECUNDUS. The former was charg'd by the informers, "that as he preſided over the exchequer, he "had offer'd the publick treaſure, and the whole military cheſt towards compaſſing a revolution." To the other, his accuſer CONSIDIUS, lately Pretor, objected "the friendſhip of ELIUS GALLUS, who, after the execution of SEJANUS, had fled to the gardens of POMPONIUS, as to a moſt faithful ſhelter." Againſt the impending peril there remain'd to neither of the accus'd any aid but from the magnanimity of their brothers, who frankly became their ſureties. However in ſome time, VITELLIUS, after many delays alike diſtracted with the ſlipperineſs of hope and the agonies of fear, call'd for a pen-knife under pretence of writing, and with it prick'd his veins, but timorouſly and without effect; ſo that at laſt he died broken hearted. POMPONIUS, a man of great elegance of manners, and noble wit, bore with equanimity his adverſe fortune, and out-liv'd TIBERIUS.

NOW tho' the rage of the populace was expiring, and tho' moſt men were mollified by former executions; it was determin'd to condemn the other children of SEJANUS. They were therefore carried both to priſon, the boy ſenſible of his impending doom; but the girle ſo ignorant, that ſhe frequently ask'd; "for what offence? "and whither did they drag her? ſhe would do ſo no "more; and they might take the rod and whip her." The Writers of that time relate, "that as it was a thing "unheard, for a virgin to ſuffer capital puniſhment, ſhe "was deflower'd by the executioner juſt before he tied "the rope; and that being both ſtrangled, the tender "bodies of theſe children were caſt into the place where "the carcaſſes of malefactors are expos'd, before they are "flung into the Tiber." ***********

ABOUT the ſame time Greece and Aſia were diſmay'd by a rumour rather vehement than laſting; "that DRUSUS the ſon of GERMANICUS had been ſeen in the "Cyclades, and anon upon the Continent." It was indeed a youth near of the ſame age, accompanied by ſome of the Emperor's freedmen, who, while they own'd him for DRUSUS, meant to enſnare him. His followers were multiplied by the ſplendour of the name, a lure which excited ſuch as were ignorant about him; as the Greeks are ever paſſionate for all things new and wonderful.

THEY therefore imagin'd, and believing their own imaginations, they at the ſame time publiſh'd, "that he had

“ eſcap’d from cuſtody and was proceeding to the armies “ of his father, with them to ſubdue Syria or Egypt.” Already he was ſtrengthen’d by the confluence of the young men, already courted with publick honours, and elated in himſelf with the preſent ſucceſs and foſtering airy hopes, when the ſtory reach’d POPPEUS SABINUS. He was at that juncture engag’d in Macedon, tho’ likewiſe Governor of Greece: to obviate therefore the conſequenees of the rumour, true or falſe, he haſtily paſs’d the bay of Toronis and that of Thermes; next Eubœa, an Iſland of the Egean Sea, and Piræum the port of Athens; then the coaſt of Corinth, and the Streights of the Iſthmus; and, by another ſea, enter’d Nicopolis a Roman colony: there at laſt he learnt, that this counterfeit DRUSUS being artfully queſtion’d, had declar’d himſelf the ſon of MARCUS SILANUS; and that many of his followers having fallen off he had embark’d, as if he meant to ſail to Italy. SABINUS ſent this account to TIBERIUS, and further than this we have found nothing of the origin or iſſue of that affair.

TOWARDS the concluſion of the year, the animoſity of the Conſuls, which had been long heightning, broke out into a flame: for, TRIO ever forward to create himſelf enemies, and an exercis’d pleader, had obliquely cenſur’d “ REGULUS, as ſlothful in cruſhing the inſtruments “ of SEJANUS.” The laſt, a man moderate and inoffenſive, unleſs provok’d, not only repuls’d the charge of his collegue, but arraign’d him as confederate with that traitor, and even ſummon’d him to his trial: many Senators interpos’d; and beſought them, that each would drop his hate tending to the overthrow of both, but they perſiſted threatning and incens’d to the expiration of their Magiſtracy.

SIXTH ANNAL.

CNEIUS DOMITIUS and CAMILLUS SCRIBONIANUS had begun their Conſulſhip, when the Emperor, having croſs'd the channel between Capreæ and Surrentum, ſail'd along the ſhore of Campania; unreſolv'd whether he ſhould proceed to Rome; or counterfeiting a ſhew of coming, becauſe he had determin'd not to come. He often approach'd to the neighbourhood of the City, and even viſited the Gardens upon the Tiber; but at laſt reſumed his old retirement, the gloomy rocks and ſolitude of the ſea, aſham'd of his cruelties, and abominable luſts; in which he rioted ſo outrageouſly, that after the faſhion of Royal Tyrants, the children of ingenuous parentage became the objects of his pollution: nor in them was he ſtruck with a lovely face only, or the graces of their perſons; but in ſome their amiable and childiſh innocence, in others their nobility and the glory of their anceſtors, became the provocatives of his unnatural paſſion. Then likewiſe were devis'd the filthy names, till then unknown, of the *Sellarii* and *Spintriæ*, expreſſing the odious lewdneſs of the place, and the manifold poſtures and methods of proſtitution practis'd in it. For ſupplying his luſt with theſe innocent victims, he entertain'd, in his ſervice profeſs'd procurers, to look them out and carry them off. The willing they encourag'd with preſents, the backward they terrified with threats; and upon ſuch parents or kindred as with-held the infants, they exercis'd force, ſeiſure, and, as upon ſo many captives, every ſpecies of licentious rage.

AT Rome in the beginning of the year, as if the iniquities of LIVIA had been but juſt diſcover'd, and not even long ſince puniſhed, furious orders were paſs'd againſt her Statues too and memory; with another, "that "the effects of SEJANUS ſhould be taken from the pub- "lick treaſury, and placed in that of the Emperor:" as if this vain tranſlation could any wiſe avail the ſtate. And yet ſuch was the motion of theſe great names, the SCIPIOS, the SILANI, and the CASSII; who urg'd it, each almoſt in the ſame words, but all with mighty zeal and earneſtneſs: when all on a ſudden, TAGONIUS GALLUS, while he would be thruſting his own meanneſs amongſt names ſo greatly illuſtrious, became the object of deriſion: for he beſought the Prince "to chuſe a body "of Senators of whom twenty, drawn by lot and under "arms, ſhould wait upon him and defend his perſon, as often "as he enter'd the Senate." He had been weak enough to credit a Letter from the Emperor, requiring "the "guard and protection of one of the Conſuls, that he "might return in ſafety from Capreæ to Rome." TIBERIUS however return'd thanks to the Senate for ſuch an inſtance of affection; but as he was wont to mix pleaſantry with things ſerious, he ask'd, "how was it to be "executed? what Senators were to be choſen? who to "be omitted? whether always the ſame, or a continued "ſucceſſion? whether young Senators, or ſuch as had "borne dignities? whether thoſe who were Magiſtrates, "or thoſe exerciſing no Magiſtracy? moreover what a "becoming figure they would make, grave Senators, "men of the gown, under arms at the entrance of the "Senate! in truth he held not his life of ſuch importance, to have it thus protected by arms." So much in anſwer to TAGONIUS, without aſperity of words; nor did he farther, than this, preſs them to cancell the motion.

But JUNIUS GALLIO eſcap'd not thus. He had propos'd "that the Pretorian ſoldiers, having accompliſh'd "their term of ſervice, ſhould thence acquire the privilege of ſitting in the fourteen rows of the Theatre allotted to the Roman Knights." Upon him TIBERIUS fell with violent wrath, and, as if preſent, demanded, "what buſineſs had he with the ſoldiers? men whoſe "duty bound them to obſerve only the orders of the Emperor, and from the Emperor alone to receive their "rewards. GALLIO had forſooth diſcover'd a recompenſe which had eſcap'd the ſagacity of the deified "AUGUSTUS! Or was it not rather a project ſtarted by "a mercenary of SEJANUS, to raiſe ſedition and diſcord; "a project tending to debauch the rude minds of the "ſoldiers with the ſhew and bait of new honour; to corrupt their diſcipline, and ſet them looſe from military "reſtrictions?" This reward had the ſtudied flattery of GALLIO; who was inſtantly expell'd the Senate, and then Italy: nay it became a charge upon him, that his exile would be too eaſy, having for the place of it choſen Lesbos, an Iſland noble and delightful; he was therefore haled back to Rome and confin'd a priſoner in the houſe of a Magiſtrate. TIBERIUS in the ſame Letter demanded the doom of SEXTUS PACONIANUS, formerly Pretor, to the extreme joy of the Senate, as he was a man bold and miſchievous, one arm'd with ſnares, and continually diving into the purpoſes and ſecret tranſactions of all men; and one choſen by SEJANUS, for plotting the overthrow of CALIGULA. When this was now laid open, the general hate and animoſities long ſince conceiv'd againſt him, broke violently out, and had he not offer'd to make a diſcovery, he had been inſtantly condemn'd to death.

AS the perſon he arraign'd, prov'd to be LATINIUS LATIARIS; the accuſer and the accus'd, two men equally deteſted, adminiſter'd a moſt grateful ſcene. LATIARIS, as I have remember'd, had been the chief in betraying TITIUS SABINUS, and was now the firſt that ſuffer'd. During theſe tranſactions HATERIUS AGRIPPA encounter'd the Conſuls of the preceding year:" how came they "to be ſilent now; they who had impeach'd each other "of treaſon then? in truth, common dread and conſci-"ences equally guilty, ought to be reckon'd the bonds "and articles of their preſent ceſſation. But the fathers "muſt not paſs unobſerv'd what from themſelves they "had heard." It was anſwer'd by REGULUS, "that there "ſtill remain'd time to procure puniſhment, and he would "do it effectually when the Prince ſhould be preſent." TRIO pleaded "the uſual emulation between collegues; "and that what they two had utter'd in the heat of "diſſention, were better blotted out of remembrance." AGRIPPA ſtill perſiſting, SANQUINIUS MAXIMUS, one of the Conſulars, beſought the Senate, "that they would "not thus heighten the anxieties of the Emperor, by "wantonly hunting after matter of freſh aſperity; and "that, where remedies were wanting, he alone was abun-"dantly ſufficient to apply them." Thus was ſafety procur'd to REGULUS, and to TRIO a delay of his doom.

For HATERIUS; he became the more deteſted, ſince emaciated with debauches and lubricity, and protected by his voluptuous ſloth againſt all peril from the Prince's cruelty, he meditated in the midſt of cups and harlots the deſtruction of illuſtrious men.

THE next impeach'd was COTTA MESSALINUS, the author of every the moſt bloody counſel, and thence long and intenſly hated. The firſt opportunity was therefore ſnatch'd to fall upon him with a combination of crimes; as that he had call'd CAIUS CALIGULA by the feminine name of *Caia Caligula*, and branded him with conſtuprations of both kinds; that when he celebrated among the prieſts the birth day of AUGUSTA, he had ſtil'd the entertainment a *funeral ſupper*; and that complaining of the great ſway of MARCUS LEPIDUS, and of LUCIUS ARRUNTIUS, with whom he had a ſuite about money, he had added; "they indeed will be ſup-"ported by the Senate, but I by my little TIBERIUS." Of all this he ſtood expos'd to conviction by men of the firſt rank in Rome; who being earneſt to attack him, he appeal'd to CESAR: from whom ſoon after a Letter was brought in behalf of COTTA; in it he recounted "the beginning of their friendſhip," repeated "his many "good ſervices to himſelf," and deſir'd "that words "perverſly conſtrued, and humorous tales told at an en-"tertainment, might not be wreſted into crimes."

MOST remarkable was the beginning of that Letter; for in theſe words he introduc'd it: "What to write you, "Conſcript Fathers, or in what manner to write, or what "at all not to write at this inſtant; if I can determine, "may all the Deities, Gods and Goddeſſes, doom me "ſtill to more cruel agonies than thoſe under which I "feel my ſelf periſhing daily." So cloſely did the bloody horror of his cruelties and infamy haunt this man of blood, and became his torturers! Nor was it at random what the wiſeſt of all men was wont to affirm, that if the hearts of Tyrants were diſplay'd, in them might be ſeen deadly wounds and gorings, and all the butcheries of fear and rage; ſeeing what the ſeverity of ſtripes is to the body, the ſame to the ſoul is the bitter anguiſh of cruelty, luſt, and execrable purſuits. To TIBERIUS not his Imperial fortune, not his gloomy and inacceſſible ſolitudes could enſure tranquillity; nor exempt him from feeling and even avowing the rack in his breaſt and the avenging furies that purſued him.

AFTER this it was left to the diſcretion of the Senate to proceed as they liſted againſt CECILIANUS the Senator, "who had loaded COTTA with many imputations;" and it was reſolv'd, "to ſubject him to the ſame "penalties inflicted upon ARUSEIUS and SANQUINIUS, "the accuſers of LUCIUS ARRUNTIUS." A more ſignal inſtance of honour than this had never befallen COTTA; who noble in truth, but through luxury indigent, and, for the baſeneſs of his crimes, deteſtable, was by the dignity of this amends equall'd in character to the moſt venerable reputation and virtues of ARRUNTIUS. Thereafter were arraign'd QUINTUS SERVEUS and MINUTIUS THERMUS; SERVEUS formerly Pretor and once the follower of GERMANICUS; MINUTIUS, of the Equeſtrian rank, and tho' diſtinguiſh'd, yet never elated, with the friendſhip of SEJANUS: hence the greater commiſeration upon both. TIBERIUS on the contrary charg'd them "as the leaders and principals in treaſon," and directed CAIUS CESTIUS the elder "to declare to the Senate "what he had written to him." Thus SESTIUS undertook the accuſation. This was the moſt peſtilent calamity of thoſe times, when the illuſtrious chiefs of the Senate degraded themſelves to the vile office of the meaneſt informers: ſome in the face of the ſun, many in the treacherous ways of ſecrecy; and both without regard to the ties of blood or friendſhip; no diſtinction of kinſmen from ſtrangers; none of the familiar from the unacquainted; no means left to diſcover, whether for recent imputations, or for facts cover'd in a courſe of years with oblivion. For words ſpoken in the Forum, ſpoken at entertainments, upon what ſubject ſoever ſpoken, the ſpeakers were accus'd; every one ſtriving to get the ſtart of another, and to arraign his man; ſome for their own protection; but moſt as it were ſmitten with the diſeaſe of informing, and captivated with a common contagion. MINUTIUS and SERVEUS were condemn'd; but to ſave themſelves became evidence: and thus were drawn into the ſame miſhap JULIUS AFRICANUS and SEIUS QUADRATUS; the former from Saintes a City of Gaul; from whence was the other I have not diſcover'd. Neither am I unaware that by moſt Writers the doom and ſufferings of many of the accus'd, are wholly omitted; either weary of the exceſſive multiplicity, or apprehenſive that the tedious recital, which to themſelves prov'd ſurfeiting and melancholy, would with equal irkſomneſs affect their readers. But to me many peculiar paſſages have occur'd deſerving to be known, however not publiſh'd by others.

FOR, at a juncture when all men elſe affected to renounce the character of friends to SEJANUS; a Roman Knight, his name MARCUS TERENTIUS, and then upon his trial on this very account, dar'd to avow it before the Senate in a ſpeech on this wiſe: "in my preſent circum-
"ſtances, to deny the charge were perhaps more expedi-
"ent than to acknowledge it: but, whatever be the re-
"ſult, I will own that I was the friend of SEJANUS, that
"I even ſought to be his friend, and gloried in it when
"I had gain'd his friendſhip. I ſaw him collegue with
"his father STRABO in the command of the Pretorian
"Cohorts, and next governing the ſtate and the ſoldiery
"at once as a Miniſter and a General. His kinſmen and
"friends were cover'd with publick honours; and pre-
"valent with the Prince was every man's credit in pro-
"portion to his intimacy with SEJANUS. Thoſe, on the
"contrary, under his diſpleaſure, were the deſpairing
"objects of perſecution and wretchedneſs. Names and
"inſtances I bring none: but with my ſelf I will vin-
"dicate, and at my own ſingle peril, all thoſe friends of
"his, who, like my ſelf, were guiltleſs of his laſt deſigns.
"SEJANUS the Vulſinian was not the man whom we court-
"ed: no; for the object of our adorations we choſe
"SEJANUS a part of the Claudian, a part of the Julian
"houſe, into which by alliance he was ingrafted; SE-
"JANUS thy ſon-in-law, O CESAR; thy collegue in the
"Conſulſhip, and that SEJANUS who under thee admi-
"niſter'd the Empire. To us it belongs not to judge
"who is he whom above all others thou doſt exalt, nor
"for what cauſes thou haſt exalted him. Upon thee the
"Gods have devolv'd the ſupreme diſpoſal of things, and

“ to us remains the glory of obedience. Facts and things
“ obvious we all behold: we perceive who it is upon
“ whom thou doſt accumulate wealth and honours; who
“ they are that hold and diſtribute the ſupreme terrors
“ and bleſſings of power: and that all theſe were the
“ characteriſticks of SEJANUS, no man will deny. But
“ to pry into the profound thoughts of the Prince, and
“ the counſels which he induſtriouſly hides, is forbidden
“ and hazardous, nor even with hazard can it
“ be effected. Let not, Conſcript Fathers, the laſt day of
“ SEJANUS poſſeſs your minds; that was the day of his
“ fall; remember him for a longer ſpace, the ſpace of
“ ſixteen years proſperous and powerful: a time when we
“ ador'd even ſuch of his retainers as SATRIUS and POMPONIUS,
“ and to be then acquainted with his porters
“ and franchiz'd ſlaves, was eſteem'd a grand honour.
“ What therefore is the reſult? is this defence univerſal,
“ and does it ſerve indifferently all the friends of SEJANUS?
“ far from it: let juſt limits bound it. Let the
“ conſpiracy againſt the ſtate; let the bloody deſigns upon
“ the Prince, be puniſh'd: as to the offices of friendſhip,
“ as to the inſtances of benevolence towards SEJANUS;
“ the ſame meaſure of juſtice will acquit thee CESAR,
“ and us.”

THE magnanimity of the ſpeech, added to the joy, that one was at laſt found, who reaſon'd aloud as in their hearts they did all, produc'd ſuch powerful effect, that his accuſers were for this and other delinquencies, ſentenced to baniſhment or death. Thereafter follow'd Letters from TIBERIUS againſt SEXTUS VESTILIUS formerly Pretor; one whom he had long ſince, as a man exceeding dear to his brother DRUSUS, adopted into the claſs of his friends. The diſpleaſure conceiv'd againſt him aroſe from his either having compos'd an invective againſt the impurities of CALIGULA; or from his having been calumniated to have done it, which being believ'd, he was forbid the Prince's table, and thence purpos'd to die. Having with an aged hand tried the ſteel, and feebly pierced his veins, he bound them up, and by a Memorial beſought TIBERIUS; but receiving a mercileſs anſwer, open'd them again for ever. Next were charg'd with treaſon, all in a band, a band, ANNIUS POLLIO, APPIUS SILANUS, MAMERCUS SCAURUS, CALVISIUS SABINUS, and VINICIANUS added to his father POLLIO; a band of illuſtrious men, all noble in deſcent, ſome diſtinguiſh'd with the firſt dignities. Horror ſeiz'd the fathers; for what Senator was exempt from friendſhip or alliance with ſo many men of ſuch ſignal quality? but one of the evidence, his name CELSUS, Tribune of a City-Cohort, acquitted APPIUS and CALVISIUS: the trial of POLLIO, VINICIANUS, and SCAURUS was by the Emperor poſtpon'd till he could himſelf attend it in Senate. Upon SCAURUS however he beſtow'd ſome tragical and boding notes of vengeance.

NOR could even women eſcape the rage of accuſations. With deſigns to uſurp the government they could not be charg'd; their tears are therefore made treaſon, and VITIA, Mother to FUSIUS GEMINUS, once Conſul, ſentenced to execution in old age, for bewailing the blood of her ſon. Theſe were the proceedings in Senate: nor was the Emperor employ'd elſewhere in different ſtrains of cruelty: by him VESCULARIUS FLACCUS and JULIUS MARINUS were doom'd to death; two of his oldeſt friends, men who had follow'd him to Rhodes, and never forſook him at Capreæ. VESCULARIUS was his ſecret inter-agent in the plot againſt LIBO; and by the co-operation of MARINUS had SEJANUS effected the ruin of CURTIUS ATTICUS. Hence the more joy follow'd their fall, to ſee them overtaken by precedents of their own traiterous contriving. About the ſame time died LUCIUS PISO, the Pontiff; and, by a felicity, then rare in ſo much ſplendour and elevation, died by the courſe of nature. The author he never himſelf was of any ſervile motion, and ever wiſe in moderating ſuch motions from others, where neceſſity enforced his aſſent. That his father had ſuſtain'd the ſublime office of Cenſor, I have before remember'd: he himſelf liv'd to fourſcore years, and for his warlike feats in Thrace, had obtain'd the glory of Triumph. But from hence aroſe his moſt diſtinguiſh'd glory, that being created Governor of Rome, a juriſdiction newly inſtituted, and the more difficult, as not yet ſettled into publick reverence, he temper'd it wonderfully and poſſeſs'd it long.

For, of old, to ſupply the abſence of the Kings, and afterwards of the Conſuls, that the City might not remain without a ruler, a temporary Magiſtrate was appointed to adminiſter juſtice, and watch over exigencies: and it is ſaid that by ROMULUS was deputed DENTER ROMULIUS; NUMA MARCIUS by TULLUS HOSTILIUS; and by TARQUIN the proud, SPURIUS LUCRETIUS. The ſame delegation was made by the Conſuls; and there remains ſtill a ſhadow of the old inſtitution, when during the Latin Feſtival, one is authoriz'd to diſcharge the Conſular function. Moreover, AUGUSTUS during the Civil Wars, committed to CILNIUS MECENAS of the Equeſtrian Order, the Government of Rome and of all Italy. Afterwards, when ſole maſter of the Empire, and mov'd by the immenſe multitude of people and the ſlowneſs of relief from the Laws, he choſe a Conſular to bridle the licentiouſneſs of the ſlaves, and to awe ſuch turbulent citizens as are only quiet from the dread of chaſtiſement. MESSALA CORVINUS was the firſt inveſted with this authority, and in a few days diſmiſs'd, as a man inſufficient to diſcharge it. It was then fill'd by TAURUS STATILIUS, who, tho' very ancient, ſuſtain'd it with ſignal honour. After him PISO held it for twenty years, with a credit ſo high and uninterrupted, that he was diſtinguiſh'd with a publick funeral, by decree of the Senate.

A motion was thereafter made in Senate by QUINCTILIANUS, Tribune of the people, concerning a Book of the Sybil, which CANINIUS GALLUS, one of the College of fifteen, had pray'd "might be receiv'd by a decree "amongſt the reſt of that Propheteſs." The Decree paſs'd without oppoſition, but was follow'd by Letters from TIBERIUS. In them having gently chid the Tribune, "as "young and therefore unskill'd in the ancient uſages," he upbraided GALLUS, "that he who was ſo long prac-"tis'd in the ſcience of ſacred ceremonies, ſhould with-"out taking the opinion of his own College, without the "uſual reading and deliberation with the other Prieſts, "deal, by ſurprize, with a thin Senate, to admit a pro-"phetick Book of an incertain author." He alſo advertis'd them "of the conduct of AUGUSTUS, who, to ſup-"preſs the multitude of fictious Predictions every where "publiſh'd under the ſolemn name of the Sybil, had ordain'd, that within a preciſe day, they ſhould be carried "to the City-Pretor; and made it unlawful to keep them "in private hands." The ſame had likewiſe been decreed by our anceſtors, when after the burning of the Capitol in the Social War, the Rhimes of the Sybil (whether there were but one, or more) were every where ſought, in Samos, Ilium, and Erythræ, through Africa too and Sicily and all the Roman Colonies, with injunctions to the Prieſts, that, as far as human wit could enable them, they would ſeparate the genuine. Therefore, upon this occaſion alſo, the Book was ſubjected to the inſpection of the Quindecemvirate.

UNDER the ſame Conſuls, the dearth of corn had nigh rais'd a ſedition. The populace for many days urg'd, their wants and demands in the publick Theatre, with a licentiouſneſs towards the Emperor, higher than uſual. He was alarm'd with this bold ſpirit, and cenſur'd the Magiſtrates and Senate, "that they had not by the publick authority quell'd the people." He recounted "the continued ſupplies of grain which he had caus'd "to be imported; from what provinces, and in how much "greater abundance than thoſe procur'd by AUGUSTUS." So that for correcting the populace, a decree paſs'd fram'd in the ſtrain of ancient ſeverity: nor leſs vigorous was the edict publiſh'd by the Conſuls. His own ſilence, which he hop'd would be taken by the people as an inſtance of moderation, was by them imputed to his pride.

IN the end of the year GEMINIUS, POMPEIUS, and JULIUS CELSUS the Tribune, all Roman Knights, were for a conſpiracy ſentenc'd to the pains of treaſon. Of theſe GEMINIUS had by prodigal expence, and voluptuous living, gain'd the friendſhip of SEJANUS, but never any participation in his counſels. CELSUS, as he lay in fetters, ſtretch'd his chain over his head, and by vehement ſtraining againſt it, broke his neck. But over RUBRIUS FABATUS a guard was ſet; as to him it was objected, that deſpairing of the Roman State, he meant to fly for refuge to the Parthians. He was, in truth, apprehended in the Streights of Sicily, and when by a Centurion haled back to Rome, he aſſign'd no ſatisfactory motives for ſo long a voyage. He remain'd however unhurt, through oblivion rather than mercy.

In the Conſulſhip of SERVIUS GALBA and LUCIUS SYLLA, TIBERIUS diſpos'd of his grand-daughters. He had long deliberated upon whom to beſtow them; and now the young Ladies were of age, he choſe for their husbands LUCIUS CASSIUS and MARCUS VINICIUS. The laſt was originally from Cagli a Roman colony in Campania, and of an Equeſtrian family; but his father and grand-father had been Conſuls; himſelf of a gentle temper and polite eloquence. CASSIUS ſprung from a Plebeian ſtock, but ancient and honourable, was brought up under the ſtriſt tuition of his father, and more admir'd for the eaſineſs than vigour of his ſpirit. To him the Emperor married DRUSILLA, and to VINICIUS JULIA; both daughters of GERMANICUS; and upon this ſubject wrote to the Senate with a brief commendation of the young men. Then accounting for his abſence by cauſes extremely foreign, he proceeded to conſiderations more weighty; what animoſities and hate upon himſelf he had drawn by his zeal for the Republick; and deſir'd, "that MACRO, Captain of his Guards, with ſome "few Tribunes and Centurions might always accompany him into the Senate." To this purpoſe an ordinance paſſed, copious, and without limitation as to number or condition: yet ſo far was TIBERIUS from coming near the publick deliberations there, that he never enter'd the walls of Rome: even in the feint approaches which he made, he choſe chiefly crooked and ſolitary ways, heſitating, guilty, and flying his country.

In the mean while, the whole band of accuſers broke looſe upon thoſe who augmented their wealth by Uſury, in contradiction to a Law of CESAR the Dictator, "for "aſcertaining the terms of lending money, and holding "mortgages in Italy;" a Law wax'd long ſince obſolete, through the ſelfiſh paſſions of men, ſacrificing publick good to private gain. Uſury was, in truth, an inveterate evil in Rome, and the eternal cauſe of civil diſcord and ſeditions, and therefore reſtrain'd even in ancient times, while the publick manners were not yet greatly corrupted. For, firſt it was ordain'd by a Law of the twelve

Tables, “ that no man ſhould take higher Intereſt than “ twelve in the hundred;” when, before, it was exacted at the pleaſure of the rich. Afterwards by a regulation of the Tribunes it was reduced to ſix, and at laſt was quite aboliſh'd. By the people too repeated Statutes were made, for obviating all eluſions, which by whatever frequent expedients repreſs'd, were yet through wonderful devices ſtill ſpringing up afreſh. GRACCHUS the Pretor was therefore now appointed to enquire into the complaints and allegations of the accuſers; but, appall'd with the multitude of thoſe threaten'd by the accuſation, he had recourſe to the Senate. The fathers alſo were diſmay'd (for of this fault not a ſoul was guiltleſs) and ſought and obtain'd impunity from the Prince; and a year and ſix months were granted for ballancing all accounts between debtors and creditors, agreeably to the direction of the Law.

HENCE a great ſcarcity of money: for, beſides that all debts were at once call'd in; ſo many delinquents were condemn'd, that by the ſale of their effects, the current coin was ſwallow'd up in the publick treaſury, or in that of the Emperor. Againſt this ſtagnation, the Senate had provided, “ that two thirds of the debts ſhould by every “ creditor be laid out upon lands in Italy.” But the creditors warn'd in the whole; nor could the debtors without breach of faith divide the payment. So that at firſt, meetings and entreaties were tried; and at laſt it was conteſted before the Pretor. And the project applied as a remedy; namely, that the debtor ſhould ſell, and the creditor buy, had a contrary operation: for the uſurers hoarded up all their treaſure for purchaſing of lands, and the plenty of eſtates to be ſold, miſerably ſinking the price; the more men were indebted, the more difficult they found it to ſell. Many were utterly ſtript of their fortunes; and the ruin of their private patrimony drew head-long with it that of their reputation and all publick preferment. The deſtruction was going on, when the Emperor adminiſter'd relief, by lending a hundred thouſand great ſeſterces for three years without intereſt, provided each borrower pawn'd to the people double the value in inheritance. Thus was credit reſtor'd; and by degrees private lenders too were found: ſo that the order of Senate enjoining the purchaſe of lands, was no longer obſerv'd; like moſt other reformations, keen in the beginning, and at laſt ſlighted.

ROME was next re-viſited with her former terrors, and CONSIDIUS PROCULUS ſuddenly queſtion'd for treaſon. While he celebrated his birth day, void of every apprehenſion, he was hurried to the Senate, and underwent in the ſame inſtant the ſentence and the pains of death. SANCIA too his ſiſter was interdicted fire and water at the accuſation of QUINTUS POMPONIUS; a man of turbulent temper, who pretended "that he follow'd theſe "and the like practices, to ingratiate himſelf with TIBERIUS, and thence to obviate the fate which threaten'd "his brother POMPONIUS SECUNDUS." POMPEIA MACRINA was alſo ſentenc'd to exile; ſhe whoſe husband ARGOLICUS and his father DACO, two of the prime Nobility of Greece, had already fallen by the cruelty of TIBERIUS. Her father an illuſtrious Roman Knight, and her brother formerly Pretor, when they ſaw their own haſtening doom, ſlew themſelves. The crime imputed to them was, "that their grand-father, THEOPHANES "of Mytelene, had been one of the confidents of POMPEY the Great; and that to THEOPHANES, when dead "the flattering Greeks had paid divine honours."

THESE were follow'd by SEXTUS MARIUS, the moſt wealthy man of Spain. He was accus'd of inceſt with his daughter, and thrown head-long from the Tarpeian rock: but, as an indiſputable proof that his abundant riches procur'd his bane, his mines of gold, tho' forfeited to the publick, were by TIBERIUS appropriated to himſelf. His cruelty at laſt, being but inflam'd by inceſſant executions and blood, all thoſe kept in priſon under accuſation of any attachment to SEJANUS, were by his command put to the ſlaughter. Expos'd to the ſun lay the ſad monuments of the mighty butchery; thoſe of every ſex and age; the illuſtrious and the mean; their carcaſſes ignominiouſly thrown, apart or on heaps: neither was it permitted to their ſurviving friends or kindred, to approach them, to bewail them, nor even any longer to behold them. But, round the dead, Guards were placed, who watched faces and mark'd the ſigns of ſorrow; and, as the bodies putrified, ſaw them dragg'd to the Tyber; where they floated in the ſtream, or were driven upon the banks, no man daring to burn them, none to touch them. The force of fear had cut off the intercourſes of humanity; and in proportion to the growth of tyranny, every ſymptom of commiſeration was baniſh'd.

About the ſame time, CLAUDIA daughter to MARCUS SILANUS was given in marriage to CALIGULA, who had accompanied his grand-father to Capreæ, having always hid under a ſubdolous guiſe of modeſty, his ſavage and inhuman ſpirit: even upon the condemnation of his Mother, even for the exile of his Brothers, not a word eſcap'd him, not a ſigh, nor groan. So blindly obſervant of TIBERIUS, that he ſtudied the bent of his temper and ſeem'd to poſſeſs it; practis'd his looks, imitated the change and faſhion of his dreſs, and affected his words and manner of expreſſion. Hence the obſervation of PASSIENUS the Orator, grew afterwards famous, "that never "liv'd a better ſlave nor a worſe maſter." Neither would I omit the preſage of TIBERIUS concerning GALBA, then Conſul. Having ſent for him and ſifted him upon ſeveral ſubjects, he at laſt told him in Greek, "and thou, "GALBA, ſhalt hereafter taſte of Empire;" ſignifying his late and ſhort ſovereignty. This he utter'd from his skill in Aſtrology, which at Rhodes he had leiſure to learn, and THRASULLUS for his teacher, whoſe capacity he prov'd by this ſollowing trial.

As often as he conſulted this way concerning any affair, he retir'd to the roof of the houſe, attended by one freedman truſted with the ſecret. This man ſtrong of body, but deſtitute of letters, guided along the Aſtrologer, whoſe art TIBERIUS meant to try, over ſolitary precipices (for upon a rock the houſe ſtood) and, as he return'd, if any ſuſpicion aroſe that his predictions were vain, or that the author deſign'd fraud, caſt him headlong into the ſea, to prevent his making diſcoveries. THRASULLUS being therefore led over the ſame rocks, and minutely conſulted, his anſwers were full, and ſtruck TIBERIUS; as approaching Empire and many future revolutions were ſpecifically foretold him. The artiſt was then queſtion'd, "whether he had calculated his own nativity, "and thence preſag'd what was to befall him that ſame "year, nay that very day?" THRASULLUS ſurveying the poſitions of the ſtars, and calculating their aſpects, began at firſt to heſitate, then to quake, and the more he meditated, being more and more diſmay'd with wonder and dread, he at laſt cried out, "that over him juſt then hung "a boding danger and well nigh fatal." Forthwith TIBERIUS embraced him, congratulated "him upon his "foreſight of perils, and his ſecurity from them;" and eſteeming his predictions as ſo many Oracles, held him thenceforward in the rank of his moſt intimate friends.

FOR my ſelf, while I liſten to theſe and the like relations, my judgment wavers, whether things human are in their courſe and rotation determin'd by Fate and immutable neceſſity, or left to roll at random. For upon this ſubject the wiſeſt of the ancients and thoſe addicted to their Sects, are of oppoſite ſentiments. Many are of opinion "that to the Gods neither the generation of us men "nor our death, and in truth neither men nor the ac- "tions of men, are of any importance or concernment: "and thence ſuch numberleſs calamities afflict the upright, "while pleaſure and proſperity ſurround the wicked." Others hold the contrary poſition, and believe "a Fate to "preſide over events; a fate however not reſulting "from wandring ſtars, but coeval with the firſt princi- "ples of things, and operating by the continued con- "nection of natural cauſes. Yet their Philoſophy leaves "our courſe of life in our own free option; but that af- "ter the choice is made, the chain of conſequences is "inevitable: neither is that good or evil which paſſes for "ſuch in the eſtimation of the vulgar: many who ſeem "wounded with adverſity are yet happy; numbers that "wallow in wealth, are yet moſt wretched: ſince the "firſt often bear with magnanimity the blows of fortune; "and the latter abuſe her bounty in baneful purſuits." For the reſt, it is common to multitudes of men "to "have each their whole future fortunes determin'd from "the moment of their birth: or if ſome events thwart the "prediction, it is through the miſtakes of ſuch as pro- "nounce at random, and thence debaſe the credit of an "art, which, both in ages paſt and our own, hath given

“ ſignal inſtances of its certainty.” For, to avoid lengthening this digreſſion, I ſhall remember in its order, how by the ſon of this ſame THRASULLUS the Empire was predicted to NERO.

DURING the ſame Conſulſhip flew abroad the death of ASINIUS GALLUS: that he periſh'd through famine, was undoubted; but whether of his own accord, or by conſtraint, was held uncertain. The pleaſure of the Emperor being conſulted, “ whether he would ſuffer him “ to be buried;” he was not aſham'd to grant ſuch a piece of mock mercy, nor even to blame the anticipations of caſualty, which had withdrawn the criminal, before he was publickly convicted: as if during three intermediate years between his accuſation and his death, there wanted time for the trial of an ancient Conſular, and the father of ſo many Conſulars. Next periſh'd DRUSUS, condemn'd by his grand-father to be ſtarv'd; but by gnawing the weeds upon which he lay, he by that miſerable nouriſhment protracted life the ſpace of nine days. Some Authors relate, that, in caſe SEJANUS had reſiſted and taken arms, MACRO had inſtructions to draw the young man out of confinement (for he was kept in the palace) and ſet him at the head of the people: afterwards becauſe a report ran, “ that the Emperor was about to be recon-“ cil'd to his daughter-in-law and grand-ſon;” he choſe rather to gratify himſelf by cruelty, than the publick by relenting.

TIBERIUS not ſatiated with the death of DRUSUS, even after death purſued him with cruel invectives, and, in a Letter to the Senate, charg'd him with “ a body “ foul with proſtitution; with a ſpirit breathing deſtruc-“ tion to his own family, and rage againſt the Repub-“ lick;” and order'd to be recited “ the Minutes of his “ words and actions, which had been long and daily re-“ giſter'd.” A proceeding more black with horror could not be deviſ'd! That for ſo many years there ſhould be thoſe expreſly appointed who were to note down his looks, his groans, his ſecret and extorted murmurs; that his grand-father ſhould delight to hear the treacherous detail, to read it, and to the publick expoſe it, would appear a ſeries of fraud, meanneſs and amazement beyond all meaſure of faith, were it not for the Letters of ACTIUS the Centurion, and DIDYMUS the freedman; who in them declare, particularly, the names of the ſlaves ſet purpoſely to abuſe and provoke DRUSUS, with the ſeveral parts they acted; how one ſtruck him going out of his chamber, and how another fill'd him with terrors and diſmay. The Centurion too repeated, as matter of glory, his own language to DRUSUS, language full of outrage and barbarity, with the words utter'd by him under the agonies of famine; that, at firſt, feigning diſorder of ſpirit, he vented, in the ſtile of a madman, diſmal denunciations againſt TIBERIUS; but after all hopes of life had forſaken him, then, in ſteady and deliberate imprecations, he invok'd the direful vengeance of the Gods, "that as he had "ſlaughter'd his ſon's wife, ſlaughter'd the ſon of his "brother, and his ſon's ſons, and with ſlaughters had "fill'd his whole houſe; ſo they would in juſtice to the "anceſtors of the ſlain, in juſtice to their poſterity, doom "him to the dreadful penalties of ſo many murders." The Senators, in truth, upon this rais'd a mighty dinn, under colour of deteſting theſe imprecations: but it was dread which poſſeſs'd them, and amazement, that he who had been once ſo dark in the practice of wickedneſs, and ſo ſubtle in the concealment of his bloody ſpirit, was arriv'd at ſuch an utter inſenſibility of ſhame, that he could thus remove, as it were, the covert of the walls, and repreſent his own grandſon under the ignominious chaſtiſement of a Centurion, torn by the barbarous ſtripes of ſlaves, and imploring in vain the laſt ſuſtenance of life.

BEFORE the impreſſions of this grief were worn away, the death of AGRIPPINA was publiſh'd. I ſuppoſe ſhe had liv'd thus long upon the hopes which from the execution of SEJANUS ſhe had conceiv'd; but, feeling afterwards no relaxation of cruelty, death grew her choice: unleſs ſhe were bereav'd of nouriſhment, and her deceaſe feign'd to have been of her own ſeeking. For, TIBERIUS rag'd againſt her with abominable imputations, reproaching her "with lewdneſs; as the adultreſs of ASINIUS GALLUS; "and that upon his death ſhe became weary of life." But theſe were none of her crimes: AGRIPPINA impatient of an equal lot, and eager for rule, had thence sacrificed

crificed to maſculine ambition all the paſſions and vices of women. The Emperor added, "that ſhe departed "the ſame day on which SEJANUS had ſuffer'd as a "traitor two years before, and that the ſame ought to "be perpetuated by a publick memorial." Nay, he boaſted of his clemency, in "that ſhe had not been ſtrangled, "and her body caſt into the charnel of malefactors." For this, as for an inſtance of mercy the Senate ſolemnly thank'd him, and decreed "that, on the ſeventeenth of "October, the day of both their deaths, a yearly offer- "ing ſhould be conſecrated to Jupiter for ever."

NOT long after, COCCEIUS NERVA, in full proſperity of fortune, in perfect vigour of body, form'd a purpoſe of dying. As he was the inceſſant companion of the Prince, and accompliſh'd in the knowledge of all Laws divine and humane, TIBERIUS having learnt his deſign, was earneſt to diſſuade him, examin'd his motives, join'd entreaties, and even declar'd, "how grievous to his own "ſpirit it would prove, how grievous to his reputation, "if the neareſt of his friends ſhould relinquiſh life, without "any cauſe for dying." NERVA rejected his reaſoning, and compleated his purpoſe by abſtinence. It was alledg'd by ſuch as knew his thoughts, that the more he ſaw into the dreadful ſource and increaſe of publick miſeries, the more tranſported with indignation and fear, he reſolv'd to make an honeſt end, in the bloom of his integrity, e'er his life and credit were aſſaulted. Moreover the fall of AGRIPPINA, by a reverſe hardly credible, procur'd that of PLANCINA. She was formerly married to CNEIUS PISO; and, tho' ſhe exulted publickly for the death of GERMANICUS, yet when PISO fell, ſhe was protected by the ſollicitations of AUGUSTA, nor leſs by the known animoſity of AGRIPPINA. But as favour and hate were now withdrawn, juſtice prevail'd, and being queſtion'd for crimes long ſince ſufficiently manifeſt, ſhe executed with her own hand that vengeance which was rather too ſlow than too ſevere.

WHILE the City yet bewail'd ſo many tragical deaths, it was an acceſſion to the publick affliction, that JULIA the daughter of DRUSUS and lately the wife of NERO, was eſpous'd, to RUBELLIUS BLANDUS, whoſe grandfather

father was remember'd by many to have been only a Roman Knight from Tibur. At the iſſue of the year, happen'd the death of ELIUS LAMIA, and was celebrated with a publick funeral. For his laſt employment, he was Governour of Rome; having been at length diſcharg'd from the mock adminiſtration of Syria, which he was never ſuffer'd to viſit. In his deſcent he was noble, enjoy'd a lively old age, and upon his character was deriv'd freſh glory from the with-holding of his Province from him. As POMPONIUS FLACCUS Propretor of Syria, died ſometime after, there arriv'd Letters from TIBERIUS. In them he complain'd "that all the Senators of diſtinguiſh'd "name, and qualified to command Armies, refus'd that "office; hence he was reduced to the neceſſity of entrea"ties, to engage ſome of the Conſulars to undertake the "rule of provinces." He thought fit to forget ARRUNTIUS, Governor of Spain, already for ten years detain'd at Rome. The ſame year alſo died MARCUS LEPIDUS, of whoſe wiſdom and moderation I have in the former Books inſerted abundant inſtances. Nor does it require more room here to diſplay his nobility, ſince his race was that of the EMILII, a race fertile in good citizens; and even thoſe of the ſame family who laps'd into corruption, continued ſtill to be diſtinguiſh'd by their illuſtrious dignities and fortune.

IN the Conſulſhip of PAULUS FABIUS and LUCIUS VITELLIUS, after a long viciſſitude of ages, the Phenix arriv'd in Egypt, and furniſh'd the moſt learned of the natives and Greeks with matter of large and various obſervations concerning that miraculous bird. The circumſtances in which they agree, with many others, that, however diſputed, deſerve to be known, claim a recital here. That it is a creature ſacred to the Sun, and in the faſhion of its head, and diverſity of feathers, diſtinct from other birds, all who have deſcrib'd its figure, are agreed; about the length of its life, relations vary. It is by the vulgar tradition fix'd at five hundred years: but there are thoſe who extend it to one thouſand four hundred and ſixty one; and aſſert that the three former Phenixes appear'd in reigns greatly diſtant, the firſt under SESOSTRIS, the next under AMASIS; and that one was ſeen under PTOLOMY the third King of Egypt of the Macedonian race, and flew to the City of Heliopolis, accompanied by a vaſt hoſt of other birds gazing upon the wonderful ſtranger. But theſe are, in truth, the obſcure accounts of antiquity: between PTOLOMY and TIBERIUS the interval was ſhorter, not two hundred and fifty years: hence ſome have believ'd that the preſent was a ſpurious Phenix, and deriv'd not its origin from the territories of Arabia, ſince it obſerv'd nothing of the inſtinct which ancient tradition attributes to the genuine: for that the latter having compleated his courſe of years, juſt before his death builds a neſt in his native land, and upon it ſheds a generative power, from whence ariſes a young one, whoſe firſt care, when he is grown, is to bury his father: neither does he undertake it unadviſedly, but by collecting and fetching loads of myrrhe, tries his ſtrength in great journies; and as ſoon as he finds himſelf equal to the burden, and fit for the long flight, he rears upon his back his father's body, carries it quite to the altar of the Sun, and then flies away. Theſe are uncertain tales, and their uncertainty heighten'd by fables; but that this bird has been ſometimes ſeen in Egypt, is not queſtion'd.

AT Rome, as the courſe of ſlaughter continued unrelenting, POMPONIUS LABEO, whom I have remember'd to have been Governour of Mœſia, choſe by opening his veins to let out his own blood; as by his example did his wife PAXEA hers. Such efficacy had the terror of falling by the executioner, that to eſcape him, deaths of this ſort were readily undergone. Beſides that they who ſtaid to be ſentenced, forfeited their eſtates with their lives, and were debarr'd the rights of burial: of ſuch on the contrary as anticipated condemnation, the bodies were interr'd, and their wills remain'd in force. The motive this and price of diſpatch! TIBERIUS, however, in a Letter to the Senate, argued, "that it was the uſage of our an-" ceſtors, when they would renounce friendſhip, to for-" bid the perſon obnoxious their houſe, and by it ſhut " up all intercourſe; a uſage repeated by himſelf towards " LABEO: whereas LABEO, who was charg'd with male-" adminiſtration, and other crimes, had now, by leaving " upon the Prince the odium of his death, ſought a veil

" to his own guilt; and thence falſly terrified his wife, " to whom, however criminal, no puniſhment was meant." MAMERCUS SCAURUS was thereafter queſtion'd afreſh, a man of ſignal quality, a noble Orator, but profligate liver. In his overthrow, the friendſhip of SEJANUS had no ſhare, but an engine no leſs potent to deſtroy, the enmity of MACRO, who purſued, but with more ſubtlety, the ſame deprav'd politicks. He was furniſh'd with a handle from a Tragedy compos'd by SCAURUS, in which were ſome lines capable of being pointed againſt TIBERIUS. But by the accuſers, SERVILIUS and CORNELIUS, the crimes objected were thoſe of " adultery with LIVIA, " and the myſteries of magick." SCAURUS, as became the magnanimity of the ancient EMILII, prevented condemnation by the perſuaſion of SEXTIA his wife, who animated him to die and died with him.

AND yet the accuſers, when opportunity occurr'd, were ſurrender'd to vengeance; as were this ſame SERVILIUS and CORNELIUS, men become famous by the doom of SCAURUS; but for accepting from VARIUS LIGUR a bribe to drop proſecution, they were interdicted fire and water, and exil'd into different Iſlands. ABUDIUS RUSO too, once Edile, whilſt he brought a charge againſt LENTULUS GETULICUS, under whom he had led a Legion, " that he had eſpous'd his daughter to a ſon of SEJANUS;" was himſelf condemn'd and baniſh'd Rome. GETULICUS was at this time Commander of the Legions in upper Germany, and by them wonderfully belov'd, for his unbounded clemency and diſcipline void of rigour. Neither was he unacceptable to the neighbouring army, thro' his intereſt in LUCIUS APRONIUS his father-in-law. Hence he was univerſally believ'd to have by a Letter repreſented to the Emperor, " that by no choice of his own had " he join'd affinity with SEJANUS, but in compliance " with the counſel of TIBERIUS, and was as liable as " TIBERIUS to be deceiv'd; nor ought one and the ſame " error to paſs unblam'd in the Prince only, and upon " all others draw down deadly vengeance. For his own " faith; it was pure and inviolate, and, if againſt him " no plots were fram'd, would continue unſhaken. A " ſucceſſor he would receive as no other than the herald

" of death. It remain'd therefore that between them two " they ſhould as it were eſtabliſh a league, by which the " Prince ſhould ſtill enjoy all the reſt of the Empire, and " he himſelf always retain his province." This proceeding, however amazing, deriv'd credit from hence, that he only of all that were allied to SEJANUS, remain'd in ſafety, and even in high favour. TIBERIUS conſider'd himſelf under the preſſure of publick hatred, under the weight of extreme age; and that more by reputation than force his authority was upheld.

IN the Conſulſhip of CAIUS SESTIUS and MARCUS SERVILIUS, there came to Rome ſome noble Parthians, unknown to ARTABANUS their King. He had formerly, through dread of GERMANICUS, reign'd with humanity towards his own people, and kept his faith with the Romans; but, afterwards treated us with arrogance, and his ſubjects with cruelty. His confidence grew from the ſucceſsful wars which he had wag'd againſt the circumjacent nations; from his contempt of TIBERIUS, as enfeebled thro' age and unwarlike, and from a greedy paſſion to poſſeſs ARMENIA; over which Kingdom, upon the death of ARTAXIAS, he eſtabliſh'd ARSACES his eldeſt ſon. This uſurpation was follow'd by an inſult, having ſent to reclaim " the treaſure left by VONONES in Syria and Cilicia;" as alſo " the re-eſtabliſhment of the ancient " boundaries between the Perſians and Macedonians:" he even threaten'd in the fulneſs of vain glory, " that " he would invade all the countries poſſeſs'd by CYRUS, " and ſince by ALEXANDER." Of this ſecret embaſſy from the Parthians the moſt powerful promoter was SINNACES, of a noble family and correſpondent wealth; and, next to him in authority ABDUS the Eunuch, a character no wiſe deſpis'd amongſt the Barbarians, but even entruſted with power. Theſe two in concert with other Grandees, whom they had engaged in the combination, ſent to Rome for PHRAHATES, ſon of King PHRAHATES; becauſe, of all the race of the ARSACIDES, many being murder'd by ARTABANUS, and the reſt too young, none elſe remain'd to whom they could commit the State. The deputies repreſented, " that there needed no more " than a name and a leader; no more than a deſcendent "of ARSACES eſpous'd by CESAR, and beheld upon the "banks of the Euphrates."

IT was what TIBERIUS wiſh'd. He inveſted PHRAHATES in the pomp of Royalty, and diſpatch'd him with military ſtate to recover his father's Monarchy; retaining however his old maxims, ſtill to tranſact foreign affairs by artifice and counſels only, and warily avoid engaging in war. ARTABANUS the while having learnt the combination, was perplex'd between different paſſions: now fear alarm'd and retarded him; then thirſt of revenge fired and excited him. By the Barbarians too diſſimulation and delay are reckon'd ſervile meaſures; but inſtantly to ſatiate preſent paſſion, the ſpirit and part of Royalty. Intereſt however prevail'd: thus he invited ABDUS to a banquet, and ſecur'd him by a lingring poiſon: SINNACES he managed by preſents and diſſimulation, and engaged him in the entanglements of buſineſs. Now PHRAHATES arriving in Syria, and there diſuſing the Roman dreſs and œconomy, to which for ſo many years he had been inur'd, to reſume the cuſtoms of the Parthians, prov'd unequal to the precipitate change, which brought a malady upon him that carried him off. But TIBERIUS forſook not the enterprize: to ARTABANUS he ſubſtituted TIRIDATES a freſh competitor, one of the ſame blood. For the recovery of Armenia he choſe MITHRIDATES, and reconcil'd him to his brother PHARASMANES, who inherited the ſovereignty of Iberia; and over the Eaſt, for executing all his ſchemes there, he placed LUCIUS VITELLIUS. I am not unaware that in Rome this man bore an ill eſtimation, and that many inſtances of depravity are related of him: yet in governing of Provinces he acted with primitive uprightneſs and virtue. It was after his return from thence, that his dread of CALIGULA, and then his intimacy with CLAUDIUS, transform'd him into ſuch an odious ſlave, that he is reckon'd to poſterity as a pattern of the vile abaſement and ſhocking deformities of flattery: his laſt character has ſwallow'd up his firſt, and the excellencies of his younger years are obliterated by an old age black with flagitious crimes.

OF the petty Kings MITHRIDATES was the firſt in motion, and incited PHARASMANES to promote by arms and ſnares his efforts againſt ARSACES; ſo that inſtruments of ſubornation were found, who, with ſtore of gold urg'd his ſervants to murder him: at the ſame time the Iberians broke into Armenia with numerous forces, and gain'd the chief City Artaxata. Upon the firſt tidings of theſe diſaſters, ARTABANUS diſpatch'd, as the champion of his vengeance, his ſon ORADES, at the head of the Parthian army, and ſent abroad to hire auxiliaries. PHARASMANES on the other hand join'd the Albanian forces to his own, with additional aids from the Sarmatæ, whoſe Princes engaged themſelves on both ſides; according to the manner of the nation, to embark for pay in oppoſite quarrels. But the Iberians were maſters of the paſſes, and thence pour'd the Sarmatæ over the Caſpian Mountains into Armenia: whereas thoſe that advanced to join the Parthians, were with eaſe debarr'd entrance; the enemy having ſhut up every approach, except one between the ſea and the uttermoſt Mountains of Albania; and that one was ſtopp'd by the tide, which, by the force of the Eteſian Winds is, during the ſummer, driven over the fords; but, in the winter, the South wind rolls back the flood, and exhibits a naked ſtrand.

While ORODES was thus bereft of his Allies, PHARASMANES ſtrengthen'd with ſuccours, provok'd him to battle, and, as he declin'd it, inſulted him, rode up to his entrenchments, haraſs'd his forragers, and often begirt, as it were with a ſiege, the quarters of his Camp. This enrag'd the Parthians, who ſcorning the unwonted reproach, ſurrounded the Prince in crowds, and demanded the combat. Their only forces were in horſe; but PHARASMANES was likewiſe powerful in foot: for, the Iberians and Albanians, as they inhabit the rough foreſts, are thence more inur'd to hardneſs and patience. They ſay "that they are ſprung from Theſſaly, by the means "of JASON, who having carried away MEDEA, and had "children by her, return'd again to Colchos, upon the "death of ETA, and fill'd the vacant throne." And many are the traditions which they retain concerning him and the Oracle of PHRIXUS; in reverence to which none of them will ſacrifice a ram, as upon this animal they believe PHRIXUS to have been carried thither; whether the

ſame

ſame were a ram, or only the ſign of a ſhip. Now both armies being embattled, ORODES animated his men with "the grandeur of the Parthian Empire, the Empire of the Eaſt; the laſting glory of the ARSACIDES; "the ignoble name of the Iberians and their hireling ſoldiery." PHARASMANES repreſented to his, that "they "had ever defended themſelves from the uſurpation of "the Parthians; and now ſought more than defence, even "a Kingdom; hence the higher their aims, the more renown to the victors; but if they fled, the greater reproach and the ſame peril." He bade them to view and compare their own horrid and threatning arms with the bands of Medes blazing with gold, and behold here the bravery of men, there of plunder.

WITH the Sarmatæ, however, the ſpeech of their General is not the only exhortation; it is their way to animate one another. It was now their united cry, "that "they muſt not begin their fight by a diſcharge of arrows, but break in at once upon the foe and ſurprize "them by a cloſe engagement." They did ſo; and hence began a ſcene of battle ſtrangely diverſified: the Parthians accuſtom'd with equal dexterity to purſue or fly, ſcatter'd their troops, thence ſeeking ſcope for their arrows: the Sarmatæ intirely renounced the bow, a weapon which they weild with leſs vigour and perſeverance, and ruſh'd in with their ſword and pikes: ſometimes, as in an encounter of horſe, were beheld the viciſſitudes of charging and flying; again, as in condens'd battles of foot, with the ſhocks of their bodies breaſt to breaſt, and with the efforts of their arms, they overthrew and were overthrown: now the Albanians and Iberians grappled the enemy, dragg'd them from their horſes and confounded the attacks of the Parthians; who, beſides the aſſaults from the horſe, were ſtill more cloſely gall'd by the foot. Whilſt during this conflict, the two Generals ſcour'd from place to place, to countenance the brave, or to ſupport the wavering, themſelves conſpicuous to all, and therefore known to each other, they encounter'd fiercely, horſe to horſe, with terrible cries and lances darted; but PHARASMANES with moſt violence; for he wounded ORODES through the helmet, but, hurried away by the velocity of his horſe, could not repeat his blow, and the wounded was reſcued by the moſt reſolute of his Guards. Fame however falſly reported him for ſlain, and terrifying the Parthians, they yielded the victory.

Again ARTABANUS prepar'd for revenge, and to make it ſure, march'd with the whole ſtrength of Parthia; but was again beaten by the Iberians through their ſuperiour knowledge of the countrey. Nor even thus would he have retreated, but that VITELLIUS by drawing together his Legions, and thence exciting a rumour, as if he were juſt upon invading Meſopotamia, alarm'd him with the terror of a Roman War. Armenia was therefore abandon'd, and the affairs of ARTABANUS finally ruin'd; for VITELLIUS the while, prompted the Parthians "to re-"nounce a King cruel to his ſubjects in peace, and de-"ſtructive to their ſtate by his fatal wars." SINNACES therefore, whom I have mention'd as already incens'd, conſults his father ABDAGESES and others, who had hitherto diſguis'd their diſaffection, and finding them now embolden'd by ſo many continued overthrows, draws them to an open revolt. To them flow'd in by little and little all thoſe who had been rather retain'd in obedience thro' fear, than ſecur'd by affection; and, having thus found leaders, aſſum'd courage to follow them. So that to ARTABANUS none now adher'd except ſome few foreigners, the Guards of his perſon; out-laws and fugitives from their ſeveral homes, deſtitute of all ſentiments of honour and of every worthy affection; equally untouch'd with publick or private diſgrace; hirelings by profeſſion, and the retain'd inſtruments of villany and blood. Taking theſe for his attendants he haſtily fled to regions far remote, and bordering upon Scythia, from thence hoping for ſuccours; for with the Hyrcanians and Carmanians he was join'd in alliance: he expected too that the Parthians, a people always favourable to their Princes after expulſion, ever fickle and uneaſy under thoſe in poſſeſſion, might lapſe into remorſe.

ARTABANUS being fled, and the minds of the Parthians inclin'd to a new King, VITELLIUS exhorted TIRIDATES "to lay hold on a Kingdom prepar'd to re-"ceive him;" and, with the bulk of the Legions and auxiliaries, march'd to the banks of Euphrates. Whilſt they ſacrificed to the river, the one after the rites of the Romans, a ſwine, a ram, and a bull; the other a horſe; the inhabitants inform'd them, " that the Euphrates, with-" out any acceſſion of rain, ſwell'd miraculouſly, and " that the white froth upon the ſurface wound itſelf into " circles in the faſhion of a diadem; as a propitious type " of ſucceſs after paſſing." Some explain'd it with more ſubtlety, " that the firſt attempts would be attended with " immediate proſperity, but ſuch as was fleeting and tran-" ſient; for that only upon events portended by ſigns " from the earth and the heavens, was there any ſure re-" liance: rivers were in their nature fleeting and unſta-" ble; and what omens they ſuddenly ſhew'd, they with " the ſame rapidity ſnatch'd away." Over a bridge of boats the army croſs'd; and the firſt who arriv'd in the camp was ORNOSPADES with many thouſand horſe. He was formerly an exile, and had then with no contemptible forces aided TIBERIUS to finiſh the war in Dalmatia; a merit which procur'd him the right of a Roman Citizen: being afterwards recall'd, he recover'd the friendſhip of the King, and continued high in his favour; ſo that he was placed over all thoſe territories which being waſh'd on every ſide with the celebrated rivers of Euphrates and Tigris, are thence named Meſopotamia. Soon after came SINNACES with more forces; as alſo ABDAGESES, the pillar of the party, with the King's treaſure and all the decorations of Royalty. VITELLIUS thought it enough to have countenanced them with a diſplay of the Roman arms, and now admoniſh'd TIRIDATES and the chiefs; him " to remember, that he had for " his grand-father PHRAHATES, and was himſelf rear'd " by CESAR; ſignal honours, and equal incitements to " glory:" upon them he preſs'd " obedience to their " King, and reverence towards us; that they would all " conſult their own reputations, and preſerve their plight-" ed faith." Thence he re-paſs'd with his Legions into Syria.

THESE tranſactions, tho' the work of two campaigns, I have laid together, to relieve my ſoul from the ſad recital of domeſtick evils. For, TIBERIUS, tho' now three years ſince the execution of SEJANUS, was ſo far from being aſſwag'd by time, ſupplications, and ſatiety of blood, means which are wont to ſoften all other men, that with rage and puniſhment he ſtill purſued even ſtale and dubious imputations, as the moſt heinous and recent crimes. Under this dread FULCINIUS TRIO, unable to bear the prevailing perſecution of his accuſers, compos'd his laſt will, and in it compil'd a long charge of iniquities and dreadful invectives againſt MACRO and the Emperor's principal freedmen: the Emperor himſelf he upbraided with "a ſpirit impotent and ſtupid through age; and his con-" "tinued abſence, as a ſtate of exile." Theſe invectives, which the heirs of TRIO had ſmother'd, were by TIBERIUS order'd to be recited; whether in oſtentation that he could bear ſuch liberties, and deſpiſing a publick rehearſal of his own infamy; or whether from having been long ignorant of the black enormities of SEJANUS, he came afterwards to prefer the divulging of whatever was ſaid, and however ſaid, concerning himſelf and his adminiſtration; and ſince truth is ever diſguis'd by flattery, he meant at leaſt to learn it from the mouth of reproach. During the ſame Conſuls GRANIUS MARTIANUS the Senator, charg'd with treaſon by CAIUS GRACCHUS, laid violent hands upon himſelf; and TATIUS GRATIANUS, who had been Pretor, under the ſame charge was ſentenced to capital puniſhment.

THE like ends had TREBELLIENUS RUFUS and SEXTIUS PACONIANUS. For, TREBELLIENUS fell by his own hand; and PACONIANUS, for Verſes made in priſon againſt the Emperor, was there ſtrangled. With theſe executions TIBERIUS was acquainted, not now ſeparated from Italy by the ſea, nor by meſſengers diſpatch'd from afar; but in the neighbourhood of Rome; ſo near that he receiv'd and anſwer'd the Letters from the Conſuls the ſame day, or only after the interval of a night; as if he were from thence beholding the houſes floating in blood, or the buſy hands of the executioners opening its ſources. In the end of the year expir'd POPPEUS SABINUS, of ordinary deſcent, but by the friendſhip of the Emperors he had acquir'd the Conſulſhip and triumphal honours. He was alſo entruſted for four and twenty years with the Government of great provinces; for no ſignal ability of his, but that he had talents equal to buſineſs, and not above it.

QUINTUS PLAUTIUS and SEXTUS PAPINIUS fellow Conſuls. It was mark'd as no matter of horror or ſurprize that LUCIUS ARUSEIUS and *** underwent this year the pains of death: ſo familiar were civil miſeries grown. But terrifying prov'd the Tragedy of VIBULENUS AGRIPPA, a Roman Knight, who, after his accuſers had finiſh'd their pleadings, pulling out poiſon which under his gown he had conceal'd, ſwallow'd it in open Senate; and as he fell expiring, was by the Lictors haſtily dragg'd to the dungeon, where, tho' already dead, his neck was faſten'd and ſtrain'd in a rope. Not even TIGRANES, who had ſome time reign'd in Armenia, but was now accus'd, could by the name of a King, eſcape ſuffering, in common with citizens, the puniſhment of death. But CAIUS GALBA a Conſular, and the two BLESI, fell by their own hands: GALBA, upon receiving a diſmal Letter from CESAR, which forbid him to meddle with drawing his lot for a Province: the BLESI, becauſe the Prieſthoods which in the proſperity of their family he had aſſign'd them, and again in its calamity with-held, he now beſtow'd, as vacant dignities, upon others. This they underſtood as a ſignal of death and obey'd it. EMILIA LEPIDA too, who, as I have related, was married to the young DRUSUS, ſhe who had purſued her huſband's life by urging againſt him inceſſant crimes, and during the days of her father LEPIDUS, remain'd unpuniſh'd tho' deteſtable; was after his death attack'd by the accuſers for adultery with a ſlave: nor of this her infamous defilement was any doubt made: renouncing therefore all defence, ſhe put an end to her own life.

ABOUT the ſame time the Cliteans, a people ſubject to ARCHELAUS the Cappadocian, aggriev'd to be after the Roman manner brought under a rate and compell'd to pay Tribute, betook themſelves to the ridges of Mount Taurus, and by the nature of the ſituation defended themſelves againſt the unwarlike forces of the King; till VITELLIUS, Preſident of Syria, diſpatch'd to their relief his Lieutenant MARCUS TREBELLIUS, with four thouſand Legionary ſoldiers and ſome choſen auxiliaries. TREBELLIUS begirt with entrenchments the two hills upon which the Barbarians were encamp'd; the leſſer nam'd *Cadra*, the other *Davara*, and forced them all to ſurrender: ſome who attempted to ſally he ſubdued by the ſword; the reſt he overcame by thirſt. TIRIDATES, with the approbation of the Parthians, took poſſeſſion of Nicephorium, Anthemuſias, and other cities founded by the Macedonians, and thence call'd by Greek names; as likewiſe of Halus and Artimeta, Parthian cities; the inhabitants of each contending in joy for the change, as they all deteſted ARTABANUS bred amongſt the barbarous Scythians, and himſelf barbarouſly cruel; but from TIRIDATES hoped a humane ſpirit, civiliz'd by a Roman education.

PARTICULARLY exceſſive was the flattery practis'd on this occaſion by the Citizens of Seleucia; a powerful City ſurrounded with walls, and not corrupted into the barbarous uſages of the Parthians, but ſtill retaining the inſtitutions of SELEUCUS, its Greek founder. Three hundred citizens choſen for wealth or wiſdom, compoſe as it were a Senate; to the populace too remains their ſhare of power; and when all act with unanimity, they deſpiſe the Parthians; but when diſcord reigns, while each ſide calls in foreign aid againſt their competitors, he who is invited prevails againſt the whole. A conſequence which had befallen them in the reign of ARTABANUS, who delivered the commonalty to the dominion of the Nobles, in pure ſubſervience to the maxims and intereſt of his own power: for the ſovereignty of the People is an eſtabliſhment of Liberty; but the domination of a few comes nearer to the uncheck'd luſt of ſimple Monarchy. Upon the coming of TIRIDATES they heap'd on him all the honours paid to the ancient Kings, with all ſuch as the preſent age has improv'd or invented, and to the praiſes of the new Prince added contumelies againſt ARTABANUS, "that only by his father he was akin to the "ARSACIDES, and in every other inſtance an apoſtate from "their race." TIRIDATES committed to the People the government of Seleucia. As he was next conſulting about ſettling a day for ſolemnizing his inauguration, he receiv'd letters from PHRAHATES and HIERO, who preſided over potent Provinces, entreating a ſhort reſpit: ſo that he agreed to wait the arrival of men ſo ſignally powerful, and proceeded the while to Cteſiphon, the ſeat of the Empire. But as from day to day they delay'd coming, the Surena in a great preſence, and with their applauſes put the Royal Diadem, according to the ceremony of the country, upon his head.

AND had he ſtreight advanced into the center of the Kingdom and the further Provinces, he had over-aw'd the ſuſpence of ſuch as halted, and found ſubmiſſion from all Parthia. But by beſieging a fortreſs, whither ARTABANUS had convey'd his money and miſtreſſes, he furniſh'd the fickle Parthians with leiſure to violate their late aſſociation. For, PHRAHATES and HIERO, with ſuch others as had not join'd with the reſt in celebrating his coronation, return'd to their old allegiance; part through fear, ſome from envy to ABDAGESES, who then govern'd the new King and his whole court. They found ARTABANUS in Hyrcania, cover'd with naſtineſs and miſery, and with his bow labouring for food. At firſt he was terrified, and apprehended treachery: when they aſſur'd him of their faith, and that to reſtore him to ſovereignty they were come; he ask'd, "whence the ſudden change?" HIERO, in anſwer, reproach'd "TIRIDATES as a boy, "and that the Empire was no longer adminiſter'd by "one of the brave ARSACIDES; but a lad ſoften'd by "foreign effeminacy, poſſeſs'd the empty title, whilſt in "the family of ABDAGESES the whole power remain'd."

HE diſcern'd, politick as he was and old in reigning, that, however falſe in their affections, their hate was unfeign'd: nor tarried he longer than to get together ſome Scythian ſuccours, and then march'd with diſpatch, to fruſtrate the meaſures of his enemies, and to obviate the defection of his friends: neither chang'd he yet his noiſome dreſs, as by it he meant to draw the commiſeration of the populace. In his march he left untried no expedient, no prayers nor wiles, to engage in intereſt ſuch as waver'd, to confirm ſuch as adher'd, and he was already in the neighbourhood of Seleucia, before TIRIDATES, diſmay'd at once with the tidings of ARTABANUS, and with ARTABANUS in perſon, could determine whether to make head againſt him, or protract the war. His counſels were diſtracted. They who preferr'd a battle and ſpeedy iſſue, argued, "that "the enemy's forces were ſtill in diſarray and ſpent with "long journeys: nor in truth, were they in their hearts "ſincerely reconcil'd to obedience; they, who were lately the betrayers and open enemies of that ſame Prince "whom thus after expulſion they eſpous'd." But ABDAGESES adviſ'd "a retreat into Meſopotamia, that there "defended by the interpoſition of the river, they might "have time to arm the Armenians and Elymæans, with "other adjacent nations; and being thus ſtrengthen'd by "confederate troops, and ſuch as the Roman General "ſhould ſend, might try with theſe advantages the fortune of war." This advice prevail'd, as ABDAGESES held the higheſt authority, and TIRIDATES was fearful of dangers. But their departure had all the appearance and conſequences of a rout: for the Arabs beginning the deſertion, the reſt follow'd, and retir'd to their ſeveral homes or to the camp of ARTABANUS; ſo that TIRIDATES with a few croſs'd over to Syria, where he diſcharg'd them all, as well from his ſervice as from the infamy of being betray'd by them.

THE ſame year the City ſuffer'd the grievous calamity of fire, which burnt down that part of the Circus contiguous to Mount Aventine and the Mount itſelf: a loſs which turn'd to the glory of the Prince, as he paid in money the value of the houſes deſtroy'd. A hundred thouſand great ſeſterces he expended in this bounty, which prov'd the more grateful to the people as he was ever ſparing in private buildings: in truth, his publick works never exceeded two, the Temple of AUGUSTUS and the Scene of POMPEY's Theatre; nor, when he had finiſh'd both, did he dedicate either, whether obſtructed by old age, or deſpiſing popularity. For aſcertaining the damage of particulars the four Sons-in-law of TIBERIUS were ap-

pointed

pointed, CNEIUS DOMITIUS, CASSIUS LONGINUS, MARCUS VINCINUS and RUBELLIUS BLANDUS; aſſiſted by PUBLIUS PETRONIUS, nominated by the Conſuls. To the Emperor likewiſe were decreed ſeveral honours, variouſly devis'd according to the different drift and genius of ſuch as propos'd them. Which of theſe he meant to accept, or which to reject, the approaching iſſue of his days, has buried in uncertainty. For not long after, CNEIUS ACERRONIUS and CAIUS PONTIUS commenced Conſuls; the laſt under TIBERIUS. The power of MACRO was already exceſſive; who, as he had at no time neglected the favour of CALIGULA, courted it now more and more earneſtly every day. After the death of CLAUDIA, whom I have mention'd to have been eſpous'd to the young Prince, he conſtrain'd ENNIA his own wife to ſtimulate the affections of CALIGULA and to ſecure him by a promiſe of marriage. The truth is, he was one that denied nothing that open'd his way to ſovereignty; for although of a tempeſtuous genius, he had yet in the ſchool of his grand-father, well acquir'd all the hollow guiſes of diſſimulation.

HIS ſpirit was known to the Emperor; hence he was puzzled about bequeathing the Empire: and firſt as to his grand-ſons, the ſon of DRUSUS was nearer in blood, and dearer in point of affection, but as yet a child: the ſon of GERMANICUS had arriv'd at the vigour of youth, and the zeal of the people followed him, a motive this to his grand-father, only to hate him. He had even debates with himſelf concerning CLAUDIUS, becauſe of ſolid age and naturally inclin'd to honeſt purſuits; but the defect of his faculties withſtood the choice. In caſe he ſought a ſucceſſor apart from his own family, he dreaded leſt the memory of AUGUSTUS, leſt the name of the CESARS ſhould come to be ſcorn'd and inſulted. For, it was not ſo much any ſtudy of his, to gratify the preſent generation and ſecure the Roman ſtate, as to perpetuate to poſterity the grandeur of his race. So that his mind ſtill wavering and his ſtrength decaying, to the deciſion of fortune he permitted a counſel to which he was now unequal. Yet he dropp'd certain words whence

might

might be gather'd that he foreſaw the events and revolutions which were to come to paſs after him: for, he upbraided MACRO, by no dark riddle, "that he forſook "the ſetting ſun and courted the riſing:" and of CALIGULA, who upon ſome occaſional diſcourſe ridicul'd SYLLA, he foretold, "that he would have all SYLLA's "vices, and not one of his virtues." Moreover, as he was, with many tears, embracing the younger of his grandſons, and perceiv'd the countenance of CALIGULA implacable and provok'd; "thou, ſaid he, wilt ſlay him, "and another ſhall ſlay thee." But, however his illneſs prevail'd, he relinquiſh'd nothing of his vile voluptuouſneſs, forcing patience, and feigning health. He was wont too to ridicule the preſcriptions of Phyſicians, and all men who, after the age of thirty, needed to be inform'd by any one elſe, what help'd or hurted their conſtitutions.

AT Rome, the while, were ſown the ſanguinary ſeeds of executions to be perpetrated even after TIBERIUS. LELIUS BALBUS had with high treaſon charg'd ACUTIA, ſome time the wife of PUBLIUS VITELLIUS; and, as the Senate were, after her condemnation, decreeing a reward to the accuſer, the ſame was obſtructed by the interpoſition of JUNIUS OTHO Tribune of the people: hence their mutual hate, which ended in the exile of OTHO. Thereafter ALBUCILLA, who had been married to SATRIUS SECUNDUS, him that reveal'd the conſpiracy of SEJANUS, and herſelf famous for many amours, was impeach'd of impious rites deviſ'd againſt the Prince. In the charge were involv'd, as her aſſociates and adulterers, CNEIUS DOMITIUS, VIBIUS MARSUS, and LUCIUS ARRUNTIUS. The noble deſcent of DOMITIUS I have above declar'd: MARSUS too was diſtinguiſh'd by the ancient dignities in his houſe, and himſelf illuſtrious for learning. The Minutes, however, tranſmitted to the Senate imported, "that in the examination of the witneſſes, and "torture of the ſlaves, MACRO had preſided:" neither came theſe Minutes accompanied with any Letter from the Emperor againſt the accuſ'd. Hence it was ſuſpected, that, while he was ill, and perhaps without his privacy, the accuſations were in great meaſure forged by MACRO, in conſequence of his notorious enmity to ARRUNTIUS.

DOMITIUS therefore by preparing for his defence, and MARSUS by ſeeming determin'd to famiſh, both protracted their lives. ARRUNTIUS choſe to die; and to the importunity of his friends, urging him to try delays and evaſions, he anſwer'd, "that the ſame meaſures were not "alike honourable to all men: his own life was abun"dantly long; nor had he wherewithall to reproach him"ſelf, ſave that he had ſubmitted to bear thus far an "old age loaded with anxieties, expos'd to daily dan"gers, and the cruel ſport of power; long hated as he "was by SEJANUS, now by MACRO, always by ſome "reigning Miniſter; hated through no fault of his own, "but as one irreconcilable to baſeneſs and the iniquities "of power. He might, in truth, out-live and avoid "the few and laſt days of TIBERIUS: but how eſcape "the youth of his heir? If upon TIBERIUS at ſuch an "age, and after ſuch conſummate experience, the violent "ſpirit of unbridled dominion had wrought with ſuch "efficacy, as intirely to tranſport and change him; was "it likely that CALIGULA, he who had ſcarce outgrown "his childhood, a youth ignorant of all things, or nurſt "and principled in the worſt, would follow a courſe "more righteous under the guidance of MACRO; the "ſame MACRO, who, for deſtroying SEJANUS, was em"ploy'd as the more wicked of the two, and had ſince "by more miſchiefs and cruelties torn and afflicted the "Commonweal? For himſelf; he foreſaw a ſervitude "yet more vehement, and therefore withdrew at once "from the agonies of paſt and of impending tyranny." Uttering theſe words, with the ſpirit of a Prophet, he open'd his veins. How wiſely ARRUNTIUS anticipated death, the following times will terribly demonſtrate. For ALBUCILLA; ſhe aim'd at her own life, but the blow being impotent, ſhe was by order of Senate dragg'd to execution in the priſon. Againſt the miniſters of her luſts it was decreed, "that GRASIDIUS SACERDOS, formerly "Pretor, ſhould be exil'd into an Iſland; PONTIUS

“ FREGALLANUS be degraded from the Senate; and “ that upon LELIUS BALBUS the ſame penalty be in-“ flicted:” his puniſhment particularly prov’d matter of joy, as he was accounted a man of peſtilent eloquence, and prompt to attack the innocent.

ABOUT the ſame time, SEXTUS PAPINIUS of a Conſular family, choſe on a ſudden a frightful end, by a deſperate and precipitate fall. The cauſe was aſcrib’d to his mother, who, after many repulſes, had by various allurements and the ſtimulations of ſenſuality, urg’d him to practices and embaraſſments from whence, only by dying, he could deviſe an iſſue. She was therefore accus’d in the Senate; and, tho’ in a proſtrate poſture ſhe embraced the knees of the fathers, and pleaded “ the ten-“ derneſs and grief of a mother, the imbecillity of a “ woman’s ſpirit under ſuch an affecting calamity;” with other motives of pity in the ſame doleful ſtrain; ſhe was baniſh’d Rome for ten years, till her younger ſon were paſt the age of lubricity.

AS to TIBERIUS; already his body, already his ſpirits fail’d him; but his diſſimulation fail’d him not. He exerted the ſame vigour of mind, the ſame energy in his looks and diſcourſe; and even ſometimes ſtudied to be gay, by it to hide his declenſion however notorious. So that, after much ſhifting of places, he ſettled at the Promontory of Miſenum, in a villa of which LUCULLUS was once Lord. There it was diſcover’d that his end was at hand, by this device. In his train was a Phyſician, his name CHARICLES, ſignal in his profeſſion, one, in truth, not employ’d to govern the Prince’s health, but wont however to afford his counſel and skill. CHARICLES, as if he were departing to attend his own affairs, under the appearance of paying duty and kiſſing his hands, touch’d his pulſe. But the artifice beguil’d not TIBERIUS; for he inſtantly order’d the entertainment to be ſerv’d up; whether incens’d, and thence the more ſmothering his wrath, is uncertain: but, at table he continued beyond his wont, as if he meant that honour only for a farewell to his friend. But for all this CHARICLES ſatisfied MACRO, “ that the flame of life was expiring, and could not out-

" laſt two days." Hence the whole court was fill'd with cloſe conſultations, and expreſſes were diſpatch'd to the Generals and Armies. On the ſixteenth of March, ſo deep a ſwoon ſeiz'd him, that he was believ'd to have paid the laſt debt of mortality: inſomuch that CALIGULA, in the midſt of a great throng, paying their congratulations, was already appearing abroad, to aſſume the firſt offices of Sovereignty, when ſudden notice came, " that TIBERIUS had recover'd his ſight and voice, and, to ſtrengthen " his fainting ſpirits, had call'd for ſome refreſhment." Hence dread ſeiz'd all, and the whole concourſe about CALIGULA diſpers'd, every man reſuming falſe ſorrow, or feigning ignorance: he himſelf was ſtruck ſpeechleſs, and thus fallen from the higheſt hopes, waited for preſent death. MACRO continued undiſmay'd, and ordering the apartment to be clear'd, caus'd the feeble old man to be ſmother'd with a weight of coverings. Thus expir'd TIBERIUS in the ſeventy eighth year of his age.

HE was the ſon of NERO, and on both ſides a branch of the Claudian houſe, tho' his mother had been ingrafted by adoptions into the Livian, and next into the Julian ſtock. From his firſt infancy, his life was chequer'd by various turns and perils: for, then he follow'd, like an exile, his proſcrib'd father; and when taken in quality of a ſtep-ſon into the family of AUGUSTUS, he long ſtruggled there with many potent rivals, during the lives of MARCELLUS and AGRIPPA; next of the young Ceſars, CAIUS and LUCIUS. His brother DRUSUS too eclips'd him, and poſſeſs'd more eminently the hearts of the Roman people. But above all, his marriage with JULIA moſt egregiouſly threaten'd and diſtreſs'd him, whether he bore the proſtitutions of his wife, or relinquiſh'd the daughter of AUGUSTUS. Upon his return thereafter from Rhodes, he occupied for twelve years the Prince's family, now bereft of heirs, and nigh four and twenty rul'd the Roman ſtate. His manners alſo varied with the ſeveral junctures of his fortune: he was well eſteem'd while yet a private man; and, in diſcharging publick dignities under AUGUSTUS, of ſignal reputation: covert and ſubdolous in feigning virtue ſo long as GERMANICUS and DRUSUS ſurviv'd: a mixt character of good and evil during the days of his mother: deteſtably cruel, but ſecret in his lewdneſs, while he lov'd or fear'd SEJANUS: at laſt he abandon'd himſelf, at once, to the rage of tyranny and the ſway of his luſts: for, he had then conquer'd all the checks of ſhame and fear, and thenceforth follow'd only the bent of his own abominable ſpirit.

ELEVENTH ANNAL.

****** FOR, MESSALINA who believ'd VALERIUS ASIATICUS, one who had been twice Conſul, to have been POPPEA's adulterer, was bent upon his ruin; and as ſhe equally panted after his fine Gardens begun by LUCULLUS, but by him beautified with ſignal magnificence, ſhe ſuborn'd SUILIUS to accuſe both him and her. In the plot was join'd SOSIBIUS, Tutor to BRITANNICUS, who under the mask of zeal was to warn CLAUDIUS, "that mighty wealth in private hands was "ever miſchievous and threatning to Princes; that in the "aſſaſſination of CALIGULA, ASIATICUS had been the "principal director, nor fear'd to avow it in a publick "congregation of the people, nor even to claim the glory "of the parricide: hence his popularity and renown in "Rome; inſomuch that his purpoſe of withdrawing and "putting himſelf at the head of the Armies, was already "a prevailing rumour through all the Provinces; for "that being born at Vienna, and ſupported there by "numerous and powerful families, all his own relations, "it depended upon his pleaſure to excite an inſurrection "of his countrymen the Gauls." This ſufficed CLAUDIUS, who in order to ſeize him, inſtantly diſpatch'd away CRISPINUS, Captain of the Pretorian Guards, with a body of ſoldiers, as if a war had been to be cruſh'd. He was found at Baiæ, and hurried to Rome in chains.

NEITHER was it indulg'd him to be heard by the Senate; but he was privately tried in a chamber in the preſence of MESSALINA. SUILIUS charg'd him "with "corrupting the ſoldiery, as having by money and abo-

"minable pleaſures engag'd them in his intereſt, and pre-"par'd them for every the moſt flagrant iniquity; with "his adulterous amours with POPPEA, and with ſurren-"dring his perſon, like a harlot, to unnatural defilements." This laſt article overcame his patience, and breaking in upon the accuſation, "ask thy own ſons, SUILIUS, ſaid "he; thy ſons will ſatisfy thee that I am a man." As he proceeded in his defence, he forced tears even from MESSALINA, and in CLAUDIUS rais'd agitations ſtill more powerful. But the Empreſs leaving the room to dry her eyes, warn'd VITELLIUS, "not to ſuffer the accus'd to "eſcape." She haſten'd her ſelf to accompliſh the doom of POPPEA, by ſuborning perſons who urg'd her through the terrors of impriſonment, to a voluntary end: a cataſtrophe of which the Emperor was ſo utterly unappriz'd, that a few days after, as her husband SCIPIO was at table with him, he continued asking why he ſat down without his wife? till SCIPIO anſwer'd, that ſhe was no more.

NOW as CLAUDIUS was deliberating about clearing ASIATICUS, the hollow VITELLIUS wept, and recounting their ancient friendſhip, with the devotion which in common they had ever paid to ANTONIA, the Prince's mother; and then diſplaying the good ſervices of ASIATICUS to the Commonwealth, particularly his late exploits in Great Britain, and having, in truth, exhauſted all the arguments which ſeem'd proper to excite mercy; he at laſt propos'd to grant him the free choice of his own death; a ſort of clemency of which CLAUDIUS declar'd his approbation. There were ſome who exhorted him to die gently, and by abſtinence; an indulgence which he refus'd to accept, but perſiſting in his wonted exerciſes, he walk'd, bath'd, and even ſupp'd chearfully: he ſaid he ſhould with more credit have been ſacrificed to the dark artifices of TIBERIUS, or to the outrageous fury of CALIGULA, than thus periſh by the baſe devices of a woman, and the proſtitute lips of VITELLIUS; and having ſo ſaid, he open'd his veins: but firſt he view'd his funeral pile, and directed its removal into another place, leſt the ſmoke ſhould ſcorch the heads of the trees, and leſſen their cool ſhade. Such was his firmneſs even in the arms of death.

THE Senate was thereafter ſummon'd, and SUILIUS proceeded alſo to accuſe the illuſtrious Roman Knights, who were ſirnamed *Petræ*. The firſt cauſe of their bane was, that for a place of aſſignations, they had accommodated VALERIUS and POPPEA with the uſe of their houſe; but to one of them a dream was objected, as if he had beheld CLAUDIUS crown'd with a chaplet of the ears of corn, their beards downwards; and thence foretold a publick famine: others have related, that the chaplet he beheld was of vine branches with white leaves; which he conſtrued to portend the death of the Prince at the cloſe of autumn. Whatever he dreamt, this is undoubted, that for a dream both he and his brother were ſacrificed. To CRISPINUS was decreed the Pretorſhip, and a reward of thirty ſeven thouſand five hundred crowns; and to SOSIBIUS five and twenty thouſand, at the motion of VITELLIUS, who recommended him as one that aſſiſted BRITANNICUS with good inſtructions, and CLAUDIUS with wholſome counſels. SCIPIO, who was alſo ask'd his opinion, ſaid; "ſeeing I entertain of POPPEA's miſ-"deeds the ſame thoughts with all others, believe me to "vote as all others vote:" a delicate temperament between the affections of a husband, and the danger of provoking by his diſſent her powerful enemies.

SUILIUS continued thenceforward an inceſſant and mercileſs accuſer; and many labour'd to emulate his abandon'd occupation. For, the Emperors, by invading the authority of the Magiſtrates, and aſſuming the arbitrary diſpenſation of the Laws, had open'd a field for endleſs cruelties and depredations; nor of all the commodities of price was ought ſo ſaleable, as the double and mercenary faith of the pleaders: inſomuch that SAMIUS, an illuſtrious Roman Knight, having given SUILIUS a fee of ten thouſand crowns, and finding himſelf betray'd in the cauſe, fell upon his ſword in the houſe of his faithleſs advocate. A complaint of this grievance being therefore begun by CAIUS SILIUS Conſul elect, whoſe power and overthrow I ſhall in its place remember, the whole

Senate concurr'd, and demanded that the Cincian Law might be reſtor'd to force; an old Law, which enjoin'd "that no man ſhould, for pleading a cauſe, accept of "gift or payment."

HENCE they, over whom the infamy was impending, raiſing a clamour againſt the motion; SILIUS, who entertain'd an animoſity againſt SUILIUS, perſiſted with the more aſperity, and quoted "the examples of the an-"cient Orators, who had eſteem'd preſent applauſe and "the praiſes of poſterity, the moſt illuſtrious recompence "of their Eloquence: otherwiſe, he ſaid, an accompliſh-"ment the moſt dignified of all others, were debas'd "into ſordid proſtitution: nor, in truth, was the faith of "pleaders to be truſted, where the greatneſs of gain was "their end. Beſides, if no man found his merchandize "in defending ſuits, there would be fewer ſuits to de-"fend: whereas, upon the preſent foot, enmities, ac-"cuſations, mutual hate and mutual oppreſſions were "promoted and inflam'd to ſuch a degree, that as an "inundation of diſeaſes was the market of Phyſicians, "ſo the contagion of the Bar prov'd the revenue of the "Pleaders. They might remember CAIUS ASINIUS and "MARCUS MESSALLA, and more lately ARRUNTIUS and "ESERNINUS; men who arriv'd to the ſupreme dignities "of the ſtate by a life unblemiſh'd, and an eloquence "never expos'd to price." This reaſoning from the Conſul elect found the concurrence of the Senate, and a decree was about to paſs, to ſubject them to the penalties of the Law againſt extortion, when SUILIUS, COSSUTIANUS, and the reſt, who apprehended not a regulation only, but even their own puniſhment (for their guilt was manifeſt) gather'd round the Prince, beſeeching remiſſion for what was paſs'd; and after he had, by a motion of his head, ſignified his aſſent, they thus proceeded:

"WHO was the man of ſuch unbounded vanity as to "preſume upon an eternity of fame? The practice of plead-"ing was intended only for the preſent purpoſes of ſo-"ciety, a common refuge for all men, eſpecially that "none might for want of pleaders be cruſh'd by the "powerful: neither was Eloquence itſelf acquir'd, or ex-

“ erted without pains and expence; ſince they who pro-
“ feſs'd it forſook their own domeſtick cares, to apply
“ themſelves to the buſineſs of others. Many follow'd
“ the profeſſion of war, many that of husbandry, and
“ by both profeſſions a livelyhood was gain'd; and no-
“ thing was purſu'd by any man, but with a view to the
“ advantages it produced. Eaſily might ASINIUS and
“ MESSALLA, enrich'd as they were by the event of the
“ war between ANTHONY and AUGUSTUS; eaſily might
“ the ESERNINI and ARRUNTII, heirs of wealthy houſes;
“ all aſſume a grandeur of ſpirit above the price of plead-
“ ing: but equally obvious were the examples of PUB-
“ LIUS CLODIUS and CAIUS CURIO, for what immenſe
“ rewards theſe Orators were wont to plead. For them-
“ ſelves; they were mean Senators, and, as the Com-
“ monwealth enjoy'd a perfect calm, only aim'd at ſub-
“ ſiſting by the emoluments of peace. Nay, there were
“ thoſe of the commonalty, who ſtrove to ſhine by the
“ Gown and the Bar: but were the price and encourage-
“ ment of ſtudying withdrawn, Studies themſelves muſt
“ periſh.” Conſiderations theſe far from honourable; but to CLAUDIUS they appear'd of no ſmall force: he therefore ſettled the utmoſt meaſure of fees at two hundred and fifty crowns; and ſuch as exceeded incurr'd the penalties of extortion.

DURING the ſame time MITHRIDATES, whom I have mention'd to have reign'd in Armenia, and to have been brought in bonds to the tribunal of CESAR, return'd by the direction of CLAUDIUS into his Kingdom, confiding in the power and aſſiſtance of his brother PHARASMANES King of the Iberians, who had ſent him advice,
“ that diſſentions prevail'd amongſt the Parthians; and
“ that, while the fate of their own crown was in ſuſpence,
“ foreign conqueſts, as things of leſs moment, muſt be
“ neglected.” For, the many cruelties of GOTARZES, particularly the ſudden murther of his brother ARTABANUS with that of his wife and ſon, and thence the dread of his tyranny to the reſt of the nobility, prompted them to call BARDANES to the throne; a Prince of great activity and enterprize; ſo much that in two days he tra-

vell'd three thouſand furlongs, inſtantly invaded, utterly terrified and ſurpriz'd, and even exterminated GOTARZES. With the ſame expedition he ſeiz'd the neighbouring provinces, all but SELEUCIA, which alone diſown'd his ſway: ſo that, more tranſported with wrath againſt the Seleucians, as a people who had likewiſe revolted from his father, than conſulting his preſent intereſt, he entangl'd himſelf in the ſiege of a City encompaſs'd with ſtrong walls, repleniſh'd with ſtores, and a river one of its bulwarks. For, GOTARZES the while ſtrengthen'd by forces from the Dahans and Hyrcanians, renew'd the war; ſo that BARDANES being neceſſitated to relinquiſh the ſiege, retir'd to the plains of Bactria and there encamp'd.

IN this combuſtion and diſ-union of the powers in the Eaſt, and uncertainty how the ſame would terminate, an occaſion of poſſeſſing Armenia was adminiſter'd to MITHRIDATES, aſſiſted by the Roman ſoldiers, who demoliſh'd the ſtrong holds; and by the Iberians, who overran and waſted the country. For, the Armenians made no longer reſiſtance, after the fate of DEMONAX their Governour, who had ventur'd a battle, and was defeated: only ſome of the Nobles countenanced COTYS, King of Armenia the leſs, who thence became a ſhort obſtacle; but by Letters from the Emperor was aw'd into acquieſcence: hence the whole devolv'd upon MITHRIDATES, who fell however into meaſures more violent than befitted a Prince newly eſtabliſh'd. As to the Parthian competitors; in the heat of their preparations for a battle, they all on a ſudden ſtruck a league, alarm'd as they were by a conſpiracy of the Parthians againſt both, but firſt diſcover'd to GOTARZES, and by him to his brother BARDANES. In the beginning of their interview, they were ſhy and diffident, but at laſt ventur'd to join hands, and then ſwore upon the altar of the Gods, to revenge the treaſon of their mutual enemies, and even to reſign to each other: but, as BARDANES was held more worthy to retain the Monarchy; GOTARZES, in order to remove with himſelf all ground of jealouſy, retir'd far into Hyrcania. To BARDANES, upon his return, Seleucia was ſurrender'd in the ſeventh year of its ſiege; ſo long had that ſingle City ſuſtain'd its independency, and battled the power of Parthia, to the ſignal diſgrace of the Parthian Monarchy.

He next took poſſeſſion of the moſt potent provinces, and had recover'd Armenia, but that VIBIUS MARSUS, Lieutenant of Syria, reſtrain'd him, by threatning him with war. In the mean time, GOTARZES regretting his conceſſion of the Kingdom, and again recall'd by the nobility, whoſe bondage is ever moſt rigorous during peace, form'd an army, and was met as far as the river Charinda by BARDANES, who after an obſtinate fight in diſputing the paſſage, remain'd conqueror, and thence by a continued courſe of victories ſubdued all the nations lying between that river and the Gyndes, which parts the Dahans from the Arians. There the torrent of his conqueſts was obſtructed; for, the Parthians however victorious, refus'd proſecuting a war ſo remote from home. Structures being therefore rais'd, as monuments of his grandeur and conqueſts, and to ſignify, that none of the ARSACIDES before him had from theſe nations exacted tribute, he return'd, mighty, in truth, in glory, but thence the more imperious and inſupportable to his ſubjects, who therefore, by guile before concerted, ſlew him, while deſtitute of guards or apprehenſions, he was only intent upon the chace, in the flower of his youth, but poſſeſs'd of ſuch high renown as few of the oldeſt Kings could have claim'd, had he equally ſtudied the love of his people, as he did to awe his enemies. The aſſaſſination of BARDANES begot freſh ſtruggles amongſt the Parthians, divided as they were about filling the throne: many adher'd to GOTARZES; ſome propos'd MEHERDATES, the grand-ſon of PHRAHATES, and by him given in hoſtage to the Romans. GOTARZES prevail'd, but was no ſooner eſtabliſh'd, but by an abandon'd courſe of cruelties and luxury, he forced the Parthians upon ſecret recourſe to the Roman Emperor, ſolliciting for MEHERDATES to occupy the dominions of his anceſtors.

UNDER the ſame Conſuls were celebrated the Secular Games, eight hundred years after the founding of Rome; and ſixty four ſince they had been exhibited by AUGUS-

TUS. The ſeveral purpoſes of theſe Princes herein I paſs over here, as already largely recounted by me in my Hiſtory of the Emperor DOMITIAN; for, he too preſented Secular Games, at which I aſſiſted in perſon, and the more aſſiduouſly as I was inveſted with the Quindecemviral Prieſthood, and at that time Pretor; a circumſtance which from no vain glory I inſert, but becauſe formerly the College of fifteen preſided in that feſtival, and the Magiſtrates chiefly diſcharged the offices of the ſolemnity. Whilſt CLAUDIUS was beholding the Games in the Circus, and the boys of quality repreſented on horſeback the ſiege of Troy, amongſt them particularly BRITANNICUS the Emperor's ſon, with LUCIUS DOMITIUS, who was afterwards adopted into the Claudian family by the name of NERO, and ſucceeded to the Empire; the affections of the populace appear'd more paſſionate for DOMITIUS; a thing which paſs'd then for a propitious omen, and thence furniſh'd a common tradition, "that in his "infancy two dragons, poſted like guards, were ſeen "about him:" a fable fram'd in imitation of the miraculous tales current in foreign nations. For, NERO himſelf, a Prince who never abridg'd his own fame, was wont to declare, that in his chamber was never beheld but one ſnake only.

IN truth, this partiality of the people accrued from the memory of GERMANICUS, from whom he was the only deſcendent of the male kind; and the popular commiſeration towards his mother AGRIPPINA, roſe in proportion to the cruel vengeance of MESSALINA, always her inveterate enemy, and now inflam'd with freſh rage; inſomuch that, if ſhe did not juſt then forge crimes and ſubborn accuſers to deſtroy that Lady, it was owing only to a new amour which poſſeſs'd her with a paſſion bordering upon fury: ſhe was ſo vehemently enchanted with the perſon of CAIUS SILIUS, the moſt beautiful of all the Roman youth, that ſhe oblig'd him to divorce his wife SILANA, a Lady of high quality, in order to poſſeſs alone the embraces of the adulterer. Nor was SILIUS unappriz'd of the height and malignity of his crime, nor of the terrible doom which threaten'd him: but, it was deſtruction without reſſource, if he withſtood MESSALINA; and glorious rewards were to be the fruits of his compliance: there were ſome hopes too of blinding CLAUDIUS; ſo that he held the pleaſanteſt counſel the ſafeſt, to wait future and diſtant conſequences, and to indulge preſent proſperity. The Empreſs, far from purſuing her amour by theft and privacy, frequented his houſe openly, with a numerous train, accompanied him inceſſantly abroad, loaded him with wealth, cover'd him with honours; and, in ſhort, as if the fortune of the Empire had been transferr'd with the Emperor's wife, at the houſe of her adulterer were already ſeen the ſlaves, freedmen, and equipage of the Prince.

CLAUDIUS was a ſtranger to the diſorders of his wife, and then exerting the authority of Cenſor. He corrected the people by ſevere Edicts for ſome late inſtances of their licentiouſneſs, as they had, at the repreſentation of a dramatick piece compos'd by PUBLIUS POMPONIUS, revil'd that Conſular in the publick Theatre, with ſeveral Ladies of illuſtrious quality. He was likewiſe the author of a Law to reſtrain the pernicious iniquity of the Uſurers, in lending money to young men, to be repaid with increaſe upon the death of their fathers. The ſprings that riſe in the Simbruine Hills were by him brought to Rome: and to the Roman Alphabet he added new Letters; having learnt that even thoſe of Greece were not at once deviſ'd and compleated.

THE Egyptians firſt of all others repreſented their ſentiments by the figures of animals; and theſe Hieroglyphicks carv'd upon ſtone, the moſt ancient monuments of human memory, are ſtill to be ſeen. That nation boaſt themſelves "the original inventors of Types, and that the "Phœnicians having thence learnt them, they, who were "mighty in commerce and the dominion of the ſeas, "carried the ſame into Greece, and aſſum'd the glory "of an invention which they themſelves were taught." For, the general tradition is, "that CADMUS arriving there in the Phœnician fleet, inſtructed the Greeks "in that art, a people as yet rude and uncultivated." Some hold, that "CECROPS the Athenian, or LINUS of

“ Thebes, and PALAMEDES the Argive, who liv’d during the times of Troy, devis’d ſixteen Letters; and that “ by others afterwards, eſpecially by SIMONIDES, the “ reſt were added.” As to Italy, the Etruſcans learn’d them of DAMARATUS the Corinthian; the native Latins, of EVANDER the Arcadian; and the faſhion of the Latin Types were the ſame with thoſe of the ancient Greeks. But we too had few at firſt, till from time to time the reſt were ſupplied; and now CLAUDIUS, by the example of others, added three more, which continued in uſe during his own reign, and were thenceforth aboliſh’d; but are to this day ſeen in the tables of braſs on which are publiſh’d the decrees of the people, and which hang in the Temples and great ſquares.

HE next made a repreſentation to the Senate concerning the College of Soothſayers; “ that they would not “ ſuffer the moſt ancient diſcipline of Italy to be loſt thro’ “ diſuſe: that the Commonwealth was ever wont, during her times of calamity, to have recourſe to thoſe “ of that ſcience, in order to retrieve by their counſel “ the ſacred ceremonies from neglect and corruptions, and “ to cultivate them thereafter with more ſtrict obſervance: “ thus the nobility of Etruria, whether from their own “ zeal, or by appointment of the Roman Senate, had always “ preſerv’d thoſe myſteries themſelves, and convey’d the “ ſame down to their poſterity: a laudable uſage, but “ now faintly obſerv’d, through an univerſal indifference “ for all worthy arts, and more eſpecially through the “ contagion and prevalence of foreign ſuperſtitions: it was “ true indeed that the Republick at preſent proſper’d; but “ her proſperity was purely to be referr’d to the benignity “ of the Gods; nor during proſperity ought they to abandon thoſe ſolemn rites, which in ſeaſons of difficulty had “ been ever zealouſly cultivated.” Hence the Senate decreed, “ that the Pontiffs ſhould enquire what parts in the myſtery of Soothſaying ought to be retain’d and confirm’d.”

THE ſame year, the Cheruſcan nation had recourſe to Rome for a King. The rage of their own domeſtick wars had ſwept away their principal chiefs; and of the Royal ſtock only one remain’d, who reſided in the City, his name ITALICUS, ſon to FLAVIUS the brother of ARMINIUS, and by his mother grand-ſon to CATUMERUS Prince of the Cattans. He was himſelf a handſome perſon, and in horſmanſhip and the exerciſe of arms well train'd, as well according to the manner of his own country as that of ours: the Emperor therefore furniſh'd him with expences and Guards, and exhorting him, "to "aſſume with magnanimity his hereditary grandeur," reminded him withal "that being born at Rome, nor held "as a hoſtage there, but living in the full immunity of a "native Citizen, he was the firſt who went in that character to rule over a ſtrange people." His acceſſion was, at firſt, matter of joy to the Germans, and ſo much the more, for that having had no ſhare in their civil diſſenſions, he acted with equal courteſy towards them all: Hence his conduct became popular and renown'd; as ſometimes he ſtudied only affability and moderation, habits that could provoke none; upon other occaſions he gave a looſe to carrouſels and the qualifications of wantonneſs; debauches that delight the Barbarians: ſo that his name was already famous amongſt the adjacent nations, and even amongſt nations more remote; when they, who had borne ſway in the reign of factions, taking umbrage at his prevailing power, betook themſelves to the ſeveral neighbouring people, and to them repreſented, "that the "ancient Liberty of Germany was extirpated, and over the "Germans the Roman yoke eſtabliſh'd. Was their con-"dition indeed thus miſerably low, that their whole coun-"try could not furniſh one native Cheruſcan worthy to "ſuſtain the Sovereignty; but at the head of their ſtate "they muſt ſet the offspring of FLAVIUS, the offspring "of a traitor and a ſpy for the Romans? In vain was "alledg'd his kindred to ARMINIUS; ſince even the ſon "of ARMINIUS were to be dreaded in the ſame ſtation; "bred as he was in a hoſtile ſoil, poiſon'd with foreign "nurture, debas'd by foreign ſlavery, inur'd to foreign "manners and every thing foreign: but, for this ſon of "FLAVIUS; if he inherited the ſpirit of his father, never "had man waged war with fiercer enmity againſt his "native country and his own houſhold Gods, than the "father of this ITALICUS."

By theſe and the like ſtimulations, they procur'd and aſſembled numerous forces; nor was ITALICUS follow'd by fewer; as on his behalf his followers argued, "that "he had by no force or invaſion ſeiz'd the throne, but "held it by their own choice and invitation; and ſince "in blood he excell'd all others, it became them to try "whether in bravery he would ſhew himſelf worthy of "his grand-father CATUMERUS: nor was it any ground "of ſhame to the ſon, that his father had never violated that faith towards the Romans, which with the approbation of the Germans he had ſworn: but ſhameleſly and falſly was the ſound of liberty urg'd by thoſe, "who degenerate in their own lives and deſtructive to "the publick weal, placed their only hopes in rending "their country by civil diſcord." The King had the zeal and acclamations of the people; and in a great battle between theſe hoſts of Barbarians, he acquir'd the victory: thenceforward he became tranſported with his good fortune; grew imperious, and was expell'd, but again reſtor'd by the forces of the Longobards; and, in theſe ſtruggles he continued, as well by his ſucceſſes as misfortunes, to afflict the Cheruſcan ſtate.

About the ſame time the Chaucians, engag'd now in no domeſtick diſſentions, and animated by the death of SANQUINIUS, Governor of lower Germany, made incurſions into that Province, before CORBULO arriv'd to ſucceed him. For their leader they had GANNASCUS, of the country of the Caninefates, one who had long ſerv'd the Romans amongſt their auxiliaries, but deſerted, and following the practice of pyracy, infeſted the neighbouring coaſts, and above all terribly ravag'd the coaſts of Gaul, a nation whom he knew to be rich and unwarlike. But when CORBULO enter'd the province, where, in this his firſt military command, he laid the foundation of his eminent future glory, he diſpatch'd with great diligence the galleys down the Rhine, and the other veſſels along the lakes and canals, according to their different ſizes and burden. Thus, having ſunk the enemy's wherries, and put GANNASCUS to flight, he took order firſt for ſettling effectually the ſtate of the Province, and then reſtor'd the ancient diſcipline amongſt the Legions, who were now utter ſtrangers to military toils and application, and had been long employ'd in depredations only. Under CORBULO no man durſt ſtir from his rank, none, without expreſs orders, durſt attack the foe: accoutred with all their arms, they were forced to keep guard and ſtand centry; and whatever duties they perform'd, under all their arms they perform'd them: it is even reported, "that he puniſh'd a ſoldier with death, for digging in the trenches "without his ſword; and another for being there arm'd "only with his dagger." Inſtances in truth of ſeverity without meaſure; but whether forged or aggravated, they ſtill ow'd their riſe to the rigid ſpirit of that Captain: ſo that it was manifeſt how inexorable in flagrant enormities he muſt be, who was thought capable of ſuch unrelenting aſperity for offences ſo ſmall.

THIS terror, however, affected the army and the enemy different ways: by it the Romans increas'd in bravery, and the ferocity of the Barbarians was abated. Hence the Frizians, who after their rebellion begun by the defeat of LUCIUS APRONIUS, had continued in hoſtility, or in uncertain and faithleſs allegiance, ſent us new hoſtages, and ſettled themſelves in the territory aſſign'd them by CORBULO: over them he inſtituted a Senate, Magiſtrates, and Laws; and, to enſure their ſubjection, amongſt them planted a garriſon. He likewiſe diſpatch'd proper perſons to ſollicit the Chaucians to ſubmiſſion, and at the ſame time, by guile to aſſail GANNASCUS: the ſnare ſucceeded; nor did the practice of ſnares towards a deſerter, one who had broke his faith, debaſe the Roman magnanimity: yet, by his aſſaſſination, the minds of the Chaucians were enflam'd, and by it CORBULO furniſh'd them with matter of rebellion. Thus, his proceedings, tho' applauded by many, gave umbrage to others: "why, they "ſaid, would he be wantonly exciting a people to arms? "Upon the Commonwealth muſt light all the diſaſters "of the war; but, if ſucceſs attended him, then would "ſuch a ſignal Commander prove terrible to the quiet of the "State, and, to a daſtardly Prince, inſupportable." Hence CLAUDIUS became ſo throughly bent againſt all further irruptions into Germany, that he order'd him to lead back all the Roman forces over the Rhine.

CORBULO was already encamping in the enemy's country, when theſe orders were deliver'd him; and the ſudden check appall'd him: but, tho' many different apprehenſions at once overwhelm'd his ſpirit; ſuch as his dread of the Emperor, the ſcorn of the Barbarians, the deriſion of the Allies; yet without uttering more than, that "happy "were the Roman Captains of old;" he order'd the retreat to be ſounded. However to prevent the ſoldiers from relapſing into a habit of idleneſs, he employ'd them in digging a Canal three and twenty miles long between the Meuſe and the Rhine; by it to open a receptacle for the high tides, and prevent inundations. The Emperor nevertheleſs allow'd him the decorations of Triumph, tho' he had denied him the proſecution of war. Shortly after, the ſame honour was conferr'd on CURTIUS RUFUS, who, in the territory of the Mattiacians had open'd ſome ſilver mines; a ſource of ſmall advantage, nor of long continuance; but to the Legions it created eminent labour and damage, as they were forced to cut deep ſluices, and toil under the earth at works which in the open air are hard and rigorous. The ſoldiers therefore, overcome by theſe hardſhips, and perceiving that the ſame drudgeries were exacted from them in ſeveral Provinces, wrote ſecretly to the Emperor, and in the name of the Armies beſought him, "that whomſoever he intended for the Command of the "Legions, he would firſt reward them with the triumphal "honours."

CONCERNING the original of CURTIUS RUFUS, who by ſome is repreſented as the ſon of a Gladiator, I ſhould be ſorry to publiſh a falſe account; and I am alſo tender of recounting that which is true. As ſoon as he was grown to a man, he follow'd a Roman Queſtor into Africa; and, at the City of Adrumetum, while he walk'd under the piazza in the middle of the day, the viſion of a woman above human ſize appear'd before him, and accoſted him with theſe words: "Thou, RUFUS, art one "who ſhalt hereafter come into this Province with Pro-"conſular authority." Inſpir'd with hopes from this preſage,

ſage, he return'd to Rome, where by the largeſſes of his friends and the vigour of his own ſpirit, he gain'd the Queſtorſhip; and ſtanding afterwards for the office of Pretor againſt the ſeveral candidates of the Nobility, carried it by the intereſt of TIBERIUS, who, as a ſhade to the ſordidneſs of his birth, gave him this encomium: "To me "CURTIUS RUFUS ſeems to be deſcended from himſelf." After this, always a ſervile flatterer of thoſe above him, arrogant to his inferiours, and perverſe to his equals, he liv'd to a great age, arriv'd to the Conſular power, the honours of Triumph, laſtly to the Government of Africa; and, dying there, fulfill'd the fatal preſage.

ABOUT the ſame time CNEIUS NOVIUS a Roman Knight, was diſcover'd arm'd with a dagger in the throng of thoſe who were paying their court to the Prince; but, upon what motives, was no wiſe apparent then, nor ever afterwards learnt. For tho' when vehemently rent by the rack, he at laſt confeſs'd his own deſign; his accomplices he never diſclos'd: whether he would not, or had none, is uncertain. Under the ſame Conſuls it was mov'd by PUBLIUS DOLABELLA, "that a publick entertainment "of Gladiators ſhould be yearly exhibited at the charge "of ſuch as obtain'd the office of Queſtors." An office which in the days of our anceſtors was only the price of virtue: and indeed to every Roman, if he confided in his own qualifications, it was free to ſue for every Magiſtracy; nor was want of years held any obſtruction, but that ſome even in their early youth might become Conſuls and Dictators. As to the Queſtorſhip, it was as ancient as our Kings, as is manifeſt from the Law Curiata, reviv'd by LUCIUS BRUTUS; and the power of chuſing Queſtors continued in the Conſuls till the people would aſſume the conferring of that honour alſo: ſo that VALERIUS POTITUS and EMILIUS MAMERCUS, the firſt popular Queſtors, were created twenty three years after the expulſion of the TARQUINS, and appointed to attend the armies: upon the multiplication of buſineſs, two more were afterwards added to officiate at Rome. After a long interval, all Italy being now tributary, and large revenues growing from the Provinces, the number was doubled:

doubled: SYLLA next, in order to fill the Senate, upon which he had devolv'd the authority of adjudging cauſes, created twenty; and tho' the Equeſtrian Order had ſince recover'd the deciſion of ſuits, yet the Queſtorſhip continued ſtill to be by the rule of merit, gratuitouſly granted, till by this motion of DOLABELLA, it was expos'd as it were to ſale by auction.

IN the Conſulſhip of AULUS VITELLIUS and LUCIUS VIPSANIUS, counſels were on foot about ſupplying the vacancies of the Senate; and, as the Nobility of that part of Gaul entitled Comata, had long ſince acquir'd the diſtinction of Confederates and Citizens of Rome, they now ſued for a common participation of her offices and honours: hence many and various were the reaſonings of the publick upon theſe their pretenſions, and the Prince was beſet with oppoſite parties and ſtruggles: he was told, "that Italy was not fallen ſo low, but to her own Capital ſhe could furniſh a ſupply of Senators. Of old her "natives only, they who were of the ſame blood with "the Romans, ſufficed for ſuch recruits to the Roman "State: nor was there any pretence to condemn or amend "the inſtitutions of the ancient Republick, a Republick "which inſpir'd her Citizens with ſuch noble manners, "that the ſpirit and actions of the old Romans were ſtill "urg'd as venerable patterns of virtue and glory to us "their poſterity. Was it not ſufficient that already the "Venetæ and Inſubrians had invaded the Senate, unleſs "a hoſt of foreigners too be introduced, like an eſtabliſhment of captivity and conqueſt? After this, what dignity would remain to the native Nobility? What means "of preferment to any poor Senator of Latium? By theſe "opulent Gauls all publick honours would be engroſs'd; "men whoſe fathers and fore-fathers were at the head "of hoſtile nations, diſtreſs'd us with all the violence of "war, ſlaughter'd our Armies, and at Aleſia beſieg'd the "deified JULIUS: inſtances theſe of later days; but more "horrible to recount were the ravages and tyranny of "the ancient Gauls, thoſe who with impious hands demoliſh'd the great Roman Altar and defaced the Capitol. They might, in truth, enjoy ſtill the title of Citizens;

" tizens; but let not the glory of the Fathers, let not " the luſtre of the Magiſtrates be proſtituted, and become " the common purchaſe and ſpoil of nations."

The Emperor was little affected by theſe and the like allegations; but having preſently anſwer'd thoſe who made them, he ſummon'd the Senate and ſpoke thus: " The " anceſtors of my family, and the oldeſt of them ATTUS " CLAUSUS, who tho' a Sabine born, was at once adopt- " ed a Roman Citizen and enroll'd in the number of Pa- " tricians; have, by their aſſumption into this City, fur- " niſh'd me with a leſſon, that with parallel meaſures I " ought to maintain the Commonwealth, by transferring " to our ſelves all men of ſignal merit wherever found. " For, I am not ignorant, that from Alba we had the JULII, " from Camerium the CORRUNCANI, and the PORCII " from Tuſculum: but, to avoid the detail of ancient and " ſingle adoptions; were not the Nobles of Etruria, the " Nobles of Lucania, nay thoſe of all Italy, call'd into " the body of the Senate? At laſt our City and her pri- " vileges became bounded only by the Alps; inſomuch " that, beſides the admiſſion of particulars, whole ſtates " and nations became ingrafted into the Roman name. " We had then ſolid peace at home, and our arms and " reputation flouriſh'd abroad, when the nations on the " other ſide the Po were preſented with the rights of " Citizens; and when under the guiſe of planting, out " of the Legions, Colonies all over the earth, and by in- " corporating with theſe our colonies the moſt powerful " of the natives, we thence ſupported and renew'd our " own exhauſted ſtate. Do we regret that the BALBI were " tranſplanted to us from Spain, or men equally illuſtri- " ous from the Narbon Gaul; they whoſe deſcendents " remain yet with us, nor yield to us in their love of this " our common country? What prov'd the bane of the " Spartans and Athenians, States ſo potent in arms and " conqueſts, but that they imperiouſly held for aliens whom- " ſoever they conquer'd? Much greater was the wiſdom " of ROMULUS, our founder; a Prince who ſaw ſeveral " people his enemies and his Citizens, in one and the " ſame day. Even over us Romans foreigners have been

"Kings; and, to commit Magiſtracies to the children of "freedmen, is no innovation, as many erroneouſly ſuppoſe, "but a primitive practice of the old Roman people. But, "it ſeems, we have had wars with the Gauls: what is the "conſequence? have the Volcians, have the Equians never "borne arms againſt us? It is true, our Capital has been "taken by the Gauls; but by the Tuſcans we have been "forced to give hoſtages; and by the Samnites to paſs "under a gibbet. However, upon a review of all our "wars, none will be found more quickly concluded than "thoſe with the Gauls; and ever ſince has enſued a peace "never interrupted, and faithfully obſerv'd: they are "link'd with us in private manners, in civil and military "accompliſhments, and domeſtick alliances; and in this "conjunction with us let them rather introduce amongſt "us their gold and abundance, than enjoy them with-"out our participation. All the things, Conſcript Fa-"thers, which are now held moſt ancient in our State, "were once new: the Plebeian Magiſtrates were later than "the Patricians; the Latin later than the Plebeian; thoſe "of other nations in Italy came after the Latin: the pre-"ſent admiſſion of the Gauls will alſo wax old; and what "is this day ſupported by examples, will itſelf hereafter "become an example."

BY a Decree of the Fathers, which followed this ſpeech, the Eduans firſt acquir'd the right of admiſſion into the Senate: the reward this of their ancient confederacy with Rome, and as they only of all the Gauls are entitled the Brethren of the Roman people. About the ſame time, all the ancient Senators, with ſuch whoſe fathers had ſuſtain'd ſignal offices in the State, were by CLAUDIUS aſſum'd into the claſs of Patricians. For, of all the families who by ROMULUS were nam'd *the older Nobility*, or of thoſe added by LUCIUS BRUTUS and call'd *the younger*, there were few remaining: even ſuch whom CESAR the Dictator by the Caſſian Law, and ſuch whom the Emperor AUGUSTUS by the Senian Law, had created Patricians, were now extinct. As theſe reformations made in the State by CLAUDIUS, in quality of Cenſor, were acceptable to the publick, he proceeded in them with great alacrity: yet, how to degrade from the Senate thoſe who were of infamous characters, held him ſome time in ſuſpence; but, as he determin'd to apply rather a new and tender expedient, than to purſue the rigorous example of antiquity; he warn'd them, "to conſult their own qualifications, "and then ask leave to reſign their order; a requeſt eaſily to be obtain'd;" and then he promis'd, "to name "them as perſons remov'd by abdication, at the ſame "time that he would pronounce others judicially expell'd; "that thus the credit of a modeſt and voluntary reſignation, might ſoften and hide the infamy of expulſion by "the judgment of the Cenſor." For theſe regulations, the Conſul VIPSANIUS propos'd, "that CLAUDIUS ſhould "be call'd the *Father of the Senate*; for that, the name "of *Father of his Country* was a common title; and his "extraordinary benefits to the Commonwealth ought "to be diſtinguiſh'd with no ordinary appellations:" but the Emperor thought the flattery extravagant, and check'd the Conſul. He then number'd the Citizens, who in that ſurvey amounted to ſix millions, nine hundred thouſand. From this time he remain'd no longer a ſtranger to his domeſtick reproach, but was brought to hear and puniſh the abominations of his wife; an incident which made way for an inceſtuous marriage with his niece.

MESSALINA now diſdaining her daily adulteries, as pleaſures too common, was abandoning her ſelf to the gratifications of luſt never before deviſ'd; when SILIUS too, by a fatal intoxication, or judging that the dangers hanging over him were only to be averted by dangerous remedies, urg'd to her, "that all diſguiſes muſt now be "caſt off, for they were gone too far to venture waiting "for the death of the Emperor: to none but the guiltleſs were unblamable counſels adapted: in glaring guilt, "determin'd intrepidity was the only reſource. They had "accomplices at hand, ſuch as dreaded the ſame doom; "and for himſelf, he was ſingle, childleſs, ready to marry "her, and to adopt BRITANNICUS: to MESSALINA "ſhould ſtill remain her preſent power; and certain ſecurity would abide both, if they prevented CLAUDIUS; "one ſo eaſily circumvented, but ſo naturally prone withal

" to the incitements of wrath and revenge." Theſe words were but cooly receiv'd by MESSALINA; from no love to her husband; but ſhe fear'd that SILIUS, when he had gain'd the Sovereignty, would ſcorn her his old adultereſs; and the treaſon, which to avoid his preſent peril he now recommended, would then be conſider'd and repaid according to its genuine value. She however coveted the ſtrange fame of this matrimony, purely for the enormous meaſure of the infamy; which to ſuch as are abandon'd to debauchery, is the laſt improvement of voluptuouſneſs: nor ſtaid ſhe longer than till CLAUDIUS went to Oſtia, to aſſiſt at a ſacrifice, and then celebrated her Nuptials with SILIUS, with all the uſual ſolemnities.

I AM well aware how fabulous it will appear, that ſuch blind ſecurity ſhould poſſeſs the heart of any mortal man; much more that a Conſul elect, ſhould, in a City inform'd of all things, and concealing nothing, dare to marry the Emperor's wife, with all the uſual preliminaries and parade, at a ſtated day, witneſſes call'd, the contract ſign'd by them, with a declaration inſerted that by it children were intended: that the Emperor's wife ſhould eſpouſe another husband in form, hear the ſolemn words of the Augurs, ſacrifice ſolemnly to the Gods, celebrate with him in a great company the nuptial Feaſts, and in the preſence of all exchange kiſſes and embraces, and paſs the night in the conſummation of conjugal joys. Yet wonderful as it is, I frame no fiction, but only relate what from the living or written teſtimony of our fathers I have learnt.

HORROR ſeiz'd the Prince's family, eſpecially thoſe who had the chief ſway: they dreaded a Revolution, and their dread ſetting them above their uſual caution of uttering their indignation in ſecret, they ſtorm'd aloud, " that " while the Emperor's bed-chamber was by a player turn'd " into a ſcene of lewdneſs, a monſtrous reproach was in " truth incurr'd, but no diſſolution threaten'd the State: " at preſent was ſeen a more alarming ſcene; a young man " of the prime Nobility, in the beauty of his perſon ſurpaſſing all men, of a ſpirit vigorous and capable, and " juſt entring upon the Conſulſhip, was purſuing views

“ much higher; nor was it any riddle, whither ſuch a marriage tended.” It is true, when they recollected the ſtupidity of CLAUDIUS, his blind attachment to his wife, and the many lives ſacrificed to her fury, their own apprehenſions diſmay'd them: but again, even the paſſive ſpirit of the Emperor reviv'd their confidence, that, if they could firſt poſſeſs him with the horrid blackneſs of her crimes, ſhe might be diſpatch'd without trial: or, if ſhe obtain'd to be heard, and even confeſs'd her guilt, they might yet ſtop his ears and fruſtrate her defence.

BUT firſt it was in agitation, whether ſtill to diſſemble her paſt enormities, and by ſecret menaces deter her from her league with SILIUS. This was a project propos'd by the principal freedmen; by CALISTUS, whom in relating the aſſaſſination of CALIGULA, I have already mention'd; by NARCISSUS, who plotted the ſacrifice of APPIUS; and by PALLAS, then the reigning favourite; but a project afterwards dropp'd, as from alarming MESSALINA they apprehended their own doom. PALLAS was feint-hearted; and CALISTUS, a courtier in the laſt reign alſo, had experienc'd, that more ſecurely by wary meaſures, than by daring counſels, power was ſupported. NARCISSUS perſiſted to attack her; with this difference only, that by no words of his ſhe ſhould be pre-acquainted with any purpoſe he had to accuſe her; and, watching all occaſions, while the Emperor linger'd at Oſtia, he prevail'd, by gifts and promiſes, with two courtezans, to undertake the accuſation; ſince, as they were the chief miſtreſſes of CLAUDIUS, the freedman urg'd to them, “ that by the fall of his wife, their own authority would grow predominant.”

CALPURNIA therefore, (for that was her name) upon the firſt offer of privacy, falling at the Emperor's feet, cried out, “ that MESSALINA had married SILIUS;” and at the ſame time aſk'd CLEOPATRA, who purpoſely attended to atteſt it, “ whether ſhe had not found it to be true?” CLAUDIUS upon a confirmation from CLEOPATRA, order'd NARCISSUS to be call'd. He, when he came, begg'd pardon, that he had conceal'd from the Prince her adulteries with VECTIUS, and thoſe with PLAU-

TIUS; " nor meant he now, he ſaid, to inſiſt upon any " of her adulteries; nor even that the Emperor ſhould " reclaim his palace, his ſlaves, and the other domeſtick " decorations of his Imperial fortune: let her adulterer ſtill " enjoy even theſe: let him only break the nuptial tables, " and reſtore the Emperor's wife. Knoweſt thou, CESAR, " that thou art in a ſtate of divorce? it is what all men " know: in the face of the people, and Senate, and ſoldiery, MESSALINA has eſpous'd SILIUS; and, if thou " makeſt not diſpatch, her new husband is Sovereign of " Rome.

HE then ſent for his moſt truſty friends, particularly for TURRANIUS, Superintendent of the ſtores; next for LUSIUS GETA, Captain of the Pretorian Guards; and enquir'd of them: as they avouch'd it, all the reſt contended in clamour and importunity, that he ſhould forthwith proceed to the Camp, ſecure the Pretorian Cohorts, and conſult his preſervation before his revenge. It is certain, that CLAUDIUS was confounded with that degree of dread, that he inceſſantly ask'd, " whether he were " yet Emperor; whether SILIUS was ſtill a private man?" As to MESSALINA; ſhe never wallow'd in greater voluptuouſneſs; it was then the middle of Autumn, and in her houſe ſhe exhibited a repreſentation of the vintage: the wine-preſſes were plied, the wine vats flow'd, and round them danced women begirt with skins, practiſing the frantick agitations of the drunken ſacrificers to Bacchus: ſhe her ſelf, with her hair looſe and flowing, held a Thyrſus and wav'd it; accompanied by SILIUS, who was crown'd with ivy, his legs in buskins, and brandiſhing his head; and about him revell'd, in wanton poſtures, the chanting choir of mock Prieſts. It is reported, that VECTIUS VALENS, having, in a frolick, vaulted to the top of an exceeding high tree, was ask'd, what he beheld; and anſwer'd, " a terrible ſtorm from Oſtia:" whether he in truth ſaw a troubled sky, or ſpoke at random, it prov'd in effect a true preſage.

FOR, it was no longer the uncertain voice of rumour, but meſſengers were hourly arriving with expreſs tidings, " that CLAUDIUS was appriz'd of all, and approach'd,

“ bent upon ſudden vengeance.” MESSALINA therefore betook her ſelf to the Gardens of LUCULLUS; and SILIUS, to diſſemble his fear, reſum'd the offices of the Forum. As all the reſt fled different ways, the Centurions caught and bound them, ſome abroad, ſome in private places, as faſt as they could diſcover them. MESSALINA, tho' her ſoul embarraſs'd by this threatning calamity was bereft of reſources, form'd however no daſtardly purpoſe, namely, that of meeting her husband, and moving him by her preſence; an expedient which had often prov'd her protection: ſhe likewiſe order'd that BRITANNICUS and OCTAVIA ſhould go forth and embrace their father; and beſought VIBIDIA, the oldeſt Veſtal, to intercede with the chief Pontiff, and implore his mercy for his wife. She her ſelf the while wander'd on foot all along the City, attended only by three perſons (ſo ſuddenly had her whole train forſaken her in diſgrace) and then in a cart employ'd to carry dirt from the Gardens, took the road to Oſtia; a wretched object, but by no ſoul pitied; as the hideous deformity of her abominations had prevail'd over all commiſeration.

YET ſtill the Emperor was poſſeſs'd with no leſs affright; for, he could not intirely rely on the faith of GETA Captain of his Guards; a man equally fickle to embark in deſigns honourable or baſe. NARCISSUS therefore in concert with thoſe who entertain'd the ſame fear and miſtruſt, aſſur'd the Emperor, “ that there was “ no other expedient to preſerve him than the transferring “ the command of his Guards upon one of his freedmen, “ for that day only;” and offer'd himſelf to undertake it. In all this he was ſupported by theſe his aſſociates: and, that LUCIUS VITELLIUS, and PUBLIUS LARGUS CECINA, might not, upon the road, prevail with CLAUDIUS to relent, he deſir'd leave to ſit in the ſame coach, and took it.

IT grew afterwards a prevailing report, that, tho' the Emperor was agitated different ways, and waver'd in his talk, now taxing the abominations of his wife, then recalling the endearments of their marriage, and the tender age of their children; VITELLIUS utter'd nothing but, “ oh hineous! oh the iniquity!” NARCISSUS, in truth, labour'd to drive him from his equivoques, and bring him to ſome expreſs declaration; but, with all his labour, he gain'd nothing: VITELLIUS ſtill anſwer'd indirectly, and in terms that would admit of any conſtruction; and his example was follow'd by LARGUS CECINA. Beſides, MESSALINA was already in ſight, and importunately cried, “that he would hear the mother of OCTAVIA and BRITANNICUS?” To drown her cries, the accuſer ſtorm'd againſt SILIUS, and her late marriage, and deliver'd at the ſame time to CLAUDIUS a Memorial reciting all her whoredoms; by it to divert him from beholding her. Soon after, as the Emperor was entring Rome, it was attempted to preſent him his children by her; but NARCISSUS order'd them to be taken away: he could not however force away VIBIDIA, who inſiſted, with much earneſtneſs, “that CESAR would not ſurrender his wife to deſtruction without admitting her defence:” ſo that NARCISSUS was oblig'd to aſſure her, that the Prince would hear MESSALINA, who ſhould have full opportunity of clearing her ſelf; and adviſ'd the Veſtal to retire, and attend the ſolemnities of her Goddeſs.

WONDERFUL during all this was the ſilence of CLAUDIUS: VITELLIUS affected aſtoniſhment; and the freedman controul'd all things: by his command, the houſe of the adulterer was open'd, and the Emperor carried thither; where firſt he ſhew'd him, in the porch, the Statue of SILIUS the father, tho' the ſame had been decreed to be demoliſh'd by the Senate; and, within, all the ſumptuous furniture belonging to the NEROS and DRUSI, but now the price and monuments of his wife's proſtitution, and his own diſgrace. Having by this means inflam'd him, and work'd him up to threats and fury, he led him ſtreight to the Camp, where the ſoldiers being already aſſembled, CLAUDIUS, by the direction of NARCISSUS, made them a ſhort ſpeech; for the eruptions of his diſpleaſure, however juſt, were reſtrain'd by ſhame. Hence inſtantly began a general and importunate clamour for the names and doom of the criminals; and SILIUS was preſented before the Imperial Tribunal, where, neither offering any preſent defence, nor endeavouring to procraſtinate, he only beſought a diſpatch of his doom. The like eagerneſs for ſudden execution, poſſeſs'd alſo ſeveral illuſtrious Roman Knights. He therefore commanded TITIUS PROCULUS, given by SILIUS as a guard to MESSALINA; VECTIUS VALENS, who confeſs'd his guilt, and offer'd to diſcover others; POMPEIUS URBICUS and SAUFELLUS TROGUS, as accomplices; to be all dragg'd to execution: on DECIUS CALPURNIANUS too, Prefect of the watch; SULPICIUS RUFUS, Comptroller of the Sports; and JUNCUS VIRGILIANUS, the Senator, the ſame pains were inflicted.

MNESTER only created ſome heſitation: he tore off his garments and cried, “ that the Emperor might behold upon his body the impreſſions of the laſh; might remember his own commands, obliging him to gratify MESSALINA without reſerve: others had been tempted to the iniquity by great preſents or mighty hopes; but his offence was only owing to compulſion; nor would any man have ſooner periſh'd had SILIUS gain'd the Sovereignty.” Theſe conſiderations affected CLAUDIUS and greatly biaſs'd him to mercy; but his freedmen overrul'd him: they urg'd, “ that after ſo many illuſtrious ſacrifices, he would by no means think of ſaving a Player; whoſe crime was of that enormous malignity, that it avail'd not whether through choice or force he had committed it.” As ſmall effect had the defence of TRAULUS MONTANUS: this was a youth of ſignal modeſty and lovelineſs, call'd by the expreſs order of MESSALINA to her bed, and, after one night, caſt off; with ſuch equal wantonneſs was her paſſion ſurfeited and inflam'd! To SUILIUS CESONIUS, and PLAUTIUS LATERANUS, their lives were granted; to the laſt on account of the noble exploits of his uncle: the other was protected by his vileneſs, as one who, in the late abominable revel, had proſtituted himſelf like a woman.

MESSALINA was the while in the Gardens of LUCULLUS, ſtill ſtriving to prolong life, and therefore compoſing ſupplications to the Prince, in a ſtrain of ſome hopes, and even with ſallies of reſentment and wrath: ſuch were the ſwellings of her pride, tho' encompaſs'd with the horrors of her approaching fate. In truth, had not NARCIS-

SUS haſten'd her aſſaſſination, the doom which he had prepar'd for her, would have rebounded upon his own head. For, CLAUDIUS, upon his return home, having well feaſted upon the rarities of the ſeaſon, began thence to grow jovial; ſo that as ſoon as he became warm with wine, he order'd them "to go and acquaint the miſerable woman," (for this was the appellation which he is ſaid to have us'd) "that to morrow ſhe ſhould attend "and plead her cauſe." Theſe words were alarming; his reſentment alſo viſibly abated, and his wonted affections were returning; beſides that the effect of the following ſolitary night, and the impreſſions which the conjugal chamber, now deſtitute of his wife, might make upon CLAUDIUS; rais'd terrible apprehenſions in NARCISSUS: he therefore ran haſtily forth, and directed the Tribune and Centurions then attending upon duty, "to diſpatch the execution, for ſuch was the Emperor's command." With them he ſent EVODUS of the freedmen, as a watch upon them, to ſee his orders ſtrictly fulfill'd. EVODUS flew in a moment to the Gardens, and found her lying along upon the earth: by her ſat her mother LEPIDA; who during her proſperity had liv'd in no degree of unanimity with her; but, in this her deadly diſtreſs, was overcome by compaſſion for her, and now perſuaded her, "to anticipate the executioner: the courſe of "her life, ſhe ſaid, was already finally run; and ſhe was "now confin'd to one only purſuit, that of dying with "renown." But her ſoul, ſunk and corrupted by debauchery, retain'd no tincture or reliſh of glory: ſhe continued bewailing her ſelf with tears and vain complaints, till the ſoldiers forced the doors: the Tribune ſtood before her, without opening his mouth; but the Freedman abus'd her unmeaſurably, with all the brutal invectives of a ſlave.

SHE was then firſt convinc'd of the fate that hung over her, and, laying hold on the ſteel, aim'd firſt at her throat, and then at her breaſt; but while an irreſolute ſpirit and a quaking hand fruſtrated her aim, the Tribune ran her through: her corps was granted to her mother. CLAUDIUS was yet purſuing his good cheer, when tidings were carried him, “ that MESSALINA had ſuffer’d her deſtiny;” but without the addition of particulars, whether by her own, or another hand; neither did he enquire: he even call’d for a bowl of wine, and proceeded in the uſual gayeties of banquetting: nor did he, in truth, during the following days, manifeſt any ſymptom of deteſtation or joy, of reſentment or ſadneſs, nor in ſhort of any human affection; unmov’d as he was by beholding the accuſers of his wife exulting over her death; untouch’d by the ſight of his children bewailing the violent end of their mother. The Senate help’d him to forget her, by decreeing, “ that from all publick and private places her Name “ ſhould be raz’d, and her Pictures and Statues remov’d.” To NARCISSUS were decreed the decorations of the Queſtorſhip. This however was but a ſmall monument of his grandeur, ſeeing he had now exerted an inſtance of power ſuperiour to that of PALLAS and CALISTUS; an inſtance juſt in effect, but from whence in time aroſe moſt pernicious conſequences, as the deſerv’d puniſhment of MESSALINA prov’d the ſource of flagrant iniquities which eſcap’d unpuniſh’d.

TWELFTH ANNAL.

UPON the death of MESSALINA, diſtractions ſhook the Prince's family, as amongſt the freedmen a ſtrife aroſe, which of them ſhould chuſe a wife for CLAUDIUS; one impatient of a ſingle life, and always abandon'd to the dominion of his wives. Nor were the Ladies animated by leſs emulation, whilſt they endeavour'd preferably to recommend their own quality, wealth, and beauty, and each boaſted her juſt claim to imperial wedlock. But the chief competition lay between LOLLIA PAULLINA, daughter to MARCUS LOLLIUS a Conſular, and JULIA AGRIPPINA the daughter of GERMANICUS; the latter ſupported by the intereſt of PALLAS, the other by that of CALLISTUS. But, AELIA PETINA, of the Tuberonian family, had the countenance of NARCISSUS. For CLAUDIUS; as he was now bent upon one, then upon another, undetermin'd in himſelf, and always led by his laſt adviſer, he call'd together theſe his jarring counſellors, and order'd them to produce their ſeveral propoſals, and defend them.

NARCISSUS alledg'd "his former marriage with PETINA, and their common daughter (for, by her he had ANTONIA,) and that by reſuming his wonted wife, he would introduce into his family no innovation; but a wife, who would never exerciſe the envious ſpirit of a ſtep-mother towards BRITANNICUS and OCTAVIA, ſince they were in blood ſo nearly allied to her own children." CALLISTUS argu'd, "that, to recal her, after ſo long a diſlike and divorce, would be the very means to heighten her indignation and pride: LOLLIA would be a much more eligible match; ſhe, who having no iſſue of her own, was void of every motive of emulation to his, but would uſe theſe her ſtep-children with the tenderneſs of a real mother." PALLAS chiefly recommended AGRIPPINA from theſe conſiderations; "that, with her ſhe would bring the grandſon of GERMANICUS, and was herſelf worthy of imperial fortune, noble in her deſcent, and a proper band to unite together to poſterity the Claudian family; that ſhe was of tried fruitfulneſs, and in the prime of

“ her age; ſo that by this match, would be prevented “ her carrying into another houſe the illuſtrious blood of “ the CESARS.”

THE reaſonings of PALLAS prevail'd, enforc'd as they were by the allurements and careſſes of AGRIPPINA; who under ſhew of conſanguinity, was aſſiduous in her viſits to her uncle, and manag'd him ſo effectually, that, tho' hitherto ſhe was only preferr'd to others, and not yet his wife; ſhe already exercis'd the power of one. For, as ſoon as ſhe had ſecur'd her own marriage, ſhe was framing higher purpoſes, and concerting a match between DOMITIUS, her ſon by CNEIUS AENOBARBUS, and OCTAVIA, the Emperor's daughter: a deſign which without iniquity could not be accompliſh'd, becauſe the Emperor had betroth'd OCTAVIA to LUCIUS SILANUS, a youth of ſignal quality, whom CLAUDIUS had diſtinguiſh'd with the triumphal ornaments, and, by the popular magnificence of an entertainment of gladiators in his name, recommended to the notice and favour of the people. But, nothing appear'd inſurmountable to the undiſcerning ſpirit of a Prince, who had no judgment nor choice, nor averſion, but ſuch as were infus'd and manag'd by others.

VITELLIUS therefore, who watch'd the tendency of power, and foreſaw into whoſe hands the ſovereignty was haſtning, in order to purchaſe the favour of AGRIPPINA, became engag'd in her counſels, and, under the plauſible name of Cenſor covering his own ſervile and hollow arts, began to deviſe crimes againſt SILANUS; whoſe ſiſter JUNIA SILANA, a young lady gay and beautiful, had not long before been the daughter-in-law of VITELLIUS. Hence he took the ſource of the accuſation, and wreſted to a charge of inceſt the mutual affection of brother and ſiſter; an affection no wiſe inceſtuous, however too free and unguarded. The Emperor liſten'd to the charge, as his fondneſs for his daughter render'd him the more prone to entertain ſuſpicions againſt his ſon-in-law. For SILANUS; unappriz'd as he was of any machinations againſt him, and happening to be Pretor that year, he was all on a ſudden, by an edict of VITELLIUS, degraded from the rank of a Senator, notwithſtanding the Senate was review'd: and the number fix'd a good while before: CLAUDIUS,

DIUS, at the ſame time, withdrew his alliance, and SILANUS was even compell'd to renounce his magiſtracy; inſomuch that his Pretorſhip, which of courſe expir'd next day, was for that day conferr'd upon EPRIUS MARCELLUS.

DURING the conſulſhip of CAIUS POMPEIUS and QUINTUS VERANIUS, the contract of marriage between CLAUDIUS and AGRIPPINA formerly made, was already proclaim'd by the publick voice, and the publick voice confirm'd by their own criminal commerce. They durſt not however celebrate the nuptials, as there was no inſtance of an uncle's taking to wife his brother's daughter. Beſides, it was evidently inceſtuous, and if that conſideration were deſpis'd, it was apprehended that ſome avenging calamity might fall upon the ſtate. Theſe fears and delays continu'd, till VITELLIUS undertook to accompliſh it, by his own dexterity. He ask'd the Emperor, "whether "he would ſubmit to the expreſs pleaſure of the people, and to the authority of the Senate?" CLAUDIUS anſwer'd, "that he himſelf was one of the people, and could "not withſtand the voice and conſent of them all:" VITELLIUS then deſir'd him to continue within the palace, and went himſelf to the Senate, where after a ſolemn declaration, that he had ſomewhat to communicate of the higheſt importance to the commonwealth, he demanded leave to be heard before any other; then alledg'd, "that "the exquiſite and inceſſant labours of the Prince, even "thoſe of governing the world, call'd for alleviation and "ſupport, ſuch as relieving him from domeſtick cares "might leave him at full leiſure to attend the intereſt of "the whole. What, in truth, was a more worthy con-"ſolation to the ſpirit of a Cenſor, than the conſolation "of a wife, a ſharer in his croſſes and proſperity, one in "whom he could repoſe his moſt ſecret thoughts and the "care of his tender infants? For, as to the ways of ſen-"ſuality and voluptuous pleaſures, he had never follow'd "them, but from his early youth practis'd ſtrict obedience "to the laws."

AFTER this plauſible introduction, which he found receiv'd by the Senate with mighty ſycophancy and applauſe, he again proceeded; "that ſeeing they all with one mouth "perſuaded the Prince to marry; a Lady muſt be choſen

“ ſignal in her deſcent, of diſtinguiſh’d fruitfulneſs, and
“ religiouſly virtuous: nor for theſe qualifications needed
“ there be long ſearch, ſince AGRIPPINA, in the illuſtriouſ-
“ neſs of her race, excell’d all others; had given proofs of
“ her fruitfulneſs, and was endow’d with ſuitable purity
“ of manners: it was indeed a happy circumſtance, that
“ through the providence of the Gods, ſhe prov’d then
“ a widow, that the Prince might take her ſingle into
“ his own bed, without violating that of another; he who
“ had ever confin’d himſelf religiouſly to his own wives.
“ They had heard from their fathers, nay themſelves had
“ ſeen, that Ladies were raviſh’d from their husbands,
“ at the luſt and command of the CESARS: a proceeding
“ far from the moderate ſpirit of the preſent government,
“ when the Emperor even eſtabliſh’d a precedent by what
“ authority Princes ought hereafter to marry. But, amongſt
“ us it ſeem’d an innovation to marry our brother’s daugh-
“ ters; which yet is a uſage frequent in other nations;
“ nor by any law forbidden to ours. The intermarriage
“ of couſins germans was a practice long unknown, yet
“ in time wax’d frequent: cuſtoms were to be ſuited to
“ exigencies; and this very novelty was one of thoſe things
“ which would ſoon be follow’d and practis’d.”

THERE were ſeveral Senators who declar’d with contending zeal, “ that if the Emperor linger’d longer, they would “ compell him,” and ruſh’d warmly out of the Senate. The mixt multitude were likewiſe aſſembl’d, and proclaim’d with ſhouts, “ that the ſame was the voice and “ demand of the Roman people.” Nor did CLAUDIUS delay any further, but proceeded to the Forum, there to receive in perſon their acclamations, and thence entring the Senate, requir’d “ a decree to legitimate for ever the “ marriages between uncles and their brothers daughters.” But, notwithſtanding the law, no man was found addicted to this kind of alliance, but TITUS ALLEDIUS SEVERUS, a Roman Knight; and he only, as many believ’d, in court to AGRIPPINA. From this moment, the city aſſum’d a different face, and all men tamely obey’d a woman; one who did not, like MESSALINA, render the Roman ſtate ſubſervient only to her feminine wantonneſs and amours, but over it eſtabliſh’d a complete and maſculine ſervitude.

Her carriage in publick was ſevere, and often haughty; at home ſhe indulg'd no impurity, unleſs where the ſame ſerv'd the purpoſes of her power; and for a guiſe to her inſatiate paſſion for money, ſhe pretended the ſupport and exigencies of the ſtate.

On the day of the nuptials, SILANUS ſlew himſelf; whether he had thus long entertain'd hopes of life, or invidiouſly choſe that day to accumalate publick hate upon his perſecutors. His ſiſter CALVINA was baniſh'd Italy; and to her ſentence CLAUDIUS added an injunction to the Pontiffs; "that, according to the inſtitution of King TULLUS, "they ſhould offer expiatory ſacrifices at the grove of "DIANA:" a ſource of mockery to all men, that penalties and luſtrations for inceſt ſhould be deviſ'd at ſuch a conjuncture, when inceſt was eſtabliſh'd by law. For AGRIPPINA; that ſhe might not be diſtinguiſh'd and notorious only for the blackneſs of her deed, ſhe obtain'd for ANNEUS SENECA a revocation from exile, and with it the Pretorſhip; favours which ſhe ſuppos'd would prove well pleaſing to the publick, on account of his ſignal eloquence and accompliſhments; beſides her own private views, ſuch as the education of her ſon DOMITIUS under ſuch a maſter, and the uſe they ſhould make of his counſels for acquiring the Sovereignty: for SENECA, ſhe believ'd, would continue faithfully attach'd to her from ties of gratitude; and in ſecret enmity to CLAUDIUS, through reſentments of his ſufferings.

It was now thought expedient to proceed without more delay, to further deſigns; and MEMMIUS POLLIO, the Conſul elect, was gain'd, by vaſt promiſes, to move the Senate, that CLAUDIUS might be by them beſought "to betroth OCTAVIA to DOMITIUS:" a match not inſuitable, indeed, to the equality of their ages, but introductory to the higheſt views: POLLIO mov'd it much in the ſame words with thoſe lately uſ'd by VITELLIUS: OCTAVIA was betroth'd; and DOMITIUS, beſides his former conſanguinity with the Emperor, becoming alſo his ſon-in-law, was already rais'd to a parity with BRITANNICUS, an elevation which he ow'd to the efforts of his mother, and the devices of thoſe who having been the accuſers of MESSALINA, dreaded the vengeance of her ſon.

I have

I have before related that embaſſadors from the Parthians were ſent to Rome, to demand MEHERDATES for their King: they were at this time introduced into the Senate, where they open'd their embaſſy to this effect; “That they came not to ſeek the violation of treaties, which they were aware ſubſiſted between us and them; nor came they as revolters from the family of the Arſacides: their errand was to call home a Prince, who was the ſon of VENONES, the grandſon of PHRAHATES, as their deliverer from the tyranny of GOTARZES; a tyranny equally inſupportable to the nobility and people: already he had conſign'd to ſlaughter and utterly conſum'd by it his own brothers and relations; already extended the ſame cruelty to diſtant nobles and places; and to their ſlaughter was daily adding that of their wives and tender children, ſome of them yet unborn: that in matters of government, being a ſluggard in peace, and of wretched fortune in war, he would with cruelty diſguiſe his impotent and daſtardly ſpirit: that with us the Parthians had an ancient friendſhip, founded upon publick leagues; and it behov'd us to ſuccour theſe our allies, in ſtrength great as our ſelves, and only in reverence yielding to us: it was true that the ſons of their Kings were given as pledges to the Romans; but they were therefore only given, that when the domeſtick government of Parthia became grievous, they might have recourſe to the Emperor and Senate, for a King ſeaſon'd and improv'd by the Roman manners, and thence worthier of the throne.”

WHEN they had alledg'd theſe and the like arguments, CLAUDIUS made a ſpeech concerning the grandeur of the Romans, and the deferences ever paid to the ſame by the Parthians; and equalling himſelf with the deified AUGUSTUS, repreſented that from him alſo they had ſought a King. He omitted to mention TIBERIUS, tho' he too had ſent them Kings. Upon MEHERDATES (who was preſent) he beſtowed proper precepts and admonitions, “that he ſhould not conſider his government as a lawleſs domination, nor his people as ſlaves; but remember himſelf and them in the tender relation of magiſtrate and fellow citizens; that he ſhould cultivate ju-

“ ſtice and clemency; bleſſings unknown to Barbarians, and thence the more likely to pleaſe them.” Then turning to the embaſſadors, he enlarg'd upon the praiſes of the young Prince, “ as one educated in the Roman diſcipline, and himſelf of diſtinguiſh'd modeſty,” yet adviſ'd them, “ that they muſt bear with the humours of their Kings, for in frequent changes, they could never find their intereſt; and that the Roman ſtate was arrived to a ſatiety of glory, inſomuch that ſhe ſtudied the repoſe likewiſe of foreign ſtates.” It was therefore given in commiſſion to CAIUS CASSIUS, governor of Syria, to conduct the young King to the banks of the Euphrates.

THIS CASSIUS ſurpaſs'd all thoſe of that time in the knowledge of the laws: for, in a long and general receſs from war, the military arts were forgot; and, during a ſettled peace, no difference appears between the daſtardly and the brave: yet he ſeduloully exercis'd the legions, carefully reviv'd the ancient diſcipline, as far as without the aſſiſtance of a war the ſame could be reviv'd, and acted with the ſame care and circumſpection, as if a formidable enemy had been at hand. Such ſpirit and conduct he thought became the renown of his anceſtors and the Caſſian family, a name celebrated even amongſt thoſe nations. He now encamp'd at Zeugma, a place where the river is moſt paſſable, and having call'd together thoſe by whoſe advice a King was ſought from Rome, as ſoon as the Parthian chiefs, and with them AGBARUS King of the Arabs, were arriv'd, he repreſented to MEHERDATES, “ that the Barbarians, in the firſt ſallies of their ſpirit, were always violent, but cool'd by delays, or warp'd into treachery; ſo that, it behov'd him to preſs on to the execution of his enterpriſe.” This good counſel was fruſtrated by the fraud of AGBARUS, who detain'd the young King many days at the city of Edeſſa; unexperienc'd as he was, and poſſeſs'd, that the eſſence of Royal fortune was plac'd in luxury and riot: ſo that, tho' CARRHENES preſs'd them by meſſengers, and aſſur'd them, that ſucceſs was certain, if they advanc'd with ſpeed; they neglected entring directly into Meſopotamia, tho' they were juſt upon its borders; but choſe, by a
long

long circuit, to march to Armenia; an unſeaſonable and laborious march, for winter was already begun.

As they deſcended into the plains, wearied with the deep ſnow and ſteep mountains, CARRHENES join'd them with his forces. Thence they paſs'd the Tigris, and croſs'd the country of the Adiabenians, IZATES their King having publickly eſpous'd the intereſt of MEHERDATES, tho' ſecretly his inclinations were more ſincerely attach'd to GOTARZES. In paſſing the river they took the city Ninos, the ancient ſeat of the Aſſyrian Empire, as alſo the caſtle of Arbela, ſo renown'd in ſtory, for that the laſt battle between DARIUS and ALEXANDER was there fought, and by it the Monarchy of Perſia diſſolv'd. GOTARZES the while was ſacrificing upon mount Sambulos to the Gods of the place. Amongſt theſe HERCULES is principally ador'd, as a deity who, at ſtated times, is wont to warn the prieſts in a dream, "to prepare him horſes equip'd "for hunting, and place them by the temple;" and theſe horſes, as ſoon as they have fix'd upon them certain quivers ſtuff'd with arrows, gallop off and ſcowr the foreſts, nor return till night, their arrows all ſpent, and themſelves exhauſted and blowing: again, the God, in another viſion of the night, deſcribes to the prieſts the ſeveral tracts of the woods where he had rang'd; and in them are found ſcatter'd up and down, the beaſts by him hunted down and ſlain.

As the forces of GOTARZES were not yet ſufficiently ſtrengthen'd, he us'd the river Corma for a rampart, and tho' daily by inſults and heralds challeng'd to battel, he ſtill procraſtinated, ſhifted ſtations, and employ'd emiſſaries the while to bribe the enemy and wean them from their plighted faith; inſomuch that firſt IZATES, leader of the Adiabenians, and preſently after AGBARUS King of the Arabs, went off with both their armies; a deſertion agreeable to the native fickleneſs of thoſe barbarous people, and even to their uſual policy: ſince by ſeveral trials we have learnt, that they would rather ask a King from Rome, than be govern'd by him. MEHERDATES thus bereft of theſe powerful allies, and apprehending treaſonable purpoſes in thoſe who continu'd, determin'd, as his only remaining reſource, to commit the iſſue to chance, and riſque a battle: nor did GOTARZES refuſe it, he who was grown reſolute as his enemy was become weak. The conflict was great and bloody, and the event long in ſuſpence, till CARRHENES, having overthrown all that oppos'd him, purſuing his victory too far, was ſurrounded in the rear by a body of reſerve. This blow utterly blaſted all the hopes of MEHERDATES; who therefore truſting to the faith and promiſes of PARRHACES, a dependant of his father's, was by the traitor deliver'd in bonds to the conqueror. GOTARZES diſowning him "for a kinſman, or one of the family of the Arſacides," but reviling him, as "a foreigner and a Roman," order'd him to live with his ears cut off; as a vain inſtance of his own clemency, and towards us a monument of ſcorn and contumely. A diſeaſe ſoon after carried off GOTARZES; and VONONES, then governor of Media, was call'd to the throne; a Prince diſtinguiſh'd by nothing memorable fortunate or diſaſtrous: his reign was ſhort and inconſiderable, and the ſtate of Parthia dovolv'd upon his ſon VOLOGESES.

DURING this, MITHRIDATES of Boſphorus, ſince the loſs of his territories, wander'd from place to place; but, having learnt that DIDIUS, the Roman commander, was thence withdrawn with the ſtrength of his army, and that COTYS, a young Prince void of experience, was left in his new kingdom with only a few cohorts under JULIUS AQUILA, a Roman Knight; he ſlighted both, animated the neighbouring people to arms, drew over deſerters, and having thus aſſembl'd an army, exterminated the King of the Dandarides, and ſeiz'd his dominions. Upon theſe tidings, and an apprehenſion, that he would inſtantly invade Boſphorus; AQUILA and COTYS diſtruſting the power of their own forces, and being diverted too by ZORSINES King of the Siracians, who had again taken up hoſtile arms; had recourſe themſelves to foreign aid, and diſpatch'd Embaſſadors to EUNONES Prince of the Adorſians. Nor was it hard to accompliſh this alliance, when they who ſought it repreſented the imperial power of the Romans in competition with MITHRIDATES a vagabond and revolter. It was therefore accorded, "that EUNONES ſhould "make head with the cavalry, and the Romans beſiege "the towns."

The army was then ſorm'd and march'd in this order: the Adorſians compos'd the front and rear, the cohorts occupied the center, with thoſe of Boſphorus arm'd like Romans. Thus they diſcomfited the enemy, and arriv'd at Soza, a city of the Dandarides, now deſerted by MITHRIDATES; but, in it a garriſon was judg'd proper to be placed, as a bridle upon the doubtful affections of the people. Thence they proceeded againſt the Siracians, and croſſing the river Panda begirt the city of Uſpes, ſituated upon a hill and well fortified with walls and moats; only as the walls were not built with ſtone, but rais'd of rows of hurdles with earth between, they were unable to bear an aſſault; moreover, againſt them towers were rais'd high enough to overlook them, and from thence the beſieg'd were infeſted with flights of darts and flaming torches; and, had not night parted the combat, the city had been attempted and ſtormed within the limits of a day.

Next day the beſieg'd ſent deputies to ſollicit, that to the free inhabitants their lives might be ſpared, and offering as an atonement ten thouſand ſlaves: conditions rejected by the conquerors, ſince the maſſacring of ſuch as were ſurrender'd to mercy would have been inhuman; and to ſecure ſuch an hoſt of priſoners, extremely difficult: it was therefore deem'd the ſounder counſel to exerciſe the right of war, and put all promiſcuouſly to the ſword; hence to the ſoldiers, who already mounted the walls, the ſignal of ſlaughter was given. The overthrow of Uſpes and the doom of its inhabitants, terrified their neighbours, who now believ'd that nothing could be ſecure or impregnable againſt the Romans; ſince arms and bulwarks, heights and faſtneſſes, deep rivers and fortified towns, were with equal bravery vanquiſh'd by them. Hence ZORSINES, after long deliberation, whether ſtill to adhere to the deſperate fortune of MITHRIDATES, or conſult the ſecurity of his own paternal crown; at laſt preferr'd the intereſt of his ſtate, and having deliver'd hoſtages, came and proſtrated himſelf before the image of CLAUDIUS; to the ſignal glory of the Roman army, who had advanc'd, in a courſe of victory without blood, within three days journey of the river Tanais: but, in their return, the ſame fortune did not attend them; for, certain veſſels, as they ſail'd back, were caſt by a ſtorm upon the coaſts of the Taurians, and by theſe barbarians ſurpriz'd, who ſlew the leader of a cohort and moſt of the centurions.

MITHRIDATES the while, now deſtitute of all reſource from arms, was deviſing to what quarter he ſhould have recourſe for mercy: his brother COTYS he dreaded as one who had formerly betray'd him, and became afterwards his open enemy: amongſt the Romans in thoſe parts there was none whoſe authority and engagements could much avail him: to EUNONES therefore he determin'd to apply, as one who bore him no perſonal hatred, and by virtue of his late alliance with us, a Prince of prevailing credit. Thus, in a countenance and equipage adapted to his preſent deſolate circumſtances, he enter'd the palace, and throwing himſelf at the feet of EUNONES; "I am MITHRIDATES, ſays he; the ſame who have "been chas'd and perſecuted by the Romans for ſo many "years through ſea and land; behold me before you, "of my own choice; and uſe according to your plea-"ſure a deſcendent of the great ACHEMENES: it is the "only advantage of which my enemies have not be-"reav'd me."

EUNONES was ſtruck and affected with the illuſtrious quality of the man, with the ſad recollection of his fortune, and his magnanimous manner of ſupplication. He rais'd him up, and praiſing him for having thrown himſelf upon the friendſhip of the Adorſians, and choſen him as a mediator for pardon, diſpatch'd embaſſadors to CLAUDIUS with letters to this purpoſe: "The alliances of the "Roman Emperors with the Kings of other mighty na-"tions, he ſaid, were firſt founded upon a ſimilitude of "their fortunes; and his own with CLAUDIUS was alſo "confirm'd by a joint victory: but, all wars were then "concluded with moſt glory, when they ended in par-"doning the vanquiſh'd: in this manner was ZORSINES "lately treated; beaten but depriv'd of nothing. MI-"THRIDATES, it was true, had offended more grie-"vouſly, and merited greater ſeverity: hence for MI-"THRIDATES he neither beſought new power or his "former kingdom, but only an exemption from ca-

“ pital puniſhment, and from the ignominy of being led
“ in triumph.”

CLAUDIUS, tho’ always benevolent to illuſtrious foreigners, was yet at a loſs whether it were more adviſable to receive the captive on terms of mercy, or to have him by force of arms. For this laſt there pleaded the ſenſe of injuries, and the gratification of revenge: but againſt it was alledg’d, “ that the war was to be under-
“ taken in countries wild and trackleſs, upon a ſea boi-
“ ſterous and deſtitute of havens, againſt fierce and war-
“ like Kings, againſt rambling and vagabond nations;
“ where the ſoil was indigent and barren, where haſty
“ meaſures would be dangerous, procraſtination vexati-
“ ous and weariſom; ſmall would be the glory in vic-
“ tory, much infamy in a defeat: the Emperor ought
“ therefore readily to embrace the overture, and agree to
“ ſpare his life; he was indigent, and an exile; and the
“ longer he enjoy’d his deſolate life, ſo much the ſeverer
“ would be his ſufferings.” Theſe conſiderations convinced CLAUDIUS, and he writ to EUNONES, “ that in
“ truth MITHRIDATES had merited the puniſhment of
“ death, nor wanted he power to inflict it; but he choſe
“ to follow the rule of our anceſtors, who, as they pur-
“ ſu’d obſtinate enemies with unrelenting rigour, treated
“ the ſupplicant with equal benevolence. As to triumphs,
“ they were only to be acquired by the conqueſt of entire
“ kingdoms and nations.”

MITHRIDATES was thence deliver’d to JULIUS CILO, the Imperial Procurator in Pontus, and by him carried to Rome, where, in the preſence of the Emperor, he is ſaid to have ſpoke with more haughtineſs than ſuited with the abjectneſs of his fortune: for, as the ſame was reported abroad, he thus expreſs’d himſelf: “ I am not brought
“ back to thee, CESAR; but of my own choice I have
“ return’d; or, if thou doſt not believe me, diſmiſs me
“ again, and then try to recover me.” Moreover, when he was expos’d at the Roſtrum, to the view of the people, and encompaſs’d with guards, his countenance continu’d perfectly undaunted. To CILO were decreed the Conſular onaments, and to AQUILA thoſe of the Pretorſhip.

During the ſame Conſuls, AGRIPPINA, ever implacable in her hate, and enrag'd at LOLLIA, for having diſputed with her a right to the Emperor's bed; fram'd crimes againſt her, and ſuborn'd an accuſer, who charg'd her, "with dealing with the Magicians and Chaldeans, and "even conſulting the Oracle of the Clarian Apollo, concerning that match." CLAUDIUS, without hearing her in her own defence, repreſented her guilt to the Senate; and, after a long preface concerning the ſignal ſplendor of her birth and quality, "that by her mother ſhe was "niece to LUCIUS VOLUSIUS; COTTA MESSALINUS "her great uncle, her ſelf formerly married to MEMMIUS "REGULUS," (for of her marriage with CALIGULA he purpoſely ſaid nothing) he added, "that ſhe purſued pernicious devices againſt the Commonwealth, and muſt "be diveſted of the means, and opportunities of iniquity and treaſon, her eſtate be confiſcated, and her ſelf "baniſh'd Italy." Thus, of all her immenſe wealth, only thirty thouſand pounds were allotted her. CALPURNIA too, another illuſtrious Lady, was doom'd to ruin, becauſe the Prince had prais'd her beauty, tho' from no paſſion for her perſon, but only in occaſional diſcourſe: a conſideration, which ſo much abated the fury of AGRIPPINA, that her puniſhment was on this ſide death. To LOLLIA, a Tribune was diſpatch'd; with orders, to compell her to die. CADIUS RUFUS was likewiſe condemn'd for extortion, at the ſuit of the Bithynians.

To the province of Narbon Gaul it was now granted, in regard of the diſtinguiſh'd reverence ever by them paid to the Senate, that to Senators of that province ſhould be allow'd the ſame privilege with thoſe of SICILY, of viſiting their eſtates there, without leave ask'd of the Prince: and the countries of Iturea and Judea, were, upon the death of their Kings SOHEMUS and AGRIPPA, annex'd to the government of Syria. The augury too of divine protection, which for five and twenty years had been diſus'd, was judg'd fit to be reviv'd and thereafter regularly obſerv'd: and the Emperor widen'd the circumference of Rome, by virtue of an ancient inſtitution, which empower'd ſuch as had extended the limits of the empire, to enlarge alſo the bounds of the city: a right which yet was never aſſum'd by any of the Roman captains, tho' they had ſubdued mighty nations, before SYLLA the Dictator, and the deified AUGUSTUS.

WHAT was the ambition and practice of our Kings in this matter, or from what inſtances of renown; the diverſity of tradition has render'd utterly uncertain. But I cannot think it impertinent to ſhew where the firſt foundations began, and what was the circuit fixt by ROMULUS. Now, from the Ox-market, where ſtill is ſeen the brazen ſtatue of a bull, becauſe by that animal the plough is drawn; a furrow was cut to deſcribe the boundaries of the town, and extended ſo as to include the great Altar of HERCULES: from thence certain ſpaces were left mark'd at proper diſtances, with ſtones, and the line continued along the foot of Mount Palatine to the Altar of CONSUS; next to the *Curiæ veteres*; thence to the ſmall Temple of the Lares; and laſtly to the great Roman Forum, which, as well as the Capitol, it is believ'd, was added to the city, not by ROMULUS, but by TATIUS: with the increaſe of her empire the city afterwards continued to increaſe: and what were the boundaries now eſtabliſh'd by CLAUDIUS, is eaſily learnt, as they are inſerted in the publick records.

IN the Conſulſhip of CAIUS ANTISTIUS and MARCUS SUILIUS, the adoption of DOMITIUS was diſpatch'd by the prevalent counſel of PALLAS; who, as he had firſt conducted the late marriage of AGRIPPINA, and afterwards became engag'd with her in a league of adultery, was thence wholly addicted to her intereſt. He continually ſollicited CLAUDIUS, "to provide for the exi-" gency of the Commonwealth, and ſupport the infancy "of BRITANNICUS with a collateral ſtay: ſuch had been "the policy of the deified AUGUSTUS; who, tho' for "his heirs and aſſiſtants, he had grand-children of his "own, yet had aſſum'd into the adminiſtration the ſons "of his wife. Thus too TIBERIUS, notwithſtanding he "had a ſon of his own, adopted GERMANICUS: and thus "he alſo ſhould fortify himſelf with the aid of a young "Prince, fit to undergo a part of his publick cares." To theſe conſiderations CLAUDIUS yielded, and in preference to his own ſon, adopted DOMITIUS for his eldeſt, tho'

tho' older only by three years; declaring the adoption to the Senate in a ſpeech of the very ſame ſtrain with that of his freedman to him. It was noted by men of obſervation, that never was any adoption made before this into the Patrician family of the CLAUDII; which from ATTUS CLAUSUS their firſt anceſtor, had ever ſubſiſted upon its own ſucceſſive ſtock.

THE conduct of the Prince was extoll'd by the Senate, and their thanks preſented him, but with ſtrains of flattery ſtill more exquiſite towards DOMITIUS: and a law paſs'd decreeing his aſſumption into the Claudian family, and to him the name of NERO: upon AGRIPPINA was alſo conferr'd the ſublime title of AUGUSTA. When theſe meaſures were thus effected, ſuch was their boding aſpect towards BRITANNICUS, that no mortal was found ſo void of compaſſion as not to be affected with his ſorrowful lot. By little and little he was even bereft of the attendance of his ſlaves, through the devices and hollow officiouſneſs of his ſtep-mother, who pretending her own tenderneſs for him, would needs keep him unſeaſonably in a nurſery, and remove them as unneceſſary: a treatment of great deriſion; which himſelf perceiv'd, as he was capable of diſcerning deceit: for, he is ſaid to have wanted no quickneſs of underſtanding: whether the ſame were really his juſt character; or whether his hard fortune and ſufferings were only the accidental ſource of his praiſe; without living to give further proof, he ſtill retain'd it.

For AGRIPPINA; that ſhe might even to diſtant nations, our allies, ſignalize her power at Rome, ſhe procur'd a Colony of Veterans to be ſent to the capital of the Ubians; a town in which ſhe was born, and which ſhe call'd by her own name: it had alſo been the lot of her grandfather AGRIPPA, when that people came over the Rhine, to receive them under the protection of the Romans. At that ſame time, terror fill'd the higher Germany, from the arrival of the Cattans, exerciſing every where as they went rapine and depredations: hence LUCIUS POMPONIUS, the Roman General, order'd the auxiliary Vangiones and Nemetæ, ſtrengthen'd with ſome wings of horſe, "to advance againſt thoſe bands of robbers; or, "if they found them ſtraggling, to pour in upon them

“ and beſet them by ſurprize.” The vigilance of the ſoldiers was anſwerable to the ſcheme of the commander: having ſeparated themſelves into two bands, that which march'd to the left, enclos'd them juſt return'd from the ſpoil, under the effects of a debauch, and ſunk in ſleep: to compleat their joy, they now releas'd from bondage ſome who had continued in it ever ſince the maſſacre of VARUS and the Legions, forty years before. The body that turn'd to the right, had made a ſhorter march, and as the enemy ventur'd to fight, a greater ſlaughter. So that, laden with booty, and cover'd with glory, they return'd to mount Taunus, where POMPONIUS waited with his Legions, prepar'd for battle, if the Cattans from a paſſion for revenge, had miniſter'd occaſion: but, as they dreaded being aſſaulted on every ſide; here, by the Romans, there, by the Cheruſcans, with whom they have inceſſant enmity; they diſpatch'd deputies and hoſtages to Rome. To POMPONIUS was decreed the honour of triumph; from which however he derives but a ſlender ſhare of his ſurviving fame; ſince to poſterity he is peculiarly known in the ſurpaſſing glory of his Poems.

IT was at this time too that VANNIUS, formerly created King of the Suevians by DRUSUS CESAR, was exterminated his kingdom. In the beginning of his reign, he liv'd in ſignal reputation, and in popularity with his people: but intoxicated with long poſſeſſion of power, grew afterwards imperious; ſo that he became at once expos'd to the hate and hoſtility of his neighbours, and entangled in a combination of his own ſubjects. It was conducted by his own ſiſter's ſons, VANGIO and SIDO, and by VIBELLIUS their confederate, King of the Hermundurians: nor would CLAUDIUS, tho' often entreated, engage in the quarrel of the Barbarians: he only anſwer'd the ſuit of VANNIUS, by a promiſe of a ſafe refuge, in caſe of expulſion; and writ to PUBLIUS PALPELIUS HISTER, governor of Pannonia; “ to cover the banks of the Danube with the Legion, and with a body of auxiliaries “ rais'd in the ſame province; in order to ſhelter the “ vanquiſh'd, and to awe the conquerors; leſt, elated by “ ſucceſs, they might venture alſo to diſturb the quiet of “ the Empire.” For the Ligians and other nations were daily arriving in ſwarms, allur'd by the fame of the wealth of that kingdom, which for thirty years VANNIUS had been enriching by conſtant depredations and exactions. His own army of natives were foot, and his horſe the Jazigians of Sarmatia; a force unequal to the great hoſt of his enemies: hence he determin'd to confine himſelf to his ſtrong holds, and protract the war: but the Jazigians, who could not reconcile themſelves to the reſtraints of a ſiege, roam'd round the adjacent country, and being powerfully aſſail'd by the Ligians and Hermundurians, brought him under a neceſſity of fighting. So that, iſſuing from his fortreſſes, to relieve them, he was overthrown in battle: but with this praiſe, notwithſtanding his defeat, that with his own hand he had bravely fought, and was honourably wounded with his face to the foe: he then fled to his fleet, which ſtaid for him in the Danube, and was ſoon follow'd by his adherents, who were ſettled in Pannonia, and portions of land aſſign'd them. VANGIO and SIDO parted his kingdom between them, and towards us continued in ſignal fidelity, paſſionately belov'd too by their ſubjects, while they were yet acquiring domination and royalty, and, after it was acquir'd, more vehemently hated: a diverſity of paſſions perhaps ariſing from the fickle genius of the people themſelves; perhaps from the genius and uneaſie lot of ſervitude.

IN Great Britain, PUBLIUS OSTORIUS, the Propretor, had to encounter a turbulent ſtate of affairs; for the enemy had in predatory bands broke into the territories of our allies; with ſo much the more violence, as they ſuppos'd that a new General would not, with an army which he had never prov'd, and in the depth of winter, dare to make head againſt them. But as he was convinced that by the firſt events of war, confidence or conſternation was rais'd in an enemy, he led forth his troops and march'd againſt them with great ſuddenneſs, put to the ſword all who reſiſted, and cloſely purſued ſuch as were broken, ſo as to to prevent their rejoining: and, ſince a peace made by conſtraint, and thence never ſincere, could enſure no repoſe to the General nor his troops, he determin'd to deprive of their arms all ſuch as he ſuſpected, and, by the means of forts, to confine them between the rivers Nen and Severn: a determination thwarted firſt by the Icenians, a powerful people, who having of their own accord become our confederates, were weaken'd by no invaſion nor aſſaults of war: they were now join'd by the bordering nations, an army was form'd, and the place of battle choſen; a place defended by a ditch, and the approach to it ſo narrow as not to be paſſable by the horſe. The Roman General, tho' without the ſupport of the Legions, he only led ſome ſocial troops, yet drew up to ſtorm theſe ruſtick fortifications; and ranging his Cohorts in order, diſmounted the horſe and aſſign'd them the duty of foot. Upon the ſignal given, they forc'd the ditch and broke the enemy, who were alſo hamper'd and entangled with their own encloſures: but they who, from the guilt of rebellion, were animated with deſpair, coop'd in on all ſides, and no way left for eſcape, perform'd many and memorable feats of bravery. In this battle MARCUS OSTORIUS, the ſon of the General, having ſaved the life of a Roman citizen, acquired the Civic Crown.

FOR the reſt; the overthrow of the Icenians calm'd all thoſe unſettl'd ſpirits, who before were wavering in their purpoſes between peace and war; and the army was led againſt the Cangians, waſted their territories, and committed general ſpoil: nor durſt the foe encounter them openly, and were always beaten in their ſecret aſſaults. We had now approach'd near the ſea which waſhes the coaſt of Ireland, when commotions, begun amongſt the Brigantes, oblig'd the General to return thither; as he had determin'd to proſecute no new enterprize till his former were completed and ſecure. The Brigantes, in truth, became ſoon compos'd, by executing a few who rais'd the revolt, and pardoning all the reſt: but, no rigour nor mercy could reclaim the Silures, who were bent upon war, and only to be reduced by the force of the Legions. To facilitate this deſign, a Colony, powerful in the number of Veterans, was convey'd to Camalodunum ſituate in the conquer'd lands, as a bulwark againſt the rebels; and for inuring our allies to the laws and juriſdiction of the Romans.

THENCE we march'd againſt the Silures, a people reſolute and fierce by nature; and moreover confiding in the aſſiſtance and valour of CARACTACUS; one renowned for many victories, and many diſaſters; ſo that in credit he ſurpaſs'd all the other Britiſh commanders. In the advantage and ſituation of the country he was more ſubtil and expert than the Romans, but weaker in men, and therefore tranſlated the ſeat of the war into the territory of the Ordovicans; and being join'd by all ſuch as fear'd an unequal peace with the Romans, ventur'd to try the deciſion of the ſword: in order to it, he choſe a place againſt which it was difficult to advance, and from which it was as difficult to retreat; every way incommodious to our army, and every way favourable to his own. It was upon the ridges of mountains exceeding ſteep; and, where their ſides were inclining and approachable, he rear'd walls of ſtone for a rampart: at the foot of the mountains flow'd a river, dangerous to be forded; and a hoſt of men guarded his entrenchments.

ADD to this, that the leaders of the ſeveral confederate nations, were buſily employ'd from rank to rank, exhorting and animating their followers, with repreſentations proper to diſſipate fear; proper to kindle their hopes, and to rouſe in them all the fierceſt incitements to war. For CARACTACUS; he flew through the whole army, and wherever he paſs'd he proclaim'd, "that from this day "and this battle they muſt date their liberty completely "reſcued, or their ſervitude eternally eſtabliſh'd." He call'd upon "thoſe of their anceſtors who had exterminated CESAR the Dictator; them by whoſe valour they "yet liv'd free from tribute and Roman axes, yet preſerv'd free from proſtitution the perſons of their children and wives." As he thus harangued, he was anſwer'd by the acclamations of the multitude, and every particular bound himſelf by the oath moſt ſacred amongſt them, "never to yield to arms, nor wounds, nor ought "ſave death."

THIS reſolute alacrity of theirs amaz'd the Roman General: beſides, the river to be paſs'd, the rampart to be forced, the declivities of the high mountains to be climb'd; and all defended by hoſts of men, were difficulties terrible and threatning. But, the ſoldiers preſs'd for the attack; all things, they cried, were conquerable by courage;

and the Tribunes and other officers, by expreſſing the ſame ſpirit, heightn'd the ardour of the army. OSTORIUS, therefore, having carefully ſurvey'd the ſituation, where inacceſſible; and where to be paſs'd, led them on thus animated; and, without much difficulty, gain'd the oppoſite banks. In approaching the bulwark, while the encounter was yet manag'd by flights of darts, there were more of our men wounded, and many began to fall: but, after they had formed themſelves into the military ſhell, demoliſhed the huge and ſhapeleſs ſtructure of ſtones, and encounter'd hand to hand upon ground equal to both, the Barbarians betook themſelves to the ridges of the mountains, and thither alſo mounted our ſoldiers after them, both the light and heavy arm'd. Here alſo was begun an unequal fight, by ours in cloſe order againſt the Britons, who only fought by diſcharges of arrows, and, as they cover themſelves with no armour, were thence broken in their ranks: where they reſiſted the auxiliaries, they were ſlaughter'd by the ſwords and javelins of the ſoldiers of the Legions; and by the great ſabres and pikes of the auxiliaries, where they faced thoſe of the Legions. Signal was this victory: the wife and daughter of CARACTACUS were taken priſoners, and his brothers ſurrender'd to mercy.

HE himſelf had recourſe to the faith and protection of CARTISMANDUA, Queen of the Brigantes; but, as almoſt all things conſpire againſt the unfortunate, was by her deliver'd in bonds to the conquerors, now in the ninth year after the commencement of the war in Great Britain: ſo long had he ſuſtain'd it; hence his renown had reach'd all the iſles, ſpread over the neighbouring provinces, and became celebrated even in Italy; where all long'd to behold the man, who, for ſo many years, had defied the Roman arms: nor, in truth, at Rome was the name of CARACTACUS without luſtre and applauſe; and the Emperor, by exalting his own glory in the conqueſt, accumulated freſh glory upon the conquer'd. For, the people were aſſembled to ſee him, as a rare and important ſpectacle; and the Pretorian bands ſtood under arms in the field before their camp. There proceeded firſt the ſervants and followers of the Britiſh King, with the military harneſs, golden chains, and the ſpoils by him taken in the wars with his neighbours; next his brothers, his wife and daughter; and laſtly himſelf expos'd to view. All but he were dejected, ſunk under fear, and deſcended to ſupplications unworthy of their quality. CARACTACUS, without either betraying a ſupplicant look, or uttering a word that implor'd mercy; as ſoon as he was placed before the imperial tribunal, ſpoke thus:

"IF, to the height of my quality and fortune, I had "join'd an equal height of moderation in my proſpe"rity and ſucceſs, I ſhould have arriv'd in this city under "another character, that of a friend and not of a captive, "nor would you then have diſdain'd to have received "a Prince born of illuſtrious anceſtors, and governing ſo "many nations, into terms of alliance. But, different "is my preſent lot; a lot which derives upon you as emi"nent ſplendor and fame, as upon me diſgrace and abaſe"ment. I was lately maſter of men and arms, horſes "and opulence: where is the wonder if againſt my in"clination I was bereſt of them? If you Romans aim at "extending your dominion over all mankind; it does "not thence follow that all men will embrace voluntary "ſervitude from Rome. Had I forthwith ſubmitted to "captivity, neither had my fall nor your glory been thus "ſignal: and even now, if I am to ſuffer death, the "fame of my ſtory and of your conqueſt will die with "my puniſhment, but if you preſerve my life, I ſhall be "a deathleſs example and monument of your clemency." CLAUDIUS upon this pardon'd him, his wife, and his brothers. Being diſcharg'd of their chains, and having paid their duty and acknowledgment to the Prince, they alſo accoſted AGRIPPINA; exalted upon another tribunal hard by, in the ſame ſtrain of gratitude and veneration. A ſight remarkably new, to our anceſtors utterly unknown, for a woman to preſide amongſt the Roman Enſigns! ſhe, in truth, aſſum'd to call her ſelf a partner in the Empire which her anceſtors had acquir'd.

THE Senate was thereafter aſſembled, where many and pompous encomiums were pronounced upon the taking of CARACTACUS; as an event "no leſs illuſtrious than thoſe "of old, when SIPHAX was by PUBLIUS SCIPIO, PERSES

" by LUCIUS PAULUS, or any other conquer'd Kings " were by any of our great Captains, preſented in chains " to the Roman people." To OSTORIUS the triumphal ornaments were decreed; and thus far his adminiſtration had been ſucceſsful; but was afterwards checquer'd with misfortunes: whether it was, that upon the captivity of CARACTACUS, the war was thought concluded, and thence our vigilance and diſcipline abated; or that the enemy, in compaſſion for ſo great a King, burn'd more vehemently for revenge. They aſſail'd by ſurprize the camp marſhal and legionary cohorts, left to rear forts amongſt the Silures; and but for ſudden ſuccours from the circumjacent garriſons, our troops had been cut in pieces: as it was, the Marſhal himſelf and eight Centurions were there ſlain, with the moſt reſolute ſoldiers. Soon after they entirely routed our forragers, and even the troops ſent to guard them.

OSTORIUS, it is true, diſpatch'd to their relief ſome cohorts lightly arm'd, who yet were not able to ſtay the flight; ſo that the Legions were drawn out to reſtore the battle; which by their ſtrength inſtantly became equal, and then favourable to us. The enemy fled, but, as night approach'd, with ſlight loſs: there continued thence forward frequent encounters, many of them reſembling the parties and ſurprizes of robbers; ſometimes in the woods, ſometimes in moraſſes; conducted by chance or boldneſs; and with anſwerable ſucceſs; here at a venture, there in concert; now from reſentment, anon for booty; at times by command of their officers, and often without their knowledge. Of all others the Silures were the moſt implacable: they were incens'd by a ſaying of the Roman General current amongſt them, " that their name muſt be utterly extin" guiſh'd, as was that of the Sugambrians, who had been " partly cut off, and the reſt tranſplanted into Gaul." Thus animated, they ſurpriz'd and carried off two auxiliary cohorts as they were, without due circumſpection, plundering the country to ſatiate the avarice of their officers: and by diſtributing the ſpoil and captives amongſt the neighbouring nations, they were drawing them alſo into the revolt, when OSTORIUS ſinking under the weight of his anxieties, expir'd, to the great joy of the enemy, that a captain ſo conſiderable, tho' he had not fallen in battle, had yet periſh'd in the war.

THE Emperor appriz'd of the death of his Lieutenant, that the province might not be without a governor, ſubſtituted immediately in his room AULUS DIDIUS: but he, notwithſtanding his expeditious arrival, found not things in their entire ſtate: for, the Legion commanded by MANLIUS VALENS had the while been engag'd, and ſuffer'd a defeat: a diſaſter magnified by the enemy, to terrify the new general; and even aggravated by him, thence to gain the greater glory, if he quell'd the rebellion; or the juſter excuſe if it laſted. The late loſs too we ſuffer'd from the Silures, who were daily making large incurſions on all hands, till DIDIUS now ſet upon them and repuls'd them. Their ableſt man of war, ſince the taking of CARACTACUS, was VENUSIUS, of the city of the Jugantes, as I have above remember'd; one long faithful to the Romans, and protected by their arms, during his marriage with the Queen CARTISMANDUA; but being afterwards divorced from her, and then inſtantly at war with her, he likewiſe began hoſtilities againſt us. Their arms at firſt were only employ'd againſt each other; but the Queen having by ſubtil ſtratagems, poſſeſs'd herſelf of the brother and other kindred of VENUSIUS; the enemy became exaſperated, and ſcorning the infamy of falling under the dominion of a woman, aſſembled all their ableſt and moſt warlike youth, and invaded her territories: an event foreſeen by us; ſo that we had ſent ſome cohorts to her aid, and a fierce battle enſued, where the firſt onſet was doubtful, but the end ſucceſsful. With the like iſſue fought the Legion commanded by CESIUS NASICA. For, DIDIUS himſelf unwieldy through age and already ſatiated with a long train of honours, thought it ſufficient to act by his Lieutenants, and only reſtrain the foe. All theſe tranſactions, tho' the work of ſeveral years, under two Proprietors OSTORIUS and DIDIUS, I have thus connected; leſt the detail, if interrupted, might not have been ſo eaſily recover'd. I now return to the order of time.

DURING the fifth Conſulſhip of CLAUDIUS and that of SERVIUS CORNELIUS ORFITUS, to qualify NERO for entering into the adminiſtration of the ſtate, the manly Robe was preſented him, while yet under age; and the Emperor concurr'd chearfully with the flattering decrees of the Senate; "that in his twentieth year, he ſhould "exerciſe the Conſulſhip; that the while, as Conſul de-"ſign'd, he ſhould be inveſted with proconſular autho-"rity out of Rome, and be ſtil'd Prince of the Roman "Youth." CLAUDIUS moreover, in NERO's name, beſtow'd a largeſs upon the ſoldiers, and another upon the people: and, at the Circenſian games, which were then ſolemniz'd, to draw upon him the eyes and affections of the populace, whilſt BRITANNICUS was carried along in the Pretexta (the uſual habit of boys) NERO appear'd in the triumphal Robe, the mark and ornament of imperial ſtate. So that the people, beholding them thus differently attir'd, could thence conclude the difference of their fortunes. At the ſame time, ſuch of the Centurions and Tribunes as manifeſted any compaſſion for the partial lot of BRITANNICUS, were ſome under colour of more honourable functions, and all upon fram'd pretences, remov'd from the palace: even amongſt the freedmen, thoſe whoſe faith and conſtancy were found incorruptible, were diſcarded upon the following occaſion. The two young Princes happening to meet, NERO ſaluted BRITANNICUS by that name, and BRITANNICUS him by his old name of DOMITIUS. This was by AGRIPPINA repreſented to CLAUDIUS with grievous expoſtulations, as the firſt ſtep to diſſention; ſince by it "the adoption of NERO was ſet at "nought and contemn'd; the ſanctions of the Senate, "with the authority of the people, were aboliſh'd within "the walls of his own palace; and if the pravity of thoſe "who inſpir'd into BRITANNICUS ſuch pernicious in-"ſtructions, were not repreſs'd, it would break out into "war and publick ruine." CLAUDIUS alarm'd and exaſperated by theſe ſuggeſtions of his wife, as if the ſame had been crimes really committed by the Tutors of his Son, puniſh'd all the beſt of them with exile or death, and entruſted him to the government of others, choſen by his ſtep-mother.

AGRIPPINA however durſt not yet proceed to the accompliſhment of her great deſign, till from the command

of

of the Pretorian cohorts were remov'd LUSIUS GETA and RUFIUS CRISPINUS; as men whom ſhe believ'd grateful to the memory of MESSALINA, and zealouſly devoted to her children. When ſhe had therefore alledg'd to the Emperor, "that by the competition and cabals of two "commanders, the guards were rent into factions; where"as, were they under the authority of one, they would "be more eaſily ſubjected to the laws of diſcipline and "obedience"; CLAUDIUS ſubmitted to the reaſoning of his wife, and the charge of theſe bands was transferr'd to BURRUS AFRANIUS, an officer, in truth of ſignal renown, but one however well appriz'd to whoſe credit he ow'd his advancement. AGRIPPINA likewiſe began to ſignalize her grandeur ſtill more, and even to enter the Capitol in a chariot, a diſtinction which of old was allow'd to none but the prieſts and things ſacred; and, being now aſſum'd by her, heighten'd the reverence of the people towards a Lady who was the daughter of a CESAR, and the mother of one, ſiſter to the laſt Emperor, and wife of the preſent: an inſtance of imperial fortune and nobility till then unparallel'd. But in the mean time her chief champion VITELLIUS, in the height of favour, and extremity of age, (upon ſuch treacherous foundations great men ſtand!) was involv'd in an accuſation; and, by JUNIUS LUPUS the Senator, charg'd with treaſon, and even with aſpiring to the Empire: CLAUDIUS too would have liſten'd to the charge, had not AGRIPPINA prevail'd by menaces rather than prayers, and turn'd his reſentment upon the accuſer, who was thence interdicted from fire and water. Further puniſhment than this VITELLIUS deſir'd not.

MANY were the prodigies that happen'd this year: upon the Capitol were ſeen birds of evil omen; frequent concuſſions of the earth were felt, and by them many houſes overthrown: but, as the dread was ſtill more extenſive than the calamity; in the throng of the flying multitude, all the weak and decrepit were trodden to death. For a prodigy alſo was reckon'd the barrenneſs of the ſeaſon, and the effect of it, famine. Nor were the complaints of the populace confin'd to houſes and corners; they even gather'd in tumultuous crowds round the Prince, then engag'd in the publick adminiſtration of juſtice, and with turbulent clamours drove him to the extremity of the Forum; ſo that, to eſcape their violence, he was forc'd, with his guards to break through the incens'd multitude. It is certain, there was then in Rome but juſt proviſion for fifteen days; and by the ſignal bounty of the Gods and the mildneſs of the winter it was that the publick was reliev'd in that its urgent diſtreſs. It was, in truth, otherwiſe with Italy in former days, when from her fruitful fields foreign provinces too were furniſh'd with ſupplies: nor, at this time, is the ſterility of ſoil any part of our misfortune; but we now rather chuſe to cultivate Afric and Egypt; and the lives of the Roman people are entruſted to ſhips and the caſualties of the deep.

THE ſame year, the war aroſe between the Armenians and Hiberians, begot alſo mighty broils between the Parthians and Romans. Over the Parthians reign'd VOLOGESES, who, tho' the ſon of a Greek concubine, had, by the conceſſion of his brothers, obtain'd the diadem. The Kingdom of Viberia had been long held by PHARASMANES; and his brother MITHRIDATES was, by our aid and procurement, poſſeſs'd of Armenia. PHARASMANES had a ſon graceful and tall, and of ſignal ſtrength of body; one train'd up in all the politicks of his father, and in high renown with the bordering nations. His name was RHADAMISTUS, a young Prince who impatient that the ſmall Kingdom of Iberia ſhould be ſo long detain'd from him by the great age of his father, declar'd this his diſcontent with ſo much frequency and paſſion, that his ambition could not be conceal'd: PHARASMANES therefore, in regard of his own declining age, and fearing the ſpirit of his ſon eager of himſelf to reign, and ſupported beſides with the affections of his ſubjects, choſe to divert his thoughts upon another purſuit, and tempted him with the proſpect of Armenia. "A Kingdom which, "having expuls'd the Parthians, he ſaid, he had given to "MITHRIDATES: but, in gaining it now, all methods "of violence were to be poſtpon'd, and thoſe of guile "firſt to be tried, in order to oppreſs him unawares." Thus RHADAMISTUS, feigning to quarrel with his father, and to fly the perſecutions of his ſtep-mother, withdrew to his uncle; and, while he was by him cheriſh'd like a child, with tranſcendent complacency, he drew the nobility of Armenia into the conſpiracy; MITHRIDATES being ſo ignorant of his conduct, that upon him he was ſtill multiplying honours.

THEN, under ſhew of being reconcil'd to his father, he return'd, and inform'd him, "that what fraud could "effect, was accompliſh'd; the reſt arms muſt execute." Hence PHARASMANES ſet himſelf to deviſe colours for the war; he declar'd, "that whilſt he was at war with the "King of the Albanians, he had applied to the Romans "for aid, but his brother oppos'd its coming; and this "injury he was now about to revenge with his utter de"ſtruction." At the ſame time, he committed a numerous army to the conduct of his ſon; who, by a ſudden invaſion, utterly diſmay'd MITHRIDATES, and forc'd him out of the field into the fortreſs of Gorneas; a place ſtrong in the ſituation, and defended by a garriſon of our ſoldiers, under the command of CELIUS POLLIO Governor, and CASPERIUS a Centurion. The Barbarians are ſtrangers to nothing more than the uſe of machines, and the dexterity of aſſaulting places; a part of military skill which to us is throughly familiar. RHADAMISTUS therefore, having without effect, or with loſs to himſelf, attempted the fortifications, chang'd his efforts into a ſiege, and when all his attacks were deſpis'd, he purchas'd with a price the avaritious Governor, notwithſtanding the adjurations of CASPERIUS, "that he would not "ſell a confederate King, not ſell Armenia, the gift of "the Roman people; and convert his own truſt into per"fidiouſneſs and money." But at laſt, ſince POLLIO perſiſted to plead the multitude of the enemy, and RHADAMISTUS the orders of his father; the Centurion procuring a truce, departed, in order either to deter PHARASMANES from purſuing the war, or otherwiſe to proceed to NUMIDIUS QUADRATUS Governor of Syria, and lay before him the condition of Armenia.

BY the departure of the Centurion, POLLIO being as it were diſcharg'd from the reſtraint of a keeper, exhorted MITHRIDATES to an accommodation. He alledg'd "the natural ties between brothers, the ſeniority of PHA-

" RASMANES, and their other mutual bonds of affinity; " that he was himſelf eſpous'd to his brother's daughter, " and to RHADAMISTUS had eſpous'd his own: that the " Hiberians, however then ſuperior in forces, refus'd not " peace; and the perfidiouſneſs of the Armenians was " ſufficiently known: neither had he any other ſanctuary " but that caſtle, deſtitute of ſtores: he therefore ought " not ſcruple to prefer terms gain'd without blood, to the " caſualties and violence of war." But, as MITHRIDATES ſtill procraſtinated, ſuſpecting the counſels of the Governor, as one who had debauch'd a concubine of his, and was reckon'd of a vile ſpirit, purchaſable by money into every baſeneſs; CASPERIUS the while reach'd PHARASMANES, and urg'd him " to recall his Iberians from the " ſiege." That Prince openly, return'd him equivocal anſwers; ſometimes ſuch as were more gentle and plauſible; and, during theſe amuſements, warn'd RHADAMISTUS by ſecret meſſengers, " to diſpatch by whatever " means the taking of the place." Hence the price of the treaſon was augmented to POLLIO, who alſo privately corrupted the ſoldiers, and prompted them to demand peace, or otherwiſe to threaten that they would relinquiſh the garriſon. MITHRIDATES preſs'd by this extremity, agreed to the time and place of capitulation, and went forth from the caſtle to meet RHADAMISTUS; who inſtantly flew to embrace him, feign'd all the marks of duty and obedience, and call'd him his father: he even ſwore that he intended him no violence either by poiſon or the ſword; and drew him at the ſame time into a neighbouring grove, where a ſacrifice, he ſaid, was by his orders prepar'd, that by the ſolemn preſence of the Gods their league of peace might be confirm'd.

IT is a cuſtom amongſt the Kings of theſe countries, whenever they ſtrike alliances, to tie together with a hard bandage the thumbs of their right hands, till the blood ſtarting to the extremities is by a ſlight cut diſcharg'd. This they mutually ſuck, and a league thus executed is eſteem'd moſt awful, as myſteriouſly ſolemniz'd with the blood of the parties. But upon this occaſion, he who was applying the bandage pretending to fall, ſeiz'd MITHRIDATES by the legs, and overthrew him; and inſtantly

ſtantly he was oppreſs'd by many, then bound, and haled away dragging his chain; a circumſtance of conſummate contumely amongſt the Barbarians! The people too, over whom he had exercis'd rigorous tyranny, aſſaulted him with bitter reproaches, and even threaten'd him with blows: yet there were ſome of a different temper, who utter'd their commiſeration for ſuch a mighty change of his fortune: beſides, his wife following him with her little infants, was by her doleful lamentations every where heard: they were thruſt apart into cover'd carriages, till the commands of PHARASMANES were known. With him the paſſion for a Kingdom was more prevalent than his regard for a brother or daughter; and he poſſeſs'd naturally a ſpirit prone to every cruelty. He however conſider'd the indecency of the ſpectacle, and order'd them to be put to death, but not in his ſight. RHADAMISTUS too, as if from an exact obſervance of his oath, employ'd neither ſword nor poiſon againſt his ſiſter and uncle; but caus'd them to be thrown upon the ground and ſtifled with a vaſt weight of coverings. The children alſo of MITHRIDATES, for bewailing the murder of their parents, were butcher'd themſelves.

QUADRATUS, as ſoon as he knew the treaſon, with the doom ſuffer'd by MITHRIDATES, and that they who took his life held his Kingdom; aſſembled his counſel, and repreſenting theſe events, ſought their advice whether vengeance ought to be purſued. Few had at heart the publick credit of the Roman name; and moſt of them reaſon'd from conſiderations of ſecurity; "that all the injuries and cruelties committed by foreign nations upon "each other, ought to the Romans to be matter of joy; "nay the ſeeds of diſſention were induſtriouſly to be "ſown amongſt them; a policy frequently practis'd by "the Roman Emperors, who under colour of beſtowing "from time to time that ſame Kingdom of Armenia upon "Princes Barbarians, deſign'd thence to furniſh them "with matter of reciprocal feuds, and hoſtilities: RHADAMISTUS might therefore enjoy a crown wickedly acquir'd, ſince with it he enjoy'd publick deteſtation and "infamy; circumſtances which better ſerv'd the purpoſes "of Rome than if by methods of glory he had obtain'd "it." With this advice they all concurr'd; but that they might not ſeem to have aſſented to a wickedneſs ſo flagrant, and leſt contrary orders ſhould arrive from the Emperor, they diſpatch'd a meſſage to PHARASMANES, "to retire "from the frontiers of Armenia, and recall his ſon."

OVER Cappadocia then rul'd JULIUS PELIGNUS, with the title of Procurator; one equally deſpicable for his daſtardly ſpirit and the deformity of his perſon, but in great intimacy with CLAUDIUS, who while yet a private man was wont to waſte his time in ſloth and delight in the company of ſuch buffoons. This PELIGNUS drew together a body of auxiliary forces from the adjacent provinces, and declar'd he would reconquer Armenia: but, as he committed greater ſpoil upon our allies than upon the enemy, he was by his own men abandon'd, harraſs'd by the inceſſant incurſions of the Barbarians, and, thus bereſt of all defence, betook himſelf to RHADAMISTUS; by whoſe liberalities he was ſo intirely ſubdued, that of his own accord he exhorted him to aſſume the royal diadem, and even aſſiſted in perſon at that ſolemnity, as the author of the advice, and his vaſſal at arms. When this vile tranſaction came to be divulg'd, that the character of the other Roman Commanders might not be judg'd by that of PELIGNUS, HELVIDIUS PRISCUS was diſpatch'd at the head of a Legion, with general orders to apply ſuch remedies to the preſent combuſtions, as their circumſtances would bear. He therefore, having with much celerity croſs'd mount Taurus, had already made many pacifications, rather by mildneſs than force, when an order overtook him, "for his return into Syria, by it to avoid "miniſtring to the Parthians any ground of war."

FOR, VOLOGESES believing that an occaſion now offer'd for invading Armenia, a Kingdom inherited by his anceſtors, but now treaſonably occupied by a foreign uſurper; drew together an army and prepar'd to inſtate his brother TIRIDATES in the throne; that ſo none of his houſe might be deſtitute of dominion. The march of the Parthians terrified the Iberians; they were expell'd without fighting a battle, and the Armenian cities of Artaxata, and Tigranocerta, without a ſtruggle receiv'd the invaders. But, a tempeſtuous winter or want of ſtores, and the peſtilence ariſing from both, conſtrain'd VOLOGESES to relinquiſh his conqueſts: ſo that the throne of Armenia being once more vacant, was again invaded by RHADAMISTUS, now more outragious and bloody than ever, as incens'd againſt a people that had already abandon'd him, and were ſtill ready, on the firſt occaſion, to revolt. They too, though inur'd to ſervitude, loſt all patience, betook themſelves to arms, and begirt the palace: nor had RHADAMISTUS any reſource ſave in the fleetneſs of his horſes, and by them he eſcap'd with his wife.

SHE was great with child, yet, from dread of the foe, and tenderneſs to her husband, bore at firſt, as well as ſhe could, the fatigue of the flight; but, when by continued hurrying and agitations, her heavy womb became ſorely toſs'd, and all her bowels ſhaken, ſhe beſought him, "to ſave her by an honeſt death from the reproach and "miſery of captivity." At firſt, he embraced her, comforted and encourag'd her, now admiring her heroick ſpirit, then ſtruck with fear, leſt, if he left her, ſome other might poſſeſs her: at laſt, in the rage of love, and well initiated as he was in acts of blood, he drew his ſcymitar, and wounding her terribly, hal'd her to the banks of the Araxes, committing her corps to the flood; that even of her corps none might ever be maſter. He himſelf purſued his flight full ſpeed till he reach'd Iberia the kingdom of his father. ZENOBIA the while (for that was her name) was deſcried by the ſhepherds, floating gently on the ſurface with manifeſt appearances of life; and, as they gather'd from the beautiful dignity of her aſpect that ſhe was of no mean rank, they bound up her wound, and to it adminiſter'd their ruſtick medicines: having then learnt her name and diſaſter, they carried her to Artaxata, from whence, at the charge and care of the city, ſhe was conducted to TIRIDATES, by him courteouſly receiv'd, and entertain'd with all the marks of Royalty.

IN the Conſulſhip of FAUSTUS SYLLA and SALVIUS OTHO, FURIUS SCRIBONIANUS ſuffer'd exile, as if he had "enquir'd by the arts of the Chaldeans, into the "term of the Prince's life." In his crime was involv'd his mother JUNIA, "as having born with impatience her

" own lot;" for ſhe too had been baniſh'd. CAMILLUS the father of SCRIBONIANUS, had levied war in DALMATIA; hence CLAUDIUS vaunted his own clemency, that to a hoſtile race he ſtill perſiſted to grant their lives: that however of the preſent exile, remain'd not long; whether he died naturally or by poiſon, was differently reported as each differently believ'd. For expelling the Aſtrologers from Italy, a decree of Senate was made full of rigour, but never executed. The Emperor thereafter utter'd a diſcourſe in praiſe of thoſe Senators, who, from the narrowneſs of their fortunes, of their own accord renounced their dignity; and ſuch as by adhering to their order, added confidence to their poverty, were degraded.

DURING theſe tranſactions, in the Senate was propos'd a penalty to be inflicted upon Ladies who married ſlaves; and ordain'd, " that ſhe who thus debas'd her ſelf, un-" known to the maſter of the ſlave, ſhould be adjudg'd " her ſelf in a ſtate of ſlavery; but, where he conſented, " ſhe ſhould be held for a ſlave manumitted." To PALLAS who was by CLAUDIUS declar'd to be the deviſor of this ſcheme, the ornaments of the Pretorſhip, and three hundred ſixty five thouſand crowns, were adjudg'd by BAREAS SORANUS, Conſul deſign'd. CORNELIUS SCIPIO added, " that the publick thanks ought likewiſe to " be paid him; for, that being a deſcendent from the " old Kings of Arcadia, he poſtpon'd the regard of ſuch " his moſt ancient nobility, to the ſervice of the ſtate, " and daign'd to be number'd amongſt the miniſters of " the Prince." CLAUDIUS avow'd, " that PALLAS ac-" cepted the honour only, and was with it content, re-" ſolving to live ſtill in his former poverty." Thus a decree of Senate was publiſh'd engraven in braſs, in which a franchiz'd ſlave poſſeſſing an eſtate of more than ſeven millions, was extoll'd for obſerving the venerable parcimony of the ancients.

HIS brother ſirnamed FELIX, he who for ſome time had govern'd Judea, acted not with the ſame reſtraint, but as one who relying upon ſuch potent protection, ſuppos'd he might perpetrate with impunity every kind of villany. The Jews, in truth, by their ſedition, in the time of CALIGULA, had miniſter'd ſome appearances of a general inſurrection; and, even after they were appriz'd of his aſſaſſination, ſcarce return'd to obedience: their dread remain'd, leſt ſome of the ſucceeding Emperors might lay upon them the like odious injunctions. FELIX too the while by applying unſeaſonable remedies, inflam'd their offence and diſaffection, follow'd as he was with emulation in all his worſt courſes, by VENTIDIUS CUMANUS, who held under his juriſdiction part of the Province; for ſuch was the diviſion, that Galilea was ſubject to CUMANUS, and Samaria to FELIX; two nations theſe long at variance, and now, from contempt of their rulers, leſs than ever reſtraining their mutual hate. Hence depredations on both ſides were committed, bands of robbers employ'd, ambuſhes form'd, and ſometimes battles fought, and all the ſpoil and booty preſented to theſe their Governors, who, at firſt, rejoyced over it; but when, after the miſchief grew outrageous, they interpos'd their arm'd troops, their men were ſlain; and, but for the aid of QUADRATUS ruler of Syria, the whole Province had been in a blaze of war. Nor, in proceeding againſt the Jews, who had carried their violence ſo far as to kill our ſoldiers, did any obſtacle ariſe againſt puniſhing them with preſent death: the affair of CUMANUS and FELIX created ſome delay; for CLAUDIUS, upon a hearing of the cauſes of the revolt, had alſo granted a power to try and ſentence the Governors: but QUADRATUS, taking FELIX up to the Tribunal, and ſhewing him amongſt the Judges, aw'd the accuſers and ſtopp'd one part of the proſecution; ſo that, for the guilt and evil doings common to both, CUMANUS alone was doom'd to puniſhment. Thus the repoſe of the Province was reſtor'd.

SHORTLY after this, the boors of Cilicia, they who are ſirnam'd Clitæ, and had before rais'd many inſurrections, betook themſelves now, under the leading of THROSOBOR, to their ſteep and inacceſſible mountains and there encamp'd. From thence in predatory bands they made excurſions as far as the ſhore and round the adjoining cities; boldly committing ravages upon the villagers and huſbandmen, and daily ſpoiling the merchants and ſeamen. They even beſieg'd the city of Anemurium, and repuls'd a body of horſe ſent from Syria to its relief, under the command of CURTIUS SEVERUS: for, the rocky ſituation of the place prov'd a defence to an army of foot, and ſcarcely admitted the attacks of the horſe. But afterwards, ANTIOCHUS King of that territory, having by many courteſies gain'd the multitude, and by ſtratagem ſecured their leader, effectually disjoin'd the forces of the Barbarians; and putting to death THROSOBOR and a few more of the chiefs, pacified the reſt by methods of clemency.

ABOUT the ſame time, a naval fight was prepar'd upon the lake Fucinus, and to accommodate the greater numbers with the advantage of beholding the mighty magnificence of the work, a mountain between the lake and the river Liris was levell'd: in imitation this of AUGUSTUS, who once exhibited the like ſpectacle upon an artificial pool on this ſide the Tiber, but with light ſhips, and fewer men. CLAUDIUS arm'd large gallies, ſome of three, ſome of four banks of oars, and mann'd them with nineteen hundred combatants. The circle aſſign'd for the combat was ſurrounded with an encloſure of great rafts of wood, to obſtruct all means of flight or eſcape: ſpace ſufficient was however allow'd for the velocity of rowing, for the ſtratagems of the pilots, the mutual encounters of the ſhips, and for all the uſual feats in naval battles. Upon the rafts ſtood the Emperors guards, foot and horſe, with platforms before them, for weilding and diſcharging the engines of battery: all the reſt of the lake was poſſeſs'd by the combatants upon cover'd veſſels. The ſhore, the adjacent hills, and the tops of the mountains, were crowded with a mighty multitude, many from the neighbouring towns, others from Rome it ſelf; ſome from a paſſion to behold the ſpectacle, ſome in complement to the Prince; and the whole repreſented a vaſt theatre. The Emperor preſided in a ſplendid coat of mail, and with him AGRIPPINA in a mantle woven of pure gold. The battle, tho' between malefactors, was fought with a ſpirit becoming brave ſoldiers; ſo that, after many wounds and much blood, they were redeem'd from utter ſlaughter.

WHEN the ſpectacle was concluded, and the water diſcharg'd, the negligence of the workmen became manifeſt, and the inſufficiency of the work, which was not ſunk ſufficiently low about the center of the lake. Its bed therefore ſome time after was hollow'd deeper; and, to draw the multitude once more together, a ſhew of Gladiators was exhibited upon bridges laid over it, in order to diſplay a foot fight. But, as a banquet was prepar'd juſt at the fall from the lake, the ſame prov'd the occaſion of a great affright; for, the weight of the water breaking out with violence, bore down with it whoever was near it, ſhook what was more diſtant, and by its impetuoſity and roaring diſmay'd all that were preſent. AGRIPPINA laying inſtant hold of the Emperor's fright, charg'd NARCISSUS, the director of the work, with avarice and rapaciouſneſs: nor did NARCISSUS ſpare AGRIPPINA, but attack'd and upbraided, "the domineering ſpirit of the "woman, with her aſpiring and boundleſs views."

DURING the Conſulſhip of DECIMUS JUNIUS and QUINTUS HATERIUS; NERO, now in the ſixteenth year of his age, eſpous'd OCTAVIA the daughter of CLAUDIUS; and, to ſignalize his accompliſhments in polite learning and acquire the glory of eloquence, undertook the cauſe of the Ilians, and having floridly repreſented the Romans as deſcendents from Troy, and AENEAS as the founder of the Julian race, with other old traditions little remote from fables, he obtain'd for the Ilians entire immunity from all publick charges. By the rhetorick of the ſame advocate, the Colony of Boulogna, which had been utterly conſum'd by fire, were reliev'd by a bounty of two hundred and fifty thouſand crowns. To the Rhodians too their liberty was reſtor'd, which had been often withdrawn and often re-eſtabliſh'd, as a puniſhment or reward for their different behaviour, when they oblig'd us by their aſſiſtance in our foreign wars, or provok'd us by their ſeditions at home: and, to the city of Apamea, overturn'd by an earthquake, a remiſſion of tribute was granted for five years.

THE policy all this of AGRIPPINA, who puſh'd CLAUDIUS on the contrary upon all the moſt deteſted meaſures of cruelty. As ſhe panted inordinately after the gardens of STATILIUS TAURUS, a nobleman of illuſtrious fortune, who had been Proconſul of Africa; ſhe procur'd his bane by the miniſtry of TARQUITIUS PRISCUS, one who was his Lieutenant there. After their return, he charg'd him with ſome few crimes of extortion; but, the ſum of the accuſation, were the practices of Magic. Neither did TAURUS deſign longer to bear the unworthy lot of proſecution from that traiterous accuſer, but, without waiting for the deciſion of the Senate, laid violent hands upon himſelf. TARQUITIUS was however expell'd the Senate: ſuch was the deteſtation of the fathers towards the accuſer, that they carried his condemnation againſt the protection and intrigues of AGRIPPINA.

THIS year, what the Prince had frequently declar'd, “ that to the deciſions of his Imperial Procurators, the “ ſame force ſhould be allow'd as to his own”; was moreover confirm'd and eſtabliſh'd by a decree of Senate; as a proof that the ſame was no declaration at random; and, with more fulneſs than heretofore and greater enlargements: for, the deified AUGUSTUS had ordain'd too, that the Knights who ruled Egypt, ſhould act judicially, and that the ſentences by them pronounc'd ſhould be equally valid with thoſe of the Roman Magiſtrates: ſoon after, this juriſdiction of the Knights was extended to other Provinces; and, even in Rome it ſelf, to their Tribunal were referr'd many things formerly determin'd by the Pretors. CLAUDIUS now conferr'd upon them univerſal juriſdiction; that ſame juriſdiction for which ſo many ſeditions had been rais'd and ſo much blood ſhed, when by the popular ordinances of the Tribune SEMPRONIUS, the Equeſtrian Order was inveſted with the power of judicature, and when SERVILIUS the Conſul, by a contrary eſtabliſhment, reſtor'd to the Senate the judicial authority. This too chiefly was the end and incitement of the bloody wars between MARIUS and SYLLA. But, in thoſe days, the different Orders of the State were engag'd in different and interfering purſuits, and the party that prevail'd made publick regulations at their pleaſure: CAIUS OPPIUS and CORNELIUS BALBUS were the firſt particulars, who (enabled as they were by the prevalent power of CESAR the Dictator) arbitrated matters of peace and war. It would little avail to recount after this, the potent names and credit of ſuch as MATIUS and VEDIUS, and other Roman Knights, who had ſway'd in the adminiſtration; when to his franchiz'd chiz'd ſlaves, ſuch as were entruſted with his domeſtick concerns, CLAUDIUS thus aſſerted a power equal to his own and to that of the laws.

THEREAFTER, he propos'd for the inhabitants of Coos, a general immunity from impoſitions, and recounted their antiquity in a copious detail; "how the Argives, or at "leaſt CEUS the father of LATONA, firſt cultivated that "iſland; and that thither ſoon after arriv'd ESCULAPIUS, and with him the art of medicine and healing; an "art, which had great applauſe amongſt his deſcendents:" whoſe names he rehears'd, and mark'd the ſeveral ages in which they flouriſh'd. He even ſaid, that "XENOPHON "his own phyſician, was a branch of the ſame family, "and to his ſupplications it ought to be granted, that "his countrymen the people of Coos ſhould be for ever "diſcharg'd from all tribute, and only attend the cultivation of an Iſland ſacred to that Deity, and ſolely devoted to his miniſtry." It is without queſtion, that many good offices of theirs towards the Roman people, might have been alledg'd, and even victories gain'd by their aid; but CLAUDIUS, led by his wonted weakneſs, colour'd under no publick conſiderations what he had thus granted only in perſonal partiality to his phyſician.

THE deputies from Byzantium being heard, beſought of the Senate to be eas'd of their heavy impoſitions; and recapitulating things from the firſt, began with the confederacy which they had ſtruck with us ſo long ago as the war we maintain'd againſt that King of Macedon, who from the degeneracy of his ſpirit was diſtinguiſh'd by the name of PSEUDOPHILIPPUS. Next they recounted the forces by them ſent againſt King ANTIOCHUS, PERSES, and ARISTONICUS; as alſo how they had ſupported ANTONIUS in the war to ſuppreſs the Pyrates; with the ſeveral aids they had beſtow'd upon SYLLA, LUCULLUS and POMPEY. They added the ſervices which more lately they had render'd to the CESARS, during their encampments and abode in theſe their territories, where our armies and their leaders, in all their progreſſes by land and water, were well accommodated, and all their ſtores carried after them.

For, Byzantium was founded by the Greeks, in the extremity of Europe, upon a ſtreight which disjoins Europe and Aſia. Thither the founders were directed by an Oracle of the Pythian Apollo, who, when conſulted by them, where to build a city; replied, "that they ſhould "ſeek a ſituation oppoſite to the habitations of the blind-"men." By this riddle the Chalcedonians were repreſented; for they, who were the firſt comers into thoſe parts, and had view'd the advantages of this ſhore, had yet choſen the oppoſite and the worſt. Byzantium, in truth, ſtands upon a fertile ſoil and a plentiful ſea; for, into her port are borne all thoſe infinite ſhoals of fiſh, which breaking out of the Euxin, ſhun the other coaſt, as they are ſcar'd by the rocks which under the waters ſhoot from it. Hence, at firſt the gain and wealth of the Byzantines; but, afterwards preſs'd by the exceſs of their impoſitions, they now beſought that the ſame might be aboliſh'd or abated. The Emperor too was their advocate, who repreſented them as late ſufferers in the war of Thrace, and in that of Boſphorus, and worthy to be reliev'd. They were therefore acquitted from tribute for five years.

In the Conſulſhip of MARCUS ASINIUS and MARCUS ACILIUS, a change of affairs for the worſe was gather'd to be portended from the frequency of Prodigies. The Enſigns of the ſoldiers and their tents were ſcorch'd with fire from heaven: a ſwarm of Bees pitch'd upon the ſummit of the Capitol: children were born of compounded forms; and a Pig was farrow'd with the talons of a hawk. Amongſt the prodigies it alſo was reckon'd, that the number of every order of Magiſtrates was then curtail'd; one of the Queſtors, one of the Ediles, a Tribune, a Pretor and a Conſul, being all deceas'd, within a few months. But, more particular was the fear of AGRIPPINA: ſhe was alarm'd by a ſaying of CLAUDIUS, utter'd heedleſly in his wine, "that it was a fate upon him, to bear "the iniquities of his wives, and at laſt to puniſh them." Hence ſhe determin'd to be quick and prevent him; but firſt to deſtroy DOMITIA LEPIDA, upon motives deriv'd from the pride and reſentments of women. For LEPIDA, who was the daughter of the younger ANTONIA, the great niece of AUGUSTUS, couſin german to AGRIPPINA the elder, and ſiſter to CNEIUS DOMITIUS (once huſband to the preſent AGRIPPINA) accounted her ſelf of equal nobility with the other: neither were they much differing in beauty, age or wealth: both proſtitutes in their perſons, infamous in their manners, and violent in their tempers; nor leſs rivals in vices than in the luſtre and advantages of their fortune. Hence however aroſe the moſt vehement contention and ſtruggle, whether the aunt or mother ſhould acquire the aſcendent over the ſpirit of NERO. LEPIDA labour'd to engage and govern his youthful mind, by careſſes and liberalities; while AGRIPPINA, on the contrary, treated him with ſterneſs and threats; like one who would in truth confer the ſovereignty upon her ſon, but not bear him for her ſovereign.

THE crimes therefore charg'd upon LEPIDA, were “that, by impious charms and imprecations, ſhe had ſought to deſtroy the Emperor's Conſort, and that by neglecting to reſtrain the tumultuous behaviour of her bands of ſlaves in Calabria, ſhe diſturb'd the publick peace of Italy.” For theſe imputations ſhe was doom'd to die, notwithſtanding the labour'd oppoſition of NARCISSUS, who was now become more and more diſtruſtful of AGRIPPINA; inſomuch that he is ſaid to have utter'd amongſt his intimates ſuch griefs and complaints as theſe; “that to himſelf nothing but certain deſtruction remain'd whether BRITANNICUS or NERO ſucceeded to the Empire; but ſuch towards him had been the favour of the Emperor, that for the ſervice of his maſter he would lay down his life. Under CLAUDIUS he had procur'd the conviction and doom of MESSALINA and of SILIUS: and under NERO (if NERO came to reign) there would be the like cauſes for the like accuſation. If BRITANNICUS was to ſucceed, neither from that Prince had he any claim to favour, ſince he had, by the death of his mother, made room for a ſtep-mother, who by black and inſidious plots was ruining all his houſe with ſuch notable wickedneſs, that better it were he had never divulg'd to the Emperor the proſtitutions of his former wife, tho' neither in truth was the preſent free from proſtitution, as PALLAS was notoriouſly her adulterer; inſomuch that with no mortal could any doubt

“ remain; but to the luſt of rule ſhe poſtpon'd her fame, “ her modeſty, her perſon, and all things.” Repeating theſe and the like ſpeeches, he tenderly embrac'd BRITANNICUS, and ſupplicated for him full and ſudden ripeneſs of age: now to the Gods, then to the young Prince, he lifted up his hands and pour'd out prayers, “ that “ he might attain vigour of years; that he might exter- “ minate the enemies of his father, and even be reveng'd “ on thoſe who ſlew his mother.”

AMIDST all theſe mighty agitations and cares, CLAUDIUS was taken ill, and for the recovery of his health had recourſe to the ſoft air, and ſalubrious waters of Sinueſſa. It was then that AGRIPPINA, long ſince bent upon the parricide, and greedy of the preſent occaſion, well furniſh'd too as ſhe was with wicked agents; conſulted concerning the quality of the poiſon: “ if it were ſudden “ and rapid in its operation, the dark deed might thence “ be betray'd: if one ſlow and conſuming were admini- “ ſter'd; there was danger that CLAUDIUS, when his end “ approach'd, and perhaps having the while diſcover'd the “ deadly fraud, would recall the tenderneſs and partia- “ lity of a father for his ſon.” A ſubtle poiſon was therefore judg'd beſt, “ ſuch as would diſorder his brain and “ not preſently kill.” An experienc'd artiſt in ſuch preparations was choſen, her name LOCUSTA; lately condemn'd for poiſoning, and one long entertain'd amongſt the other machines of the Monarchy. By this woman's ſkill the poiſon was prepar'd: to adminiſter the ſame was the part of HALOTUS, one of the Eunuchs, ſteward of the Emperor's table and his taſter. Indeed, all the particulars of this deed were ſoon afterwards ſo thoroughly known, that the writers of thoſe times are able to recount, “ how the poiſon was ſeeth'd in a delicious meſs of muſh- “ rooms; but, whether from the natural ſtupidity of CLAU- “ DIUS, or that he was drunk, he felt not inſtantly the “ virulence of the doſe:” A looſeneſs too at the ſame time ſeem'd to relieve him, and to defeat the operation: AGRIPPINA became terribly diſmay'd; but, as her own life lay at ſtake, ſhe deſpis'd the ſtain and odium which muſt accompany her preſent proceedings, and call'd in the aid of XENOPHON the phyſician, whom ſhe had already engag'd gag'd in her guilty purpoſes. It is thought that he, as if he had meant to aſſiſt CLAUDIUS in his efforts to vomit, thruſt down his throat a feather dipt in outrageous poiſon; as one who well knew, that the moſt daring iniquities are attempted with hazard, but accompliſh'd with rewards.

THE Senate was in the mean time aſſembled, and the Conſuls and Pontiffs were offering vows for the recovery of the Emperor, when he was already dead; tho' coverings and reſtoratives were ſtill applied, till matters were diſpos'd for ſecuring the Empire to NERO. And firſt AGRIPPINA perſonating unconquerable ſorrow, and one who ſought on all hands for conſolation, claſp'd BRITANNICUS in her arms, ſtil'd him "the genuine image of "his father," and, by various and feign'd devices, withheld him from leaving the chamber: there ſhe likewiſe detain'd ANTONIA and OCTAVIA, his ſiſters; and, by poſting guards, ſhut up all the paſſages: from time to time too ſhe declar'd, that the Prince was upon recovery; thence to encourage the hopes of the ſoldiery, till the fortunate moment according to the calculations of the Aſtrologers, were at hand.

AT laſt, on the thirteenth of October, at noon, the gates of the palace were unexpectedly thrown open, and NERO accompanied by BURRUS, walk'd forth to the cohort, which, according to the cuſtom of the army, was then upon guard. There, upon ſignification made by the Prefect, he was receiv'd with ſhouts of joy, and inſtantly put into a litter. It is reported, that there were ſome who heſitated; diligently looking and frequently asking, where was BRITANNICUS? but that, as no one appear'd to propoſe him, they preſently embraced the choice which was offer'd them. Thus NERO was borne to the camp, where, after a ſpeech ſuitable to the exigency, and the promiſe of a largeſs equal to that of the late Emperor his father, he was ſaluted Emperor. The declaration of the ſoldiers was follow'd and confirm'd by the decrees of the Senate; nor was there any reluctancy in the ſeveral provinces. To CLAUDIUS were decreed celeſtial honours, and the ſolemnity of his funeral the ſame as that of the deified AUGUSTUS; ſince in it AGRIPPINA would needs emulate the magnificence of her great grand-mother LIVIA.

His teſtament however was not rehears'd in publick, leſt the preference there given from his own ſon to the ſon of his wife, might grate and affect the ſpirit of the populace.

THIRTEENTH ANNAL.

THE firſt victim under the new Prince was JUNIUS SILANUS Proconſul of Aſia, diſpatch'd unknown to NERO, by the fraud of AGRIPPINA: not that he had provok'd his fate by any turbulence of ſpirit, having liv'd in ſuch ſlothful indolence and even ſuch ſcorn, during the late reigns, that CALIGULA was wont to call him the golden ſheep. But AGRIPPINA fear'd that he might prove the avenger of the murther of his brother LUCIUS SILANUS, by her formerly procur'd: for, it was now the current rumour amongſt the populace that, as "NERO "was ſcarce paſt his childhood, and by iniquity had ac"quir'd the Empire; to him therefore was to be preferr'd "ſuch a man as SILANUS, one of compos'd age, ſpot"leſs integrity, noble, and (which was then highly priz'd) "deſcended from the CESARS." For, he too was the great grandſon of AUGUSTUS. Such was the cauſe of his doom: the inſtruments were PUBLIUS CELER a Roman Knight, and HELIUS the freedman, both employ'd to manage the Emperor's domeſtick revenue in Aſia. By them the Proconſul had poiſon given him at a banquet, ſo openly, as if they meant not to diſavow the giving it. Nor was leſs haſte us'd to diſpatch NARCISSUS, the late Emperor's freedman, whoſe bold invectives againſt AGRIPPINA I have mentioned. In a rigorous priſon, and thro' the miſerable extremity of want, he was conſtrain'd to die; ſore againſt the mind of NERO, who, however he hitherto ſmother'd his vices, bore a wonderful conformity to the temper of NARCISSUS, profuſe and rapacious like his own.

A torrent of ſlaughters was about to have follow'd, had not AFRANIUS BURRUS and ANNEUS SENECA prevented it. Theſe were the governors of the Emperor's youth; two men, tho' engag'd in partnerſhip of power, yet by a rare inſtance, well united, different in their accompliſhments, but of equal weight and authority; BURRUS his inſtructor in leſſons of arms, and the gravity of manners; SENECA in the precepts of eloquence, and polite addreſs. In this office they help'd and ſupported each other, the eaſier to manage between them the dangerous age of the Prince; or, if he rejected the purſuits of vertue, to reſtrain him at leaſt within the bounds of guiltleſs pleaſures. One conſtant ſtruggle they had both to maintain, againſt the tempeſtuous ſpirit of AGRIPPINA, who was tranſported with every luſt of lawleſs dominion, and, in her deſigns, upheld by PALLAS; the ſame who had led CLAUDIUS into that inceſtuous match, then into the fatal adoption, and, by theſe counſels, into his own deſtruction. But NERO's temper was not ſuch as to be controul'd by ſlaves; and PALLAS too having exceeded the liberties of a ſlave manumiz'd, had by his horrid arrogance provok'd NERO's diſguſt: upon AGRIPPINA however, in publick, he accumulated all kinds of honours; and, to a Tribune once, who, according to the diſcipline of the ſoldiery, deſir'd the word, gave that of *excellent mother*; by the Senate too were decreed her two lictors, with the character of Prieſteſs to CLAUDIUS. To him at the ſame time was ordain'd a cenſorial funeral, and afterwards deification.

THE day of burial, his funeral praiſes were pronounc'd by NERO; and, whilſt he recounted ſedulouſly the antiquity of his lineage, the many Conſulſhips, the many triumphs of his anceſtors; others as ſedulouſly liſten'd: the diſplay too of his acquirements in Letters, was heard with attention and pleaſure; as alſo the obſervation, that during his reign no calamity from foreigners had befallen the ſtate. But when once he fell into a commemoration of the wiſdom, foreſight and providence of CLAUDIUS, not a ſoul could refrain from laughter; tho' the ſpeech was of SENECA's compoſing, and diſcover'd much accuracy and fineneſs; as he had, in truth, a beautiful genius, and a ſtile well ſuited to the taſte of that time. Old men, they who make it their recreation to draw parallels between the preſent and paſt, took notice, that NERO was the firſt Roman Emperor who needed the aid of another man's eloquence: for, CESAR the Dictator ſtood in rank with the moſt diſtinguiſh'd Orators; and AUGUSTUS had an eaſie and flowing elocution, ſuch as became a Prince: TIBERIUS alſo poſſeſs'd the art of marſhalling words; his ſentiments too were ſtrong, and from policy it was that ſometimes his expreſſions were obſcure: even the diſorder'd ſpirit of CALIGULA impair'd not his addreſs and energy in ſpeaking: nor was CLAUDIUS wanting in elegance of diſcourſe, whenever his diſcourſe was the effect of ſtudy. NERO from his early childhood had abandon'd his lively imagination to other occupations and diverſions, thoſe of graving, painting, ſinging, and managing the horſe; at times too in compoſing poems, whence ſome ſeeds and grounds of ſcience appear'd to have been in him.

HAVING finiſh'd this mimickry of mourning, he repair'd to the Senate, where, after an introduction concerning his eſtabliſhment in the Empire by the authority of the fathers, and the common concurrence of the ſoldiery, he declar'd with what worthy purpoſes and upon what good examples he aſſum'd the Sovereignty; that his youth being never ruffled nor engag'd in any of the animoſities of civil wars, or any domeſtick diſſentions, he brought with him no ſpirit of hatred, no ſenſe of injuries, nor appetite of revenge. He then propos'd the ſcheme of his future rule, and in it avoided carefully all thoſe late meaſures of reigning which were ſtill freſh and odious: "for that he claim'd not the judgment and deciſion of "affairs; nor would allow the ſhutting up thoſe who "were accus'd in the ſame houſe with their accuſers; "and by it ſuſtain the impotent tyranny of a few: nothing ſhould be ſaleable within his walls, nor any acceſs "there to the crooked plots and attempts of ambition: "between his family and the republick a juſt diſtinction "ſhould be maintain'd: the Senate ſhould uphold her "ancient juriſdiction: Italy and all thoſe provinces, which "depended, by ſeparate allotment, upon the people, ſhould "apply only to the tribunal of the Conſuls, and by them "procure acceſs to the fathers: to himſelf he reſerv'd "what was eſpecially committed to his truſt, the direction "of the armies."

THIS declaration wanted no ſincerity, and by the Senate many regulations were made, agreeable to their own good liking; particularly that no advocate ſhould defend a cauſe for gift or payment, and that thoſe who were deſign'd Queſtors, ſhould be no longer oblig'd to exhibit publick ſhews of Gladiators. All this was oppos'd by AGRIPPINA, as what reſcinded the acts of CLAUDIUS; but the fathers prevail'd, tho' by her contrivance, they were purpoſely aſſembled in the palace, that there poſted by a door behind a curtain, ſecure from ſight, ſhe might yet eaſily overhear. Nay, at a time when the Ambaſſadors from Armenia were pleading before NERO a cauſe of their nation, ſhe was advancing to aſcend the Imperial Tribunal, and to ſit in joint judgment with the Emperor, if SENECA ſeeing all the reſt mute through fear, had not remember'd him "to deſcend and meet his mother." Thus, under the guiſe of filial reverence, that publick diſgrace was prevented.

AT the end of the year, tidings were brought, by the flying alarms of rumour, "that the Parthians having "broke out into freſh hoſtilities, had ſeiz'd Armenia and "exterminated RHADAMISTUS," who, often Sovereign of that Kingdom, and as often a fugitive, had now too quite abandon'd the war. At Rome therefore, a city fond of diſcanting upon the publick, they began to inquire, "how a Prince ſcarce paſs'd his ſeventeenth year, "could undertake ſo mighty a charge, how encounter "and repulſe ſuch a potent foe? what protection to the "State from him, a youth govern'd by a woman? would "he, upon this occaſion alſo, act by the miniſtry of his "Tutors? would his Tutors fight battles, ſtorm towns, "and execute the other functions of war?" others, on the contrary, alledg'd, "that it had thus better happen'd, "than if the weight and care of that war had fallen upon "CLAUDIUS, under all the defects of old age and ſtupidity, one who would have blindly obey'd the dictates "of his ſlaves. BURRUS and SENECA were known for "men of long and various experience in affairs: and to the "Emperor himſelf how little was wanting of mature age; "when POMPEY, in his eighteenth year, and OCTAVIUS "CESAR in his nineteenth, each ſuſtain'd the weight of a

“ civil war? by rulers more matters were accompliſh'd
“ through lucky incidents and contrivance, than by dint
“ of arms and ſtrength: NERO beſides would ſoon exhibit a manifeſt proof, whether he employ'd worthy or
“ unworthy Counſellors; if his choice of a General fell,
“ without pique or partiality, upon a man of ſignal reputation, rather than upon one that was only wealthy,
“ and truſted to favour and intrigues.”

WHILST theſe and the like diſcourſes employ'd the publick, NERO, to ſupply the Legions in the Eaſt, order'd recruits to be rais'd through the neighbouring provinces, and the Legions themſelves to be poſted near to Armenia: as alſo that theſe ancient Kings, AGRIPPA and ANTIOCHUS, ſhould make ready their forces, ſuch as might enable them to invade the territories of the Parthians; and that bridges ſhould be forthwith made upon the Euphrates. To ARISTOBULUS he moreover committed the leſſer Armenia; and the region of SOPHENES to SOHEMUS, with the enſigns of Royalty and title of Kings. There aroſe likewiſe to VOLOGESES a competitor for his Crown; his own ſon, VARDANES: hence the Parthians withdrew from Armenia, yet ſo as if they meant to return, and only poſtpon'd the war.

But, in the Senate, all this was extoll'd above meaſure, by ſuch as voted, “ that days of publick ſupplica-
“ tions ſhould be decreed to the Gods; that on thoſe
“ publick days the Prince ſhould wear the triumphal robe;
“ that he ſhould enter the city in the pomp of ovation,
“ that to him a ſtatue ſhould be erected of the ſame
“ bulk with that of MARS the avenger, and in the ſame
“ temple.” Beſides their habitual proneſs to flattery, they ſincerely rejoic'd that, for the reconqueſt of Armenia, he had preferr'd DOMITIUS CORBULO; whence a door ſeem'd to be open'd for the reward of virtue and merit. The forces in the Eaſt were ſo divided, that part of the auxiliaries, with two Legions, were to remain in Syria, under the command of NUMIDIUS QUADRATUS governor of the province; an equal number of Romans and allies were aſſign'd to CORBULO, with an addition of the cohorts, and other troops, which winter'd in Cappadocia. The confederate Kings were order'd to obey either, according to the

the exigencies of the war: but their affections were much more devoted to CORBULO; who, in order to take advantage of ſame, which in all new enterpriſes has ever moſt powerful influence, march'd with expedition, and at Egeas a city of Cilicia, was met by QUADRATUS, who advanc'd purpoſely thus far, leſt CORBULO, if he had enter'd Syria to receive his forces there, ſhould draw upon himſelf the eyes of all men; grand as he was in his perſon, a magnificent ſpeaker, and, beſides the eſteem of his wiſdom and great experience, even things empty in themſelves, his air and faſhion ſerv'd powerfully to recommend him.

BOTH however warn'd VOLOGESES by meſſages, "to "prefer peace to war, and by delivering hoſtages to pre-"ſerve towards the Roman people that reverence which "was wont to be paid by his anceſtors." VOLOGESES too, in order to make the more effectual preparations for war, or to remove under the name of hoſtages, ſuch as he ſuſpected of aiming at the Diadem, yielded the moſt illuſtrious of the family of ARSACIDES: they were receiv'd by HISTEIUS the Centurion, who had been for this very end diſpatch'd to the King by NUMIDIUS. When this became known to CORBULO, he order'd ARRIUS VARUS, Prefect of a Cohort, to go and take them; hence a quarrel aroſe between the Centurion and the Prefect; but, to prevent the ſame from being the ſport of foreign nations; to the hoſtages themſelves and deputies who conducted them, the deciſion of the difference was committed: and they preferr'd the pretenſions of CORBULO, in regard of his late exaltation, and even from a certain biaſs in the hearts of our enemies. A ſource this of diſcord between the Generals: NUMIDIUS complain'd that he was bereft of what he had by his own counſels atchiev'd; and CORBULO, on the contrary, maintain'd that the King had not inclin'd to yield hoſtages till he himſelf being appointed to conduct the war, had chang'd his hopes into fear. NERO, to compoſe their jarrings, order'd publick declaration to be made, "that for the ſucceſsful conduct of "QUADRATUS and CORBULO, the laurel ſhould be an-"next to their faſces." Theſe tranſactions, tho' they reach'd into the year of the ſucceeding Conſuls, I have thus laid together.

The ſame year, NERO applied to the Senate for a ſtatue to his father DOMITIUS, and for the Conſular ornaments to ASCONIUS LABEO, who had been his Tutor. Statues to himſelf of ſolid ſilver and gold he refus'd, and oppos'd ſuch who propos'd them; and, notwithſtanding an ordinance of Senate, that the Year for the future ſhould begin on December, the month in which NERO was born, he preſerv'd the ancient ſolemnity of beginning the year with the firſt of January. Neither would he admit a criminal proſecution againſt CARINAS CELER the Senator, upon the accuſation of a ſlave; nor againſt JULIUS DENSUS of the Equeſtrian Order, charg'd as a delinquent for his devotion to BRITANNICUS.

In the Conſulſhip of NERO and LUCIUS ANTISTIUS, as the Magiſtrates were ſwearing upon the acts of the Emperors, he withheld ANTISTIUS his collegue from ſwearing upon his: an action copiouſly extoll'd by the fathers, with deſign that his youthful ſpirit, firſt animated by the glory reſulting from light things, might proceed to court the ſame in things which were greater. There follow'd an inſtance of his mercy towards PLAUTIUS LATERANUS, formerly degraded from the order of Senator for adultery with MESSALINA, but now by NERO reſtor'd: and he choſe to make many profeſſions of clemency in the frequent ſpeeches which SENECA the compoſer, either to manifeſt what worthy counſels he gave, or in oſtentation of his own wit, utter'd in publick by the mouth of the Emperor.

In the mean while, the authority of his mother became by little and little ſlighted and impair'd: for NERO having fallen into a paſſion for a franchiz'd Damſel, her name ACTE, at the ſame time aſſum'd as confidents in his amour OTHO and CLAUDIUS SENECIO; the firſt of a Conſular family, the other a ſon of one of the Emperor's freedmen; two youths of graceful perſons, who firſt, unknown to his mother, and then in ſpight of her, had by fellowſhip in luxury and ſecret pleaſures crept into an unbounded intimacy with him: nor did even his ſevereſt miniſters thwart this intrigue; when with a woman of low condition, to the injury of no man, the Prince ſatisfied his youthful inclinations and pleaſures: for, OCTAVIA

his

his wiſe, however illuſtrious in her birth, however celebrated for her virtue, he intirely nauſeated; whether from a certain fatality entirely blind and unaccountable, or that forbidden purſuits are more prevalent and attractive. Hence it was dreaded that, had he been withheld from that gallantry, he would have outrageouſly polluted Ladies of the moſt ſignal quality.

BUT AGRIPPINA ſtorm'd, "that a manumis'd ſlave "was become her competitreſs, and a handmaid her "daughter-in-law," with other the like angry invectives of an incens'd woman: nor would ſhe practiſe the leaſt patience till her ſon were reclaim'd by being aſham'd or ſurfeited; tho' the fouler her reproaches were, the more vehemently ſhe fir'd his paſſion: ſo that, overcome at laſt by its ſuperiour force, he ſhook off all reverence for his mother, and ſurrender'd himſelf intirely to SENECA, who had a friend nam'd ANNEUS SERENUS that had hither to cloak'd the Prince's paſſion for ACTE, by feigning one of his own, and furniſh'd his name, that in it he might openly preſent to her whatever NERO in ſecret beſtow'd upon her. And now AGRIPPINA changing her arts and addreſs, aſſail'd his youthful ſpirit with ſoftneſs and blandiſhments: ſhe offer'd him "her own chamber, that there, and even with- "in her own arms, he might more covertly accompliſh "whatever the warmth of his youth and ſovereign fortune "prompted him to." She even acknowledg'd her unſeaſonable rigour, and tender'd him the diſpoſal of all her wealth; which was not far ſhort of the Imperial treaſures: as ſhe had lately been over ſtrict in checking her ſon, ſo now ſhe was become beyond meaſure ſubmiſſive and condeſcending. This ſudden change deceiv'd not NERO; and his cloſeſt friends dreading it, beſought him, "to beware "of ſnares from a woman always implacable, and then "both implacable and diſſembling." It happen'd about that time, that as NERO was ſurveying the precious ornaments, in which the wives and mothers of the Emperors were wont to ſhine, he choſe out rich raiment with many jewels, and ſent them as preſents to his mother: nor were the ſame any wiſe ſtinted, ſince the choiceſt things and ſuch as others paſſionately covet, were by him, unask'd, preſented to her: but AGRIPPINA wax'd violent and ſaid, "that by theſe gifts, the adorning of her perſon was "not intended, but rather her excluſion from all beſides; "and her ſon would thus divide with her what he had "wholly receiv'd from her." Nor were there wanting thoſe who related theſe her words with aggravations.

NERO therefore provok'd with thoſe who manag'd and upheld the imperious ſpirit of AGRIPPINA, diſmiſs'd PALLAS from the employment which he had receiv'd from CLAUDIUS, and in it had acted like the ſovereign director of the Empire: it is reported that, as he departed the palace, attended by a mighty throng of followers, NERO ſaid not unpleaſantly; "PALLAS is going to abdicate his "Sovereignty." PALLAS had, in truth, ſtipulated, "that "he ſhould be queſtion'd for no part of his paſt behaviour; and, for his accounts, the publick ſhould have "no more demands upon him, than he upon the publick." After this AGRIPPINA quite abandon'd her ſelf to a ſtile of threats and terrors, nor ſpar'd ſhe to utter them in the Emperor's hearing: ſhe even declar'd, "that "BRITANNICUS was now grown up, the true and natural deſcendent from CLAUDIUS, and worthy to aſſume the Empire of his father; an Empire which one, "who was a ſon only by adoption and ingraftment, "ſway'd by trampling upon his own mother: for her "ſelf; ſhe freely conſented that all the crying calamities "brought upon that unhappy houſe, ſhould be laid open "to the world; that firſt in the liſt ſhould appear her "own inceſtuous marriage with her uncle, her own guilt "in poiſoning her husband: one only conſolation, by the "providence of the Gods and her own, remain'd to her, "that her ſtep-ſon was ſtill left alive: with him ſhe would "repair to the camp; where, on one ſide, would be "heard the daughter of GERMANICUS, on the other "BURRUS and SENECA, the firſt with his maim'd hand, "the ſecond with the ſtile of a pedagogue; both engag'd "in a conteſt with her about the ſovereign rule of human kind." At the ſame time ſhe toſs'd her menacing hands, accumulated reproaches, invok'd the deified CLAUDIUS, with the manes of the Silani, and of ſo many others whoſe murders ſhe had in vain perpetrated!

All this alarm'd NERO; and as the following day was that of the nativity of BRITANNICUS, who on it accompliſh'd his fourteenth year; he revolv'd, within himſelf, now upon the violent ſpirit of his mother, then upon the promiſing genius of that youth, of which, during the late Feſtival of the Saturnalia, he had given a remarkable ſpecimen, and by it acquired univerſal eſteem. Beſides other ſports, on that occaſion, amongſt them and others of the like age and condition; as they drew lots who ſhould be King of the play, the lot fell upon NERO: he therefore, in that quality, gave to all the reſt diſtinct commands, yet ſuch as expos'd them to no ridicule: but that to BRITANNICUS was, to ſtand forth in the center of the company, and there begin ſome ſong. From attempting this task he hop'd the boy would become an object of laughter, untrain'd as he was even in the parts of ſober converſation, much more in the rants of drunkards. BRITANNICUS, however, with an addreſs ſteady and undiſturb'd, rais'd his voice to ſome verſes which imported, how "he was bereft of his natural inheritance and the "Imperial power." Hence he drew compaſſion from thoſe who heard him, which was the more unreſtrain'd for that their gaiety and the night had baniſh'd hypocriſy. NERO was ſtruck with the invidious application, and grew into ſtill more mortal hate: but, however urg'd to diſpatch by the menaces of AGRIPPINA, yet as his brother was without crime, and openly he dar'd not command his execution, he ſet about a ſecret machination: he order'd poiſon to be prepar'd; and as his agent in it employ'd JULIUS POLLIO Tribune of a Pretorian Cohort, in whoſe cuſtody was kept ſhe who was under condemnation for poiſoning, LOCUSTA, famous for many black iniquities in that art. For, as to any obſtacle from thoſe who were neareſt about the perſon of BRITANNICUS, care had been long ſince taken that they ſhould be ſuch as were to have no ſenſe of common honeſty, or conſcience of their faith and duty. The firſt poiſon he took was even adminiſter'd by the hands of his governors, but without effect, being voided in a looſneſs; whether in it ſelf it wanted energy, or to prevent a diſcovery by its ſudden rage, had been qualified. NERO, who was impatient

patient of a ſlow progreſs in his cruelty, threatn'd terribly the Tribune, and was dooming the Sorcereſs to execution, "for that whilſt they only apprehended the out-"cries of the people, and were meditating ways to ac-"quit themſelves, they poſtpon'd the ſecurity of the "Prince." Hence they undertook to prepare a doſe which, ſudden as a dagger, ſhould diſpatch him; and in a chamber next to the Emperor's, the deadly potion was ſeeth'd, compounded of ſeveral poiſons, all of experienc'd rapidity.

At meals, it was the manner of the children of Princes, accompanied with other young nobles, to be ſerv'd in a ſitting poſture, in the ſight of their neareſt kindred, at a ſeparate table, and more ſparingly cover'd. While BRITANNICUS was thus at meat, the opportunity was taken: but, for as much as whatever he eat or drank, was firſt tried by a ſpecial officer of his, a taſter; to the end therefore that neither this uſage might be omitted, nor by the death of both, the iniquity be detected, the guile was thus concerted. To BRITANNICUS drink was preſented, ſuch as was yet free from all infection, and tried by the taſter, but ſcalding hot, and for that reaſon return'd by BRITANNICUS: hence it was qualified with cold water, wherein the poiſon was pour'd; which ſeiz'd all his organs with ſuch ſudden efficacy, that he was at once bereft of ſpeech and life. Fear and trembling poſſeſs'd his companions; ſuch too as comprehended not the myſtery, made inſtantly off, but thoſe of deeper diſcernment remain'd, with their eyes fix'd ſtedfaſtly upon NERO; who, as he lay in a reclining poſture, declar'd, with the air of one utterly ignorant, "that it was a uſual fit of the falling ſick-"neſs, with which BRITANNICUS from his early child-"hood had been afflicted; and by degrees his ſight and "underſtanding would return." But, in AGRIPPINA ſuch tokens of dread and conſternation of ſpirit broke out, tho' by diſguis'd looks ſhe labour'd to ſmother the ſame, that it was manifeſt ſhe was as much a ſtranger to the doom of BRITANNICUS as was his own ſiſter OCTAVIA: for, by his death ſhe was ſenſible, that her laſt refuge was ſnatch'd from her, and ſaw here an awakening example of parricide before her. Even OCTAVIA, however

ever raw in years, had learnt to hide under diſſimulation her grief and tenderneſs, and every other affection of her ſoul. So after a ſhort ſilence, the pleaſantry of the entertainment was reſum'd.

UPON one and the ſame night were ſeen the untimely fate of BRITANNICUS and his funeral pile; for beforehand had been prepar'd all the appointments for his burial, which it ſelf prov'd but moderate and ſtinted. In the Field of Mars, however, his remains were repoſited, during ſuch tempeſtuous rains as the populace believ'd to be denunciations of the wrath of the Deities againſt the crying deed; a deed which yet was in the judgment of many men, entitul'd to pardon, whilſt they conſider'd the wonted diſſentions eternally happening between rival brothers, and the unſocial and incommunicable genius of ſovereignty. It is related by moſt of the writers of thoſe times, that, for ſome time before the murder, NERO had defiled the youth by frequent conſtupration: ſo that this death of his, however diſpatch'd during the inviolable hoſpitality of the table, and ſo precipitately that to his ſiſter not a moment was allow'd for a laſt embrace, and under the eye of his capital enemy, could not for all this appear too early incurr'd, nor even cruelly inflicted; tho' by it the laſt branch of the Claudian race was extirpated, ſince it was a branch vitiated by unnatural pollution before it periſh'd by poiſon. NERO, by an edict, juſtified the haſty diſpatch of the obſequies: the ſame, he ſaid, was the inſtitution of our anceſtors, "preſently to withdraw from the eyes of the publick the "coarſes of ſuch as fell before their prime, nor to ſtay "to lengthen the ſolemnity by pomp and funeral ora-"tions: he too in BRITANNICUS had loſt the ſupport "of a brother; hence all his ſurviving hopes reſted ſolely "in the Commonwealth, and hence with the greater "tenderneſs ought the Senate and people to cheriſh a Prince, "who alone ſurviv'd of a family born to ſuſtain ſove-"reignty."

HE then diſtinguiſh'd his moſt noted friends with great donations: nor were there wanting ſuch as ſeverely cenſur'd ſome, who, notwithſtanding their avow'd gravity and uprightneſs, were yet parting amongſt themſelves, like ſpoils taken in war, the poſſeſſions of BRITANNICUS, his palaces in Rome, and his mannors and villas throughout Italy: others believ'd, that they were conſtrain'd to accept them, by the authority of the Emperor, who ſtung with the guilt of his own conſcience, hop'd that his crimes would be overlook'd, if by largeſſes he could engage in his intereſt the moſt powerful men in the ſtate. But his mother's wrath, no liberalities however noble, could aſſwage: ſhe was ſtill careſſing OCTAVIA, ſtill holding ſecret cabals with her confidents; and, beſides the uſual cravings of her inherent avarice, ſhe was on all hands exacting and amaſſing treaſure, as if by it ſhe had ſome great deſign to ſupport: the Tribunes and Centurions ſhe receiv'd with great court and affability, and to the quality and merit of ſuch of the virtuous nobility as even then remain'd, ſhe paid diſtinguiſh'd honour: as if ſhe were thus ſtudying to create a party and find a leader. Theſe her meaſures were known to NERO; and therefore the guards which attended at her gate (a preheminence which ſhe held as conſort to the late Emperor, and had continued to her, as mother to this) were by his order withdrawn, together with the band of Germans which, as an additional honour, had been join'd to the former: moreover, to prevent her being follow'd by ſuch a throng of courtiers, he ſeparated her habitation from his, and convey'd her into the houſe which had belong'd to ANTONIA: there, as often as he viſited her, he went always ſurrounded with a crowd of officers, and after the ſhort ceremony of returning her ſalute, immediately departed.

OF all mortal things there is nought ſo unſtable and tranſitory, as the name of power which ſtands not upon its own native vigour and baſis: inſtantly the houſe of AGRIPPINA was deſerted; none appear'd to give her conſolation, none to viſit her, except ſome few Ladies; and whether from affection or hate they did it, is uncertain. Amongſt theſe was JUNIA SILANA, ſhe who was by MESSALINA divorc'd from CAIUS SILIUS, as above I have recounted; a Lady ſignal in her quality, beauty, and lewdneſs, and one for a long while, very dear to AGRIPPINA: but, between them afterwards ſecret heartburnings and reſentments aroſe; for that SEXTIUS AFRICANUS, a noble youth, purpoſing to eſpouſe SILANA, was diverted by AGRIPPINA, who urg'd, "that ſhe was lewd, "and paſt her prime:" not that ſhe meant to reſerve AFRICANUS for her ſelf, but leſt by marrying SILANA, he ſhould, as ſhe had no children, with her poſſeſs all her wealth. SILANA, who thought ſhe ſaw a proſpect of vengeance, inſtructed two of her own creatures, ITURIUS and CALVISIUS, to accuſe her: neither did ſhe attack her with ſtale charges often before alledg'd, ſuch "as her bewailing the fate of BRITANNICUS, and publiſhing the wrongs done to OCTAVIA; but with deſigns to ſtir up RUBELLIUS PLAUTUS to effect a revolution in the ſtate; a nobleman who, by his mother, "was in blood as nigh as NERO, to the deified AUGUSTUS: that by eſpouſing him and inveſting him with "Empire, ſhe meant once more to ſeize the Commonwealth." All this was by ITURIUS and CALVISIUS imparted to ATIMETUS freedman to DOMITIA NERO's aunt. ATIMETUS overjoy'd at the diſcovery (for between AGRIPPINA and DOMITIA a paſſionate competition was maintain'd) inſtigated PARIS the player; who was alſo DOMITIA's freedman, to proceed with all haſte to the Emperor, "and there, in tragical colours, to announce "the crime."

IT was far in night, and NERO was waſting the remainder in carouſing, when PARIS enter'd, who elſe was wont at ſuch ſeaſons to heighten the voluptuous gayeties of the Prince: but now, with a face carefully fram'd into ſadneſs, he laid before NERO a minute and orderly detail of the conſpiracy, and by it ſo thoroughly affrighted him, that he not only determined the death of his mother and of PLAUTUS, but alſo to remove BURRUS the captain of his guards, as one who ow'd his promotion to the favour of AGRIPPINA, and would be ready to return her the like good office. We have it upon the authority of FABIUS RUSTICUS, "that to CECINA THUSCUS a codicil was already diſpatch'd, entruſting him "with the command of the Pretorian bands; but that "through the credit and mediation of SENECA, BURRUS retain'd his dignity." According to the account of CLUVIUS and PLINY, no jealouſy was entertain'd concerning the fidelity of the Prefect: but, it muſt be own'd that FABIUS manifeſts a conſtant zeal to extoll SENECA, by whoſe friendſhip his own fortune flouriſh'd: as my own purpoſe is to follow the general conſent of authors, ſo I ſhall inſert under the name of each whatever they diverſly publiſh. NERO poſſeſs'd with dread, and with a blind paſſion to ſlay his mother, could not be brought to defer his cruel purpoſes, till BURRUS undertook for her execution, in caſe ſhe were convicted of the imputed crimes: "but, to every one, whoever it were, a liberty "of defence, he ſaid, muſt be granted; how much "more to a mother? Nor, in truth, againſt her did any "accuſers appear, but only the hearſay of one man, and "by him brought from the houſe of her enemy: a hearſay too which the circumſtances and unſeaſonable hour "contributed to refute: it was during the dead darkneſs "and ſolitude of the night, and during a night ſpent "in the feſtivity of banquetting, when all things conſpir'd to produce only raſh judgment and uncertainty."

THE Emperor's fears being thus in ſome meaſure aſſwaged and day return'd, recourſe was had to AGRIPPINA her ſelf; that having notified to her the ſeveral charges againſt her, ſhe might invalidate the ſame, or bear the puniſhment: theſe orders were perform'd by BURRUS, in the preſence of SENECA: there attended likewiſe ſome of the Emperor's freedmen, to watch his diſcourſe. BURRUS, after he had to her explain'd her crimes, and given her the names of thoſe who alledg'd them, proceeded to high words and menaces. AGRIPPINA retain'd ſtill the wonted fierceneſs of her ſpirit: "I wonder not, ſaid ſhe, "that to SILANA who never bore a child, the tender "affections of a mother are thus unknown; for, in truth, "children are not ſo eaſily chang'd by their parents, as by "a harlot are her adulterers: nor, becauſe ITURIUS and "CALVISIUS, after having riotouſly devour'd their whole "fortunes, proſtitute themſelves, for their laſt reſource, "to gratify the vengeance of an old woman, by turning my accuſers; does it therefore follow that I am to "undergo the foul infamy of parricide, or that any apprehenſions ſhould thence alarm the mind of CESAR. "As to DOMITIA, I would thank her even for all the

“ efforts of her enmity to me, if in inſtances of tenderneſs “ towards my child NERO, ſhe would ſtrive to exceed “ me. At preſent, by the miniſtration of ATIMETUS “ her minion, and of PARIS the player, ſhe is framing “ a plot, like one for the ſtage: but ſhe was occupied “ in trimming the canals of her villa at Baiæ, at a “ time when by my councils and management, he was “ adopted into the Claudian name, inveſted with the Proconſular “ authority, deſign'd to the Conſulſhip; and all other “ meaſures taken proper for acquiring him the Empire. “ In ſhort, produce the perſon, who can charge me, “ either with attempting the faith of the guards at Rome, “ or with ſhaking the allegiance of the provinces, or with “ ſuborning the Prince's ſlaves and freedmen to treaſon “ againſt his perſon. Under the reign of BRITANNICUS, “ indeed, had he poſſeſs'd the ſovereignty, I could have “ preſerv'd my life: but, were PLAUTUS or any other ‘ to gain the ſupream rule, and thence a power of pronouncing “ judgment upon any proceſs againſt me; is it “ likely that I ſhould want accuſers, when, even under “ NERO, there are thoſe who ſtand up to accuſe me; “ not of words, ſometimes by me incautiouſly utter'd “ in the heat of affection and pity, but of treaſon ſo flagrant, “ that only through the bowels of a ſon for his “ mother, can I be acquitted by mine?” Compunction ſeiz'd all who attended her: they voluntarily ſtrove to allay the ſwellings of her heart; and ſhe demanded an interview with her ſon: during it, ſhe alledg'd not a ſyllable in behalf of her innocence, like one who miſtruſted her ſelf, nor of his engagements to gratitude, like one who could reproach him for want of it; but inſiſted that vengeance ſhould be done upon her accuſers, recompences be conferr'd on her friends; and obtain'd both. To FENIUS RUFUS was granted the ſuperintendance of proviſions; to ARUNTIUS STELLA the direction of the publick ſhews, which the Emperor was preparing to exhibit; and to CAIUS BALBILLUS the government of Egypt: that of Syria was aſſign'd to PUBLIUS ANTEIUS; but by various feints and ſtratagems he was, from time to time, eluded of the poſſeſſion, and at laſt detain'd for good and all at Rome. SILANA was ſent into exile: CALVI-

SIUS too and ITURIUS were baniſh'd: upon ATIMETUS capital pains were inflicted: but PARIS was of too prevailing conſequence to the Emperor in his debauches, to be ſubjected to puniſhment. PLAUTUS was for the preſent paſs'd over in ſilence.

A charge was thereafter brought againſt PALLAS and BURRUS, "for having engag'd in a deſign of advancing to "the Empire CORNELIUS SYLLA, in regard of his ſplen- "did deſcent and alliance with CLAUDIUS," whoſe ſon-in-law he was, having eſpous'd his daughter ANTONIA. This accuſation was ſupported by one PETUS, a fellow infamous for buſily promoting confiſcations in the exchequer, and purchaſing the effects of ſuch as were condemn'd: equally notorious too, upon this occaſion, was the vanity and falſhood of his allegations: and yet, the apparent innocence of PALLAS prov'd not ſo well pleaſing, as his arrogance prov'd ſhocking: for, upon naming to him thoſe of his freedmen who were ſaid to have been his accomplices, he anſwer'd, "that at home he never us'd any other way "of ſignifying his pleaſure than ſometimes by a nod, "ſometimes by a motion of his hand; or, if his com- "mands conſiſted of many particulars, he then commit- "ted the ſame to writing: ſo that, at all adventures, he "ever avoided to mix in diſcourſe with his domeſticks." BURRUS, notwithſtanding he was arraign'd, ſate and voted with the other judges: and upon the accuſer the doom of baniſhment was inflicted. His duplicates too were burnt, the inſtruments by which he was wont to exact freſh payment to the cancell'd claims of the exchequer.

TOWARDS the cloſe of the year, was remov'd the band of men which, as a guard, was wont to attend at the celebration of the publick plays; thence to exhibit a more plauſible appearance of popular liberty; as alſo to preſerve the ſoldiery from tainting their diſcipline by the diſſolute licentiouſneſs of the theatre; and moreover "to prove, "whether the populace would ſtill retain the ſame modeſty "of behaviour, now the guards were remov'd." At the admonitions of the ſouthſayers, the Emperor purified the city by luſtration; for that the temples of Jupiter and Minerva had been ſtruck with lightning.

In the Conſulſhip of QUINTUS VOLUSIUS and PUBLIUS SCIPIO, while profound quiet reign'd all over the Empire abroad, abominable revellings prevail'd at Rome, under the leading of NERO; who diſguis'd in the habit of a ſlave, went roaming about the ſtreets and ſcour'd the publick inns and ſtews, follow'd by a ſet of companions who ſeiz'd as prey whatever ſtood expos'd to ſale, and aſſaulted whomſoever they met; and all theſe violences were committed upon people ſo unappriz'd of the author, that he himſelf was once wounded and bore the ſcar in his face. When afterwards it came to be divulg'd, that it was the Emperor who rioted thus; and as freſh outrages were daily done to men and ladies of illuſtrious quality; the name of NERO being once us'd to warrant licentiouſneſs, was falſly aſſum'd as a cloak by others, and many with their own ſeparate gangs boldly practis'd the ſame exceſſes: ſo that ſuch were the nightly combuſtions at Rome, as if the city had been ſtorm'd and the inhabitants taken captive. JULIUS MONTANUS, one in the rank of Senators but hitherto inveſted with no Magiſtracy, having caſually encounter'd the Prince in the dark, reſolutely repuls'd his aſſaults; and afterwards diſcovering him, implor'd his forgiveneſs: but, as if he had reproach'd the Emperor, by owning that he knew him, he was compell'd to die. Thenceforward, however, NERO became more fearful, and in theſe his rambles fortified himſelf with a party of ſoldiers and a great train of Gladiators: theſe interpos'd not in the beginning of a fray, nor while the ſame continued but moderately high; as if it were only a quarrel between particulars, and they were unconcern'd: but, if ſuch as were inſulted, reſiſted with vigour, inſtantly the men of arms fell on: nay, at the diverſions of the theatre, the ſeveral parties that favour'd particular players, were by him turn'd into hoſtile factions, encountering as it were in battel; animated as they were by the influence of impunity and rewards: beſides, he greedily attended thoſe broils, ſometimes conceal'd, and often as an avow'd ſpectator. Theſe tumults went on, till the people being heated and rent into diſſentions, and commotions ſtill more terrible apprehended, no other remedy was found but that of driving the players out of Italy, and of recalling the ſoldiers to guard the theatre.

About the ſame time the Senate had under conſideration the inſolence and baſe dealings of the Freedmen towards their Lords; and it was demanded with great eagerneſs, "that to patrons a privilege ſhould be granted of revoking the liberty of ſuch as ungratefully us'd "it." For this many were ready to vote; but, the Conſuls were afraid to propoſe the queſtion, without apprizing the Prince: they however aquainted him by writing with the concurrence and biaſs of the Senate, and conſulted him whether he would be declar'd the author of this decree, which was oppos'd by ſo few. They laid before him the reaſonings on both ſides: ſome urg'd with great vehemence and reſentment, "that, ſince their inveſtiture with liberty, to ſuch an exceſs of inſolence "they had ſoar'd, that they ſcarce allow'd their patrons "the common treatment of equals, but aſſail'd them "with inſults and violence, ſpurn'd at their motions in "the Senate, lifted up their hands againſt them, threaten'd them with blows; and with outrageous impudence "warn'd their patrons from proſecuting the delinquencies "of theſe their former ſlaves. And, in truth, what higher "ſatisfaction or amends was permitted to the abus'd patron, than to baniſh his criminal freedmen an hundred "miles off, into the pleaſant confines of Campania? In "every other circumſtance and tranſaction between them, "their conditions were equal, and the privileges of the "freedmen the ſame with thoſe of his patron. It was "therefore expedient to arm the patron with ſome prerogative not to be deſpis'd: nor could it be deem'd any "grievance upon ſlaves manumis'd, to preſerve their liberty by the ſame dutiful obſervances by which they "attain'd it. And, for thoſe already notoriouſly guilty, "it was but juſt to remand them to the yoke of ſervitude; that through their example, fear might curb "ſuch as benefits could not amend."

On the other ſide it was argued, "the tranſgreſſion "of a few ought to prove pernicious only to themſelves, "and nothing be derogated from the eſtabliſh'd rights of "all; for that they were a body widely diffus'd: from thence "in a good meaſure the tribes were ſupplied, and the colledges of ſcribes often fill'd: from the ſame ſource aroſe

" the ſeveral officers attending the Magiſtrates and Pon-
" tiffs; and from thence too the city cohorts were en-
" roll'd: nor from any other original did a multitude of
" Knights and many Senators derive their pedigree. Now
" if from the ſeveral ranks of the community the deſcen-
" dents of freedmen were ſeparated, there would quickly
" be diſcover'd a manifeſt ſcarcity of ſuch as were ori-
" ginally free. Not without good ground had our an-
" ceſtors, when they aſcertain'd the diſtinction and pri-
" vileges of the three orders, awarded undiſtinguiſh'd li-
" berty to all men: beſides there were two kinds of ma-
" numiſſion appointed on purpoſe to reſerve a latitude
" for revoking liberty, where the grant was repented, or
" for the exerciſe of freſh generoſity, by rendring the fa-
" vour irrevocable: thoſe who had not been by their pa-
" tron regularly freed before the Pretor, remain'd ſtill
" bound to him by a certain tye of ſervitude: every pa-
" tron muſt examine carefully the merit of ſuch as he
" meant to diſcharge, and grant with deliberation an im-
" munity, which once granted he could never annull."
This opinion prevail'd; and NERO wrote to the Senate, that they ſhould try the offences of freedmen ſingly, whenever they were proſecuted by their patrons; but in nothing retrench from the rights of the body. Not long after NERO bereft DOMITIA his aunt of PARIS her freedman; an act done by pretended law; to the great infamy of the Prince, ſince by his ſpecial authority was obtain'd the judgment which aſſerted him free born.

THERE however ſubſiſted ſtill ſome reſemblance of the ancient Republick: for, in the conteſt which aroſe between VIBULLIUS the Pretor and ANTISTIUS Tribune of the people, about ſome turbulent partizans of the players, by the Pretor caſt into irons, and by order of the Tribune releas'd; the Senate affirm'd the judgment of VIBULLIUS, and reprimanded the arbitrary conduct of ANTISTIUS. The Tribunes were moreover prohibited from entrenching upon the juriſdiction of the Pretors and Conſuls, as alſo from ſummoning before them out of any quarters of Italy ſuch as might be tried at tribunals of their own: it was added by LUCIUS PISO Conſul elect,
" that in their own houſes they ſhould not be allow'd to

" exert any act of power; nor that under four months " the Queſtors of the Exchequer ſhould regiſter the mulcts " by them laid; that in the interval there ſhould be privilege to controvert their ſentence, and that by one of " the Conſuls the conteſt ſhould be determin'd." The juriſdiction too of the Ediles was further ſtraiten'd, and it was ſettled how high the Patrician Ediles, how high the Plebeian, might exact ſureties, and to what value impoſe penalties. Theſe proceedings encourag'd HELVIDIUS PRISCUS to gratify his own perſonal pique againſt OBULTRONIUS SABINUS Queſtor of the Exchequer, by charging him, " that by his prerogative of confiſcating goods " for taxes, he unmercifully extorted upon the poor and " inſolvent." After this, the management of the Exchequer was by the Prince remov'd from the Queſtors, and committed to the Prefects.

VARIOUS had been the regulations of this office, and its form often alter'd: for, AUGUSTUS had left to the Senate the power of chuſing the Prefects: thereafter, as the ſuffrages were ſuſpected to have been gain'd by caballing; out of the liſt of Pretors were drawn by lot ſuch as were to preſide there. Neither held this expedient long; for that the blind lot often ſtray'd, and fell upon thoſe who were little qualified. CLAUDIUS therefore once more reſtor'd the Queſtors; and, that the fear of raiſing enemies might not ſlacken their activity and inſpection, he promis'd them, by ſpecial diſpenſation, an immediate deſignation to the greater Magiſtracies: but, as this was the firſt they ſuſtain'd, ripeneſs of age was found wanting in them: hence NERO choſe into their places ſuch as had exercis'd the Pretorſhip; and were of tried abilities.

UNDER the ſame Conſuls was condemn'd VIPSANIUS LENAS, for his rapacious adminiſtration in Sardinia. CESTIUS PROCULUS charg'd with extortion (his accuſers acquieſcing) was acquitted: CLODIUS QUIRINALIS Admiral of the galleys which rode at Ravenna, as he ſtood convicted, " for having by his profligate manners and acts " of cruelty, infeſted Italy and treated it as the moſt abject " of all nations," prevented by poiſon his impending condemnation: CANINIUS REBILUS one of the firſt rank in Rome for his abilities in the law, and his abundant treaſures,

ſures, choſe a quick releaſe from the torments of an old age broken with infirmities, by opening his veins; a man never before eſteem'd of magnanimity ſufficient to encounter a voluntary death; infamous as he was for a life of laſciviouſneſs and effeminacy. But, illuſtrious and amiable in fame departed LUCIUS VOLUSIUS, after a long life of ninety three years, and the upright acquiſition of ſignal opulence; with the ſingular felicity of having never alarm'd or incens'd the bloody ſpirit of ſo many Emperors.

DURING the ſecond Conſulſhip of NERO, and that of LUCIUS PISO his collegue, few events occurr'd worthy commemoration, unleſs any writer liked to fill pages in magnifying the vaſt foundations and wooden ſtructure of the new Amphitheatre, an immenſe pile then erected by the Emperor in the Field of Mars: but, to the dignity of the Roman people it belongs, that in their Hiſtory ſhould be inſerted illuſtrious events only, and in the City-Journals ſuch deſcriptions as thoſe. The Colonies however of Capua and Nuceria were ſtrengthen'd by a ſupply of Veterans; to the populace was diſtributed a largeſs of four hundred ſmall ſeſterces a man; and into the Exchequer was convey'd the ſumm of four hundred thouſand ſeſterces; as a fund to ſupport the credit of the Roman people. Moreover, the duty of four in the hundred upon the ſale of ſlaves, was remitted; an act rather ſpecious in appearance than of any efficacy; for, as the ſeller was oblig'd to pay it, he thence rais'd the price upon the buyer. The Emperor too iſſued an edict, "that no Procurator, "or any other Magiſtrate, who had obtain'd a charge in "any province ſhould exhibit a ſpectacle of Gladiators, "or of wild beaſts, nor any other popular entertainment "whatſoever:" for, before this, they had by ſuch acts of munificence no leſs afflicted thoſe under their juriſdiction, than by plundering them of their money; whilſt, under the influence of ſuch court to the multitude, they ſhelter'd their abitrary delinquencies and rapine.

A decree of Senate alſo paſs'd equally tending to the avenging of crimes, and providing for domeſtick ſecurity; "that if any one was kill'd by his ſlaves, thoſe too, "whom by his laſt will he had made free, if they ſtill

“ continued under the ſame roof, ſhould amongſt his “ other ſlaves ſuffer execution.” LUCIUS VARIUS, one who had been Conſul, but for the crimes of rapine formerly branded with degradation, was now reſtor’d to his primitive dignity: and POMPONIA GRECINA a Lady of ſignal quality, arraign’d of having embrac’d an extraneous Superſtition, was referr’d to the inquiſition of her husband; for, ſhe was married to PLAUTIUS; the ſame who upon his return from Britain, enter’d the city in the pomp of Ovation. PLAUTUS aſſembled her kindred, and, in obſervance of primitive inſtitution, having in their preſence taken cognizance of the behaviour and reputation of his wife, adjudg’d her innocent. To a great age this Lady liv’d, and under inceſſant ſorrow: for ever after the untimely fate of JULIA, (the daughter of DRUSUS) procur’d by the perfidious ſnares of MESSALINA, ſhe wore for the ſpace of forty years, no habit but that of mourning, entertain’d no ſentiments but thoſe of grief; a temper which during the reign of CLAUDIUS eſcap’d with impunity, and redounded thereafter to her glory.

THE ſame year produced many arraignments; and amongſt them one againſt PUBLIUS CELER, proſecuted by the province of Aſia, with ſuch inconteſtable evidence, that the Emperor finding no pretence to diſcharge him, lengthen’d out the proceſs till he died of old age. For, CELER having, as is above remember’d, diſpatch’d by poiſon the Proconſul SILANUS, ſkreen’d under that meritorious iniquity all his other enormities. COSSUTIANUS CAPITO was impleaded by the Cilicians, “ as a man utterly abominable and infamous, one who claim’d autho- “ rity to commit in his province the ſame bold exorbi- “ tancies which in Rome he had committed.” And he found himſelf ſo ſorely beſet with the vigour of the accuſation, that at laſt he wholly abandon’d his defence, and was condemn’d by the law againſt extortion. But, for EPRIUS MARCELLUS, who was charg’d by thoſe of Lycia with the violation of that very law, a faction ſo powerful was form’d, that ſome of his accuſers were puniſh’d with exile, “ as if they had conſpir’d the ruin of an in- “ nocent man.”

With NERO, now in his third Conſulſhip, VALERIUS MESSALA commenced collegue, he whoſe great grandfather CORVINUS the Orator, was by ſome few old men (and but very few) remember'd to have been collegue in the ſame Magiſtracy with the deified AUGUSTUS, who by one degree more remote was anceſtor to NERO. But, as an additional honour to that illuſtrious family, a yearly penſion was preſented to MESSALA, of about twelve thouſand crowns; that by it he might relieve his honeſt poverty and ſtill ſupport his integrity. To AURELIUS COTTA alſo, and HATERIUS ANTONINUS, annual appointments were aſſign'd by the Prince, tho' they had waſted in voluptuouſneſs their paternal wealth. In the beginning of this year the war between the Parthians and Romans, for the maſtery of Armenia, tho' it had commenced with faint efforts, and hitherto lingred, was proſecuted with vigour: for, on one ſide, VOLOGESES would neither ſuffer his brother TIRIDATES to be bereſt of the monarchy by himſelf conferr'd upon him, nor to hold the ſame as a gift from any other power: and CORBULO, on the other, eſteem'd it becoming the grandeur of the Roman people, to re-eſtabliſh the conqueſts formerly made by LUCULLUS and POMPEY. Moreover the Armenians, a people of double and faithleſs minds, invited the arms and protection of both; tho' from the ſituation of their country and ſimilitude of manners, they ſtood in nearer conformity to the Parthians, being beſides commonly link'd with them in conjugal alliances; and, being deſtitute of all experience or ſenſe of liberty, they were rather addicted to Parthian ſlavery.

BUT, to CORBULO it prov'd greater labour to ſtruggle with the degenerate ſloth of his ſoldiers, than againſt the perfidious dealings of his enemies: for, the Legions brought out of Syria, and enervated by long peace, bore with much impatience the laborious occupations of war. It fully appear'd that in that army there were thoſe who had ſerv'd to the age of Veterans, and yet had never kept guard, never ſtood ſentry; men who beheld entrenchments and palliſades as ſights that were new and wonderful, and who, in ſpruce apparel and purſuit of gain, without ever wearing helmet or body armour, had amongſt the delicacies of cities fulfilled the term of their ſervice. Having therefore diſcharg'd ſuch as were enfeebled by ſickneſs or age, he ſent to demand recruits. Hence levies were made through Cappadocia and Galatia, and to theſe was added a Legion from Germany, with ſome wings of horſe and a detachment of infantry from the Cohorts. The whole army too was encamp'd; tho' ſuch was the rigour of the winter, and ſo ſtubbornly had the froſt bound the earth, that without digging they could not pierce it in order to pitch their tents. Many had their limbs utterly ſcorch'd up by the raging cold; and ſome, as they ſtood ſentry, were frozen to death. More remarkable ſtill was the fate of one particular ſoldier, whoſe hands, as he carried in them a bundle of wood, ſtiffen'd and mortified ſo ſuddenly, that ſtill claſping their burden they dropp'd from his mutilated arms. The General himſelf, in a thin habit and his head bare, whether they march'd or work'd, was hourly amongſt them, commending the magnanimous, heartning the weak, and exhibiting an example to all. Next, as many refus'd to bear the aſperity of the weather and ſervice, and began to depart; he had recourſe to ſeverity for a cure, for, he proceeded not as in the other armies, where the firſt or ſecond offence was forgiven; but whoever deſerted his colours, was inſtantly put to death: a courſe which was by experience prov'd to be wholſome, and preferable to that of clemency: ſince, from his camp there were fewer deſertions, than from thoſe in which acts of mercy were wont to prevail.

CORBULO, the while, holding his Legions encamp'd, waited the advancement of the ſpring; and, having quarter'd the auxiliary Cohorts in convenient places, expreſly forewarn'd them that they ſhould not venture to engage firſt in a battle: the ſuperintendance of theſe garriſons, he conferr'd upon PACTIUS ORPHITUS, one who had ſerv'd as Lieutenant Colonel of a Legion. This officer, altho' he acquainted the General by letter, that the Barbarians acted negligently, and thence an opportunity preſented of aſſailing them with ſucceſs, was order'd to abide within his entrenchments, and wait for greater forces: but, he broke through his orders: for, upon the arrival of ſome few troops of horſe, who aſſembling from the neighbouring caſtles, raſhly demanded battle, he encounter'd the enemy, and was routed. Thoſe too, who ought to have reinforc'd him, being themſelves terrified with his diſaſter, betook themſelves to a cowardly and tumultuous flight, and return'd to their ſeveral fortifications: an event which grievouſly affected CORBULO; hence, after he had bitterly reproach'd PACTIUS himſelf and the captains and common ſoldiers, he expell'd them all from the camp, doom'd them to lie on the other ſide its encloſure, without tents or defence: and under this contumelious puniſhment they were held, till, at the univerſal ſupplications of the whole army, they were releas'd.

Now TIRIDATES, who over and above the forces which he drew from his own vaſſals, was ſupported by the might of his brother VOLOGESES, proceeded no longer againſt Armenia by diſguis'd efforts, but attack'd it with open war, and, upon all ſuch as he ſuſpected of attachment to us, committed depredations; but, where troops were drawn out againſt him, eluded the encounter, ſcouring to and fro, and effecting greater matters by the fame and terror of his incurſions, than by any exploits in fight. CORBULO therefore, having long labour'd to come to an engagement, and being ſtill fruſtrated, found himſelf oblig'd to follow the method of the enemy, and make a circulatory war: hence he diſtributed his forces ſo that his ſeveral Lieutenants might at once attack diverſe quarters: he at the ſame time directed King ANTIOCHUS to fall into the Armenian diſtricts which lay contiguous to his own. For, as to PHARASMANES King of Iberia; having for the imputation of treaſon, ſlain his ſon RHADAMISTUS; he was already, in order to diſplay his fidelity towards us, renewing with the more acrimony againſt the Armenians the exerciſe of his old inveterate hate. The Inſechians too, a people ſince ſingularly attach'd to the Roman intereſt, were then firſt engag'd in our alliance, and over-run the wilds of Armenia. Thus all the meaſures of TIRIDATES prov'd abortive and contradictory; ſo that he diſpatch'd Embaſſadors to expoſtulate, in his own name and that of the Parthians; "upon what ſcore "it was that, after he had ſo lately deliver'd hoſtages "to the Romans, and with them renew'd his former

“ amity, which might reaſonably have prov’d to him a “ ſource of new friendſhip; he muſt yet be chas’d out of “ Armenia, a Kingdom ſo long in the poſſeſſion of his “ anceſtors? Hence it was, that VOLOGESES had not hitherto taken arms in perſon, becauſe they both deſir’d “ to commit the juſtice of their cauſe to the way of accommodation rather than to that of violence. But, if “ war were ſtill to be obſtinately purſued, the Arſacides “ would not find themſelves forſaken of that ſame victorious bravery ſo often tried by the Romans, in many “ bloody overthrows.” CORBULO was well inform’d, that what engag’d VOLOGESES was the revolt of Hyrcania: he therefore, in anſwer to TIRIDATES, perſuaded him to apply to the Emperor with humility and ſupplications; “ hence he might enjoy his Kingdom in ſecurity, and an eſtabliſhment without the expence of blood; “ if rejecting his remote and tedious hopes, he would “ cloſe with ſounder meaſures already concerted.

BUT, as the buſineſs of peace was nothing advanc’d by an intercourſe of meſſengers, it was at laſt judg’d proper to aſcertain a time and place for an interview between the two chiefs. TIRIDATES declar’d “ that he “ would come attended only by a guard of a thouſand “ horſe, but would not reſtrain CORBULO to any number of troops of any kind, provided they came without armour, as a proof of their diſpoſition to peace.” This perfidious wile of the Barbarian muſt have appear’d manifeſt to every man breathing, eſpecially to an old and cautious Captain; ſince by limiting the number of men on one ſide, and leaving liberty for a greater number on the other, nothing but a ſnare could be intended: for, againſt a body of Parthian horſemen conſtantly train’d in the uſe of the bow, any numbers whatever, when naked of armour, would avail nothing. CORBULO, however diſguis’d all his apprehenſions of guile, and return’d anſwer, “ that matters which concern’d the intereſt of both “ their ſtates, would be more properly diſcuſs’d in preſence of both armies:” hence he choſe a ſtation conſiſting partly of hills riſing with a gentle ſlope, fit for embattling his infantry; partly of a large plain, affording ſcope for ranging the ſquadrons of horſe. On the day appointed, CORBULO advanc'd firſt; on the wings he poſted the ſocial troops and the auxiliary forces ſent by the confederate Kings: and, in the center, the ſixth Legion, which he had ſtrengthen'd with three thouſand men of the third, led by night from another camp; all mixt together under one Eagle, to preſerve ſtill the appearance of a ſingle Legion. TIRIDATES at laſt appear'd, but late in the day, and afar off, from whence he could be eaſier ſeen than heard: ſo that the Roman General, having obtain'd no conference, order'd his men to retire to their ſeveral camps.

THE King too retreated in haſte, whether it were that he apprehended a deſign to ſurprize him, for that the Romans filed off in different routs; or, that he meant to intercept their proviſions which were coming from Trebizond and the Euxin Sea: but, as the proviſions paſſed over the mountains, which were ſecur'd by ſeveral bands of our men, he found no means to attack them: and CORBULO the while, that the war might not thus linger without action, and in order to force the Armenians to defend their own dwellings, ſet himſelf to raze their ſtrong holds: the attack of the ſtrongeſt of all thoſe in that quarter, the fort nam'd Volandum, he reſerv'd to himſelf; and to CORNELIUS FLACCUS his Lieutenant, and INSTEIUS CAPITO Camp Marſhall, committed thoſe of ſmaller note. Having therefore view'd the fortifications and prepar'd all things requiſite for ſtorming the place, he exhorted his men, "to exterminate that baſe and vagabond "foe, never prepar'd for war, yet never diſpos'd to peace, "but ſtill by flight confeſſing faithleſsneſs and cowardice: "do this, ſaid he, and at once purſue a harveſt of ſpoil "and glory." He then diſtributed his forces into four diviſions: one he form'd cloſe under their ſhields into the military ſhell, in order to overthrow the palliſade and undermine the rampart: others were order'd, by ladders to mount the walls, and a party to manage the engines, and thence annoy the fortreſs with ſhowers of darts and artificial fire: to the archers too and ſlingers a quarter was aſſign'd whence they might from afar diſcharge volleys of ſtones and bullets: ſo that every part of the fortreſs being aſſail'd, and the conſternation every where equal, no one quarter of the beſieg'd might be at leiſure to relieve another. All this was executed by the beſiegers with ſuch ſpirit and vigour; that, in a few hours the defendents were entirely driven from the walls, the gates were forced, the bulwarks ſcaled, and all that were arriv'd to full age, put to the edge of the ſword; without the loſs of one of our men, and very few were wounded. The weak and mixt multitude were ſold by the publick cryer: and to the conquerors remain'd all the reſt of the ſpoil. Equal ſucceſs attended the Lieutenant General and Camp Marſhall: in one day they took three caſtles by ſtorm: inſomuch that all the others, ſome from dread, others from the inclination of the inhabitants, ſurrender'd. Such a ſeries of good fortune inſpir'd a reſolution, to attempt the ſiege of Artaxata, the capital of Armenia. The Legions were not however conducted thither the ſhorteſt road; for that, in paſſing the bridge over the Araxes, which waſhes the walls of the city, they would have been expos'd to have been gall'd by the enemy. Fetching therefore a long circuit, they forded over upon the large ſhallows.

As to TIRIDATES; he ſtruggl'd between ſhame and fear: if he gave way to the ſiege, it would appear that there was no reliance upon any relief or force from him: if he attempted to prevent it; he muſt be hemm'd in with his cavalry in cloſe and intricate places: at laſt, he determin'd to ſhew himſelf in order of battle, and at break of day begin the onſet, or by a feign'd flight try to draw the Romans into a ſnare. With great ſuddenneſs therefore he beſet them, but without any ſurprize to our General, who had form'd his army as well for a fight as a march. On the right march'd the third Legion; on the left the ſixth, and in the center a choſen detachment from the tenth; the baggage was ſecur'd between the ranks, and a thouſand horſe guarded the rear: theſe laſt were order'd "to repulſe the foe, if they made any cloſe attack; but, not to purſue them when they fled." The foot archers and remainder of the horſe were placed on the wings, but the left was the moſt extended, and reach'd to the roots of the hills; that, if the enemy attempted an onſet there, he might be encounter'd at once by our front, and by the heart of the army. TIRIDATES, on his ſide, pickeer'd about, yet never approach'd within the throw of a dart; but, now braving us with the countenance of an aſſailant, then aſſuming an air of diſmay, provok'd us to looſen our ranks, that he might fall upon us when we were disjoyn'd. When he ſaw no unwary relaxation in our order, and that only one captain of horſe, who had adventur'd too raſhly, was by a volley of arrows ſlain, and by his fate had confirm'd all the reſt in ſubmiſſion to diſcipline; he march'd off at the cloſe of the evening.

Corbulo encamp'd upon the place, and, ſuppoſing that TIRIDATES had retir'd to Artaxata, was unreſolv'd whether he ſhould march thither the ſame night with his Legions unincumber'd by baggage, and immediately inveſt it: but, upon tidings brought him by his ſpies, that the King had undertaken a long rout; tho' it was uncertain whether towards the regions of Media or Albania: he waited for the morning, and diſpatch'd his troops lightly arm'd to beſet the city, and begin the ſtorm of the place by a diſtant attack. But, the citizens voluntarily opening their gates, made an unreſerv'd ſurrender to the Romans: by this their perſons were ſecur'd. The city was fir'd, and laid level with the ground; for, ſuch was the wide circuit of its walls, that, without a powerful garriſon, they could not be defended; nor were our forces ſufficiently large to fill the garriſon, and yet to proſecute the war: or, had it been left untouch'd and deſtitute of a guard, there had been no profit nor glory in having taken it. To this relation of the fall of the city is added a Phænomenon, which was deem'd miraculous, as a ſignal ſent immediately from heaven; for that, while all the region round the walls and cloſe to them, was gloriouſly irradiated by the ſun; the whole ſpace incompaſs'd by them, was ſo ſuddenly darken'd by a thick cloud, ſpangled with lightning and roaring with thunder, that it was believ'd the angry Gods, to ſatiate their vengeance, had conſign'd that city to utter deſtruction.

For theſe proſperous exploits NERO was proclaim'd *Imperator*, and by decree of Senate, days of publick devotion were appointed, with ſtatues of victory to the Prince, triumphal arches, and perpetuity of the Conſulſhip:

ſhip: it was moreover decreed, that the day when the city was won, the day when the news arriv'd at Rome, and the day that produced this decree, ſhould all be enroll'd amongſt the annual feſtivals; with ſeveral other particulars of the ſame ſtamp, ſo much beyond all meaſure, that CAIUS CASSIUS, tho' he had agreed to the former, yet argued here, "that were every inſtance of publick proſperity to be attended with publick thankſgiving, the whole year would not afford days enough for days of devotion: a juſt diſtribution ought therefore to be made between days of devotion and days of buſineſs; in ſuch ſort that the worſhip of the Gods might be ſolemniz'd, without interfering with the ſecular buſineſs of men."

THEREAFTER was impleaded a man, who had paſſed through various revolutions of life, and juſtly incurr'd much hatred and many enmities: yet obnoxious as he was, his condemnation drew an imputation and blemiſh upon SENECA: it was PUBLIUS SUILIUS, he who, during the reign of CLAUDIUS, had made ſuch a miſchievous and terrible figure, and exercis'd ſuch a venal ſpirit, and tho' now by the change of times, conſiderably ſunk, yet not ſo low as his enemies wiſh'd: beſides, he was one, who choſe rather to bear the character of a criminal, than deſcend to that of a ſupplicant. Hence the decree of Senate made at this time for the revival of the Cincian law, which ſubjected to penalties all thoſe who had pleaded for pay, was thought to have paſſed on purpoſe to ruine him. Nor did SUILIUS, on his part, ſpare to retort complaints and recriminations; but, vehement as he ever was in his temper, now too, extremely old, and thence indulging avowed freedom, upbraided SENECA, "as an inveterate foe to all the friends of CLAUDIUS, during whoſe reign he had been juſtly doom'd to exile; as one who, being himſelf converſant in ſtupid and inſignificant ſtudies, and in teaching ſcholars, was actuated by envy towards all ſuch, who in defending the rights of their fellow citizens, exercis'd vigorous eloquence, free from pedantry and corruption. For himſelf; he had been Queſtor to GERMANICUS; but SENECA the adulterer of GERMANICUS's daughter. Now, was it to be judg'd a

" more heinous offence, to purſue the advantages of a worthy vocation, by accepting a reward from a ſuitor who freely gives it, than to contaminate the beds of Princeſſes? By what precepts of wiſdom, by what principles of philoſophy, had he, during four years of imperial favour, amaſs'd a treaſure of more than ſeven millions? Through Rome he hunted after teſtaments and inheritances; the rich and childiſh were catch'd as 'twere in his net; and all Italy and the Provinces were, by his mighty and exceſſive uſury, exhauſted. But, ſmall is my own wealth, and with induſtry acquir'd; and upon the whole, I am determin'd rather to undergo the heavieſt proſecution, the ſevereſt ſentence and doom, and every degree of hardſhip and ſuffering, than debaſe a diſtinguiſh'd reputation, the acquiſition of a long life, and bend to this ſudden ſon of felicity."

THERE were ſome too, who fail'd not to relate to SENECA all theſe reproaches, in the ſame angry ſtrain, or in one ſtill more embitter'd. Accuſers moreover were found, who arraign'd him, " for his exceſſes in Aſia, when he rul'd as Queſtor there; for plundering the inhabitants, and robbing from the publick revenue." But, as a whole year was granted them for preparing their evidence, it was deem'd a quicker expedient to proceed upon his enormities at Rome; of all which there were in ſtore ready witneſſes. By theſe it was urg'd, " that by a virulent accuſation, he had driven QUINTUS POMPONIUS upon the neceſſity of raiſing a civil war: that, by him was procur'd the violent death of POPPEA SABINA, and of JULIA the daughter of DRUSUS: of his framing was the doom of VALERIUS ASIATICUS, of LUSIUS SATURNINUS, and of CORNELIUS LUPUS: add to theſe whole bands of Roman Knights, at his inſtigation condemn'd; with all the long train of cruelties during the reign of CLAUDIUS." For, upon SUILIUS they charg'd the whole. In his defence he began to alledge, " that of all theſe accumulated proſecutions, he had of his own inclination engag'd in none, but purely in obedience to the Prince." But, NERO check'd this plea, and teſtified that, from the Memoirs of CLAUDIUS, he had found, that no accuſation whatſoever had ever been undertaken by compulſion from him. The accus'd then pleaded the violent and uncontroulable orders of MESSALINA: an impotent and languiſhing defence! "for why, it was ſaid, had no other advocates but only "SUILIUS, been ſingled out, to have lent their eloquence "for accompliſhing the purpoſes of that bloody proſti- "tute? in truth, the miniſters and promoters of ſuch black "deeds, muſt be puniſh'd; they who, having received "the wages of their iniquities, would upon others father "the iniquities themſelves." A part of his eſtate was therefore confiſcated: for, to his ſon and grand-daughter the other part was granted; beſides that from the ſentence were alſo exempted the fortunes left them by the will of their mother, and that of their grand-father: he himſelf was baniſh'd to the Iſles Baleares: but, neither during the heat and peril of the proſecution, nor after his condemnation, was his ſpirit in the leaſt ſunk or diſmay'd: he was even ſaid to have paſs'd his ſolitary exile in a life of voluptuouſneſs and pleaſure. In hatred to him, NERULINUS his ſon was alſo arraign'd, upon the crimes of publick rapine: but, NERO interpos'd and alledg'd, that by the doom of the father, publick vengeance was ſufficiently ſatiated.

ABOUT the ſame time OCTAVIUS SAGITTA Tribune of the people, one intoxicated with a wild paſſion for PONTIA, a married woman, gain'd her by vaſt preſents, firſt to conſent to the adultery, afterwards to quit her husband: engaging himſelf and her in a promiſe of marriage after the divorce. But the woman, once ſhe found her ſelf ſingle, fram'd delays from time to time, pleaded the oppoſition of her father, and then, having diſcover'd ſome hopes of a wealthier husband, quite renounc'd her engagement. OCTAVIUS fail'd not to combat this reſolution: one moment, he broke into complaints, the next into menaces: he adjur'd her by the reputation which for her he had ſhipwrec'd, by the wealth which upon her he had totally conſum'd: in fine, he told her, that his life and perſon was the only fortune left him, and of that too the diſpoſal lay wholly in her breaſt: at laſt perceiving her deaf to all his reaſonings, he requeſted the happineſs of one parting night; for that thus calm'd and

gratified,

gratified, he would thenceforth be able to govern his paſſion. The night was granted and nam'd, and PONTIA appointed a maid, her confident, to ſecure the chamber. SAGITTA brought with him one freedman, and a dagger conceal'd under his robe. The interview began, as uſual in combinations of love and anger, with a medley of chiding and beſeeching, of reproaches and ſubmiſſions; and part too of the night was devoted to joy and embraces: at length he became enrag'd with expoſtulations and deſpair, and ſuddenly plung'd his dagger into her heart, (free as ſhe was of all dread), beat down and wounded the maid, who was flying to her aſſiſtance, and burſt out of the chamber: next day the murder was divulg'd, and, by what hand, was apparent: for, it was prov'd they had lodg'd together: but the freedman adopted the guilt. He averr'd, that the aſſaſſination was of his own committing, to procure juſt vengeance to an injur'd maſter: and, by the exemplary greatneſs of ſuch behaviour, many were induced to believe him, till the maid, when ſhe was healed of her wound, fully diſclos'd the author and all the particulars; ſo that the Tribune was arraign'd before the Conſuls, by the father of the deceas'd, and, at the expiration of his office, condemn'd by the Senate to the penalties of the Cornelian Law.

AN inſtance of lewdneſs no leſs notorious, prov'd this year the ſource of heavy calamities to the Roman ſtate. In the city liv'd a daughter of TITUS OLLIUS; but, as POPPEUS SABINUS her mother's father, had ſhone in the Commonwealth, and from the Conſular dignity and glory of a triumph, acquired an illuſtrious name; from his ſhe took her own, that of SABINA POPPEA: for, OLLIUS, e'er yet he had overtaken any publick dignity, was ſwallow'd up by the fatal friendſhip of SEJANUS. This Lady poſſeſs'd every ornament but that of a virtuous ſoul: for, from her mother, who in beauty had excell'd all the women of her time, ſhe deriv'd her lovelineſs, as well as the glory of deſcent: the luſtre of her birth was ſupported by proportionable wealth: her ſpeech was ſoft and engaging, her wit pertinent; modeſty the part ſhe perſonated; lewdneſs that ſhe practiſed: it was rare that ſhe appear'd abroad; then too part of her face hid under her vail; the more to ſtimulate the curious beholders; or perhaps becauſe, thus attir'd, ſhe was ſtill more charming. As to the awe of fame; it never once controull'd her: between husband and adulterer, ſhe made no diſtinction: by no man's paſſion was ſhe ever biaſs'd, nor even by her own: wherever her intereſt appear'd, thither ſhe transferr'd her pleaſures. Hence, tho' ſhe was married to RUFUS CRISPINUS, a Roman Knight, and by him had brought forth a ſon, ſhe was carried away by the gay youth and profuſeneſs of OTHO; eſpecially for that he was eſteem'd to reign, beyond all others, in the affection of NERO; nor was it long e'er this commerce of adultery was follow'd by their intermarriage.

IT became now the ordinary language of OTHO, to extoll to the Prince the beauty and delicate charms of his wife; either, as he was prompted by the indiſcreet warmth of a lover; or deſign'd to enflame NERO with the like paſſion, and from their common enjoyment of the ſame woman, hop'd to find an additional ſtay and ſecurity to his preſent authority. It was uſual to hear him boaſt, as he roſe from the Emperor's table, "that he now retir'd "to the ſum of all nobleneſs and lovelineſs, her who was "the center of every joy and felicity, the deſire of all "men, but happily his own peculiar lot." After theſe and the like incitements, NERO deferr'd not long his own gratification: an interview was appointed, where POPPEA, at firſt, employ'd all her ſoft arts and careſſes, and by them intirely ſubdued him: ſhe feign'd herſelf ſmitten with his fine perſon, and wholly overcome by her paſſion for him. But, afterwards, when ſhe had work'd up the Prince's affection to a pitch of vehemence and impatience, ſhe chang'd her former behaviour into haughtineſs and deſpite: if ſhe were detain'd above a night or two, "ſhe "was a married woman, ſhe cried; nor could ſhe relin"quiſh her husband; as to him ſhe was engag'd by a "way of living, which no other man could equal: OTHO "was magnificent in his perſon, generous in his ſpirit: "in him ſhe beheld every thing worthy the moſt exalted "fortune: for NERO; as he was attach'd to ACTE, and "thence inur'd to the embraces of a ſlave, he could "from a fellowſhip ſo wretched and ſervile, derive no-

" thing but ſordidneſs and ſervility." Inſtantly upon this, OTHO became degraded from his uſual intimacy with the Emperor, then debarr'd of all intercourſe and even acceſs; and, at laſt, to prevent all his rival practices in Rome, preferr'd to the government of Luſitania: a government which he adminiſter'd, till the beginning of the civil wars, with eminent uprightneſs and honour, and wide of all the courſes of his former diſſolute life: a proof this of his various character, that of an unbridled voluptuary in a private ſtation, and in authority obſerving gravity and juſt reſtraints.

NERO as yet endeavour'd to find diſguiſes for his vileneſſes and crimes. He, whom of all others he apprehended moſt, was CORNELIUS SYLLA; miſtaking the heavy ſpirit of the man for deep artifice and diſſimulation. Theſe apprehenſions were inflam'd by GRAPTUS; a freedman of his, an ancient domeſtick of the court, ever ſince the reign of TIBERIUS; and being well practis'd in the dark devices of the Emperors, he, upon this occaſion, fram'd the following forgery. The Milvian Bridge was then the famous ſcene of nocturnal revellings; and thither NERO frequently reſorted, that there he might more licentiouſly riot without the city. GRAPTUS therefore feign'd, " that a plot had been laid for him, as he " ſhould return from thence by the Flaminian Way; but, " by the benignity of fate, he had eſcap'd it in coming " home through the Gardens of SALLUST; and that of " this treaſon SYLLA was the author." The only foundation of all this was, that as ſome of the Emperor's attendants were repairing back to the Palace, certain young companions, indulging a ſort of licentiouſneſs then univerſally practiſed, had fill'd them with cauſeleſs fears. But, amongſt the offenders not a ſlave of SYLLA's was obſerv'd, nor one of his dependents: and for himſelf, his courage was ſo utterly deſpicable, and ſo unequal to all enterprize, that his nature was repugnant to every attempt of treaſon. Neverthelеſs, as if he had been a traitor fully convicted, he was baniſh'd his country, and confin'd within the walls of Marſeilles.

DURING the ſame Conſuls were heard the deputies from Puzzoli; ſome diſpatch'd by their Senate, others by the populace; the former inveighing againſt the violence of the multitude, the latter againſt the oppreſſion and avarice of the Magiſtrates and Nobles: and, as the ſedition was ſo violent, that the factious had already combated with ſtones, threaten'd the firing of houſes, and were betaking themſelves to arms and maſſacre; CAIUS CASSIUS was appointed to apply a remedy: but, they could not bear the ſeverity of his proceedings: ſo that, at his own requeſt, that charge was transferr'd to the two brothers SCRIBONII, aſſiſted by a Pretorian Cohort; by the terror of which and the execution of ſome few incendiaries, concord was reſtor'd amongſt the inhabitants.

THE decree of Senate now made, for permitting the Syracuſians, in their ſhews of Gladiators, to exceed the number formerly limited, is a matter ſo common, that I ſhould not inſert it here had not PETUS THRASEA oppos'd it, and thence adminiſter'd to his revilers matter of invective. "For, if he believed, ſaid they, that the "condition of the Commonwealth call'd upon the Se-"nators to exert themſelves in liberty and vigour of ſpeech, "why were his cenſures and purſuits confin'd to things "of ſuch trivial moment? How came it, that he ſtood "not forth to adviſe or controul meaſures of war and "peace, the adminiſtration of the revenue, that of the "laws, and whatever elſe concern'd the ſupport and go-"vernance of the Roman ſtate? To every Senator, as "ſoon as he was inveſted with the privilege of voting, "full freedom was allow'd of propounding whatever he "would, and of claiming that what he propounded might "be put to the vote: now, did nothing elſe in the ſtate "want check or amendment; but only, that the ſpectacles "at Syracuſe ſhould be exhibited with no enlargements? "Were, in truth, all the other parts of the government "throughout the Empire, ſo excellently regulated, as if by "THRASEA himſelf, and not by NERO, they were main-"tain'd? But, if all theſe other parts were paſſed over "in profound diſſimulation, without any animadverſion, "how much more reaſonably to be forborn were things "utterly void of all uſe and ſignificancy?" To his friends, who ask'd him the meaning of his conduct, THRASEA anſwered, "that he had, from no ignorance in the circumſtances and ſituation of the publick, interpos'd againſt "a decree of that ſort; but in it conſulted the honour "of the Senate; by making it appear, that an inſpection "into the greateſt affairs was not like to be diſavow'd by "thoſe, who thus applied their thoughts to the moſt inſignificant."

On the ſame year, ſuch were the importunate cries of the people againſt the arbitrary exactions of the Tax-gatherers, that NERO was deliberating about the intire ſuppreſſion of all taxes and duties, as the moſt illuſtrious bounty he could beſtow upon human kind: but the Senate, after many high praiſes upon his greatneſs of ſoul, reſtrain'd his raſhneſs, by apprizing him, "that the diſſolution of the Empire muſt enſue a reduction of the "revenues which ſuſtain'd it; and were the publick duties once annull'd, it would be a preſident for labouring the diſcharge of all the publick tributes: that the "companies for adminiſtring the taxes, were for the moſt "part eſtabliſh'd by the Conſuls and Tribunes, even then "when popular liberty was in its prime at Rome; and "the regulations which follow'd, were ſo concerted, that "the publick impoſitions might juſt ballance the publick "exigencies: but the ravenous extortions of the publicans "did, in truth, require to be ſtopp'd, that ſo the rates "borne and paid by the people for ſo many years without murmuring, might not be embitter'd by new grievances, and thence be eſteem'd oppreſſion."

The Emperor therefore by an edict ordain'd, "that "the laws of the revenue, which had till then been "kept ſecret, ſhould now be committed to the publick "Tables: that the publicans ſhould exact no claims for "above a year backward. That, in all ſuits againſt them, "the Pretor at Rome, and in the Provinces, the Propretor or Proconſul for the time being, ſhould proceed to "inſtant and diſcretionary judgment: but, to the ſoldiers "ſhould be reſerv'd the uſual exemption, in all inſtances "ſave thoſe of traffick:" with other the like injunctions, which being intirely equitable, were for ſome ſhort time obey'd, but ſoon grew neglected and obſolete. The ſuppreſſion however of the Quadrageſima (fortieth penny) and of the Quinquageſima (fiftieth) continues ſtill in force, as alſo that of other impoſitions with the like titles invented by the publicans to cover their lawleſs exactions. Moreover, a regulation was made about importation of grain from the provinces beyond ſea: and it was ordain'd that the ſhips of traders ſhould not be rated with the commodities they carried, nor any duty be paid for the ſame.

Two men accus'd of male-adminiſtration in Africa, where they had both rul'd as Proconſuls, were acquitted by the Emperor: theſe were SULPICIUS CAMERINUS, and POMPONIUS SILVANUS: againſt the former there appear'd only a few private proſecutors, who charg'd him rather with particular acts of rage than thoſe of general rapine. But, SILVANUS was beſet with a mighty train of impleaders, who required time to procure their witneſſes; as did he to be inſtantly admitted to his defence; and, by being wealthy, ancient, and childleſs, prevail'd; yet out-liv'd and diſappointed thoſe who ſav'd his life to merit his eſtate.

Till this time Germany had continued in a ſtate of tranquillity, ſecured by the temper of our commanders there, who, at a time when the honours of the triumph were ſo miſerably proſtituted and lightly beſtow'd, judg'd that higher glory was to be reap'd by preſerving peace. Theſe commanders were PAULLINUS POMPEIUS, and LUCIUS VETUS: to keep however the ſoldiers employ'd, the former now perfected the damm which had been begun by DRUSUS threeſcore and three years before, to reſtrain the overflowing of the Rhine; while VETUS was digging a canal of communication between the Arar and Moſelle; that the armies from Italy, having ſail'd by ſea into the Rhone, and thence into the Arar, might fall through this canal into the Moſelle, thence through the Rhine into the Ocean: ſo that, all impediments of the paſſage being thus remov'd, a naval intercourſe might be open'd from Weſt to North, between the two ſeas. But this great work was marr'd through the envy of AELIUS GRACILIS Lieutenant of Belgick Gaul, who warn'd VETUS againſt bringing his Legions into another man's province, courting the affections of the Gauls; for that ſuch conduct would alarm the Emperor: an apprehenſion which frequently ſerves to fruſtrate many worthy enterprizes and deſigns.

BUT, from the continued inaction of both armies, a report became current, that their Generals were enjoyn'd not to lead them againſt the enemy. In confidence of this, the Friſians poſſeſs'd the foreſts and moraſſes with their youth, and carrying over the lakes all ſuch as were weak through ſex or age, placed them along the banks of the Rhine, and then proceeded to ſettle themſelves upon thoſe tracts of land which being void of inhabitants, were appropriated to the uſes of our ſoldiers: in this enterprize they were counſell'd and conducted by VERRITUS and MALORIGIS, who were ſovereigns over this nation, as far as the Germans are wont to ſubmit to ſovereignty. They had already founded their dwellings, ſown the fields, and were cultivating the lands, as if the ſame had been their native ſoil, when DUBIUS AVITUS, who ſucceeded PAULLINUS in the province, threaten'd them with the vengeance of the Roman ſword, unleſs they retir'd to their ancient territories, or from the Emperor obtain'd a new ſettlement: by theſe menaces he forced VERRITUS and MALORIGIS to betake themſelves to the ways of ſupplication. On this negotiation therefore they proceeded to Rome; where, while they waited for acceſs to NERO, who was engag'd in other affairs, amongſt the ſeveral ſights which are uſually ſhewn to Barbarians, they were conducted into POMPEY's Theatre, that they might there ſurvey the multitude of the Roman people. Here, while they gaz'd round them, no wiſe interrupted by the diverſions of the ſtage, nor delighted with repreſentations which they underſtood not; while they were intent upon the arrangement of the audience, and informing themſelves about the regular diſtribution of ranks, "which "were the Roman Knights, and where ſate the fathers "of the Senate?" they ſpied certain perſons in a foreign habit, ſitting upon the benches of the Senators, and aſk'd who were theſe? When they had learnt that this was a diſtinction conferr'd upon the Ambaſſadors of ſuch nations as ſignaliz'd themſelves by their merit and friendſhip towards the Romans: "there is not amongſt men, "they cried, that nation which, in good faith and feats "of arms, ſurpaſſes the Germans;" and thus, leaving their ſeats, placed themſelves among the Senators: a proceeding courteouſly taken by the ſpectators, as a flight and revival of ancient liberty, and the effect of an honeſt emulation. NERO beſtow'd upon both the privileges of Roman citizens, but order'd that the Friſians ſhould abandon their new poſſeſſions: and, as they refus'd to obey, they were forc'd, by a ſudden irruption of the auxiliary horſe, who put in bonds or to the ſword all who obſtinately reſiſted.

THE Anſibarians too took poſſeſſion of the ſame lands, a more potent people, not in their own multitudes only, but alſo from the ſympathy of the neighbouring nations: for that they had been exterminated by the Chaucians, were deſtitute of all ſettlement, and like exiles beſought only a quiet ſhelter and retreat. They were likewiſe led by a man of ſignal renown amongſt theſe nations, and even of approv'd fidelity towards the Romans, his name BOIOCALUS; who, in behalf of himſelf and his people, upon this occaſion alledg'd "that, upon the revolt of "the Cheruſcans, he had been thrown into bonds by order of ARMINIUS, afterwards carried arms under TIBERIUS, then under GERMANICUS; and, to the merit "of fifty years ſervice and adherence to the Romans, he "was ſtill ready to add that of ſubmitting his people to "their Empire. Was not the territory in diſpute large "and waſte? or reſerv'd for any other uſe than that of "occaſional paſture for the ſoldiers cattle; and how ſmall "a portion ſuffic'd for this? yet the Romans might ſtill, "if they pleas'd, retain wide excluſive tracts, only for "their beaſts to range in; altho' by feeding their beaſts "they even famiſh'd men; provided ſtill they did not "wilfully devote all the reſt to diſmal deſerts and ſolitude, rather than allow it for an habitation to a people "diſpos'd to their friendſhip and alliance. The poſſeſſing of this territory was no new thing: formerly it "was held by the Chamavians; next by the Tubantes; "afterwards by the Uſipians. As the heavens were appropriated to the Gods, ſo was the earth to the children of men; and ſuch portions of it as none poſſeſs'd, "were free and common to all." Here, he lifted up his eyes to the ſun, and invoking, as if they had been preſent,

ſent, that and the other celeſtial luminaries; he aſk'd them, "could they bear to ſurvey a deſolate ſoil? or, would "they not more juſtly let looſe the ſea to ſwallow up "uſurpers, who thus engroſs'd the earth?

This language warm'd AVITUS; who replied, "that "to the orders of the moſt powerful ſubmiſſion muſt "always be paid: even the Gods to whom they now "appeal'd, had ſo appointed, that to the Romans ſhould "appertain the ſovereign judgment, what to beſtow and "what to take away; and other judges than themſelves "they would ſuffer none." This was his publick anſwer to the Anſibarians: but, to BOIOCALUS he privately promis'd, that in acknowledgment of his long attachment to the Romans, he ſhould have lands for himſelf aſſign'd him: an offer which he conſider'd as a price propos'd for betraying his people, and rejecting it with indignation, added, "a place to live in we may want, but a "place to die in we cannot." Thus they parted with animoſity on both ſides. The Anſibarians, to prepare for the impending war, invited into a confederacy in it the Bructerans, Tencterans, and even other nations more remote. AVITUS too, after he had written to CURTILIUS MANTCA, who commanded the upper army, to paſs the Rhine, and to appear with his forces upon their rear; march'd himſelf with his Legions into the territories of the Tencterans, and threaten'd them with deſolation and ſlaughter, unleſs they departed from the league. Hence they were forc'd to acquieſce; and, as the like terrors aw'd the Bructerans, the reſt too relinquiſh'd a hopeleſs cauſe, whence ruine to themſelves was threaten'd from their attachment to others: ſo that the forlorn Anſibarians, deſerted by all, betook themſelves by a ſolitary retreat to the Uſipians and Tubantes; but by them alſo were exterminated. They then withdrew for reception firſt to the Cattans, afterwards to the Cheruſcans; and, in theſe long and various wanderings from nation to nation, thus vagabond, indigent, and treated as enemies and intruders, the whole people periſh'd: their youth fell by the ſword, and the promiſcuous multitude were diſpers'd according to the various lot of captivity.

Between the Hermandurians and the Cattans, during the ſame ſummer, a mighty battle was fought, about the propriety of a river, which divided their territories, and which yielding abundant ſtore of ſalt, each people was labouring by force to appropriate to themſelves. To this quarrel, beſides their uſual ſpirit of committing all diſputes to the deciſion of the ſword, they were further animated by an inherent ſuperſtition and religious belief, "that theſe "places were doubtleſs in the neighbourhood of heaven, "and no where quicker than there did the ſupplications of men reach the ears of the Gods. Hence it proceeded, through a ſpecial indulgence of the Deities, that "in this River, and in theſe groves, was ſalt produced, "not, as with other nations, from the foam of the ſea "cruſted upon the ſhore; but by pouring the water of "this river upon flaming piles of wood, and thus condens'd by a combination of oppoſite elements." The iſſue of the war was proſperous to the Hermandurians, and to the Cattans the more bloody and deſtructive, for that, preſuming upon victory, they had devoted the adverſe hoſt to Mars and Mercury; a vow, by which men and horſes, and whatever elſe appertains to the vanquiſh'd, is doom'd to be burnt or ſlain: thus upon their own heads return'd their cruel menaces againſt their foes.

The people Juhones, a ſtate in alliance with us, were at this time afflicted with a calamity altogether ſudden and alarming, by the eruption of a ſubterraneous fire, which caught and conſum'd, on every ſide, their towns, farms, and particular dwellings; and was advancing with fury to the late built walls of Cologn: neither could it be extinguiſh'd even by the falling of rain, nor by the throwing of water, or by any other uſual expedient, till certain boors, deſpairing of remedy, and enrag'd at the devouring conflagration, vented their wrath in attacking it at a diſtance with vollies of ſtones: as the flames came thus to abate, they proceeded to a cloſer approach; and, by the dint of clubs and blows, as in an encounter with fierce and ſavage beaſts, quite repuls'd it: at length, utterly to ſmother it, they ſtripp'd themſelves of their clothes, which the more ſoil'd and worn they were, the more effectual they prov'd.

During the ſame year, the Tree Ruminalis, ſtanding in the place aſſign'd for the election of Magiſtrates; the ſame which after the birth of ROMULUS and REMUS, had yielded ſhelter to theſe expos'd babes, eight hundred and forty years ago, began to decay with wither'd branches and a deaden'd trunk: a change which paſſed for an omen of evil portent, till it reviv'd again into freſh bloſſoms and verdure.

FOURTEENTH ANNAL.

DURING the Conſulſhip of CAIUS VIPSTANUS and CAIUS FONTEIUS, NERO determin'd to accompliſh, without more delay, the parricide, which he had been long deviſing; as from the permanence of his power he was become reſolute and harden'd, and his paſſion for POPPEA wax'd daily more flaming. She too, who could never hope to ſee OCTAVIA divorc'd, nor herſelf eſpous'd during the life of AGRIPPINA, teas'd him with inceſſant accuſations and reproaches, nay ſometimes jeer'd him by the ſarcaſtical name of "pupil, one blindly ſub-"ject to the controulment of another; ſo far from being "ſuffer'd to ſway the Empire, that he was not allow'd "even private liberty. For, upon what other motives "could he delay to marry her? had he any objections to "her perſon and beauty, or to her blood and anceſtors, "men of renown, diſtinguiſh'd with triumphal honours? "was he unſatisfied about the fruitfulneſs of her body, "or the ſincere affections of her ſoul? no: the truth was, "it was dreaded, that when ſhe was become his wife, ſhe "would be laying open the grievances of the Senate; the "juſt reſentment and indignation of the people, againſt "the pride, the rapaciouſneſs of his mother: but, after "all, if AGRIPPINA would bear for a daughter-in-law, "no other than one who would prove to her ſon a vexa-"tious and malevolent wife, ſhe deſir'd her ſelf to be "reſtor'd again to the conjugal embraces of OTHO; for, "ſhe was ready and reſolv'd to withdraw to any quarter "of the earth, there rather to hear of the Emperor's abaſe-"ment and reproach, than ſtay to behold it, and expoſe

“ her ſelf to a partnerſhip of the perils which ſurround-
“ ed him.” Theſe and the like expoſtulations, enforc’d with ſighs and tears, and all the ſoft artifices of that engaging adultereſs, pierc’d the ſoul of NERO: nor did any one check their operation; as all earneſtly wiſh’d to ſee the authority of AGRIPPINA cruſh’d, and as no mortal believ’d, that ever the ſon would wax ſo harden’d in his hate, as inhumanly to ſpill the blood of his mother.

IT is recorded by CLUVIUS, that ſuch was the flaming paſſion of AGRIPPINA for retaining her wonted dominion, to ſuch extravagant lengths was ſhe tranſported, that often, in the face of the day, at a ſeaſon when NERO was well heated with wine and banquetting, ſhe accoſted him, gayly attir’d, and, while he was thus drunk, ſtrove to prompt him to inceſt: that their obſcene kiſſes, geſtures, and other ſuch ſignals and incitements to that abomination, being well obſerv’d by thoſe who were preſent; SENECA, for an antidote againſt the enticements of one woman, had recourſe to another: and hence ACTE was introduced, a franchiz’d Damſel; one who being equally anxious for her own danger and the infamy of NERO, warn’d him, that already the inceſt was every where publiſh’d, and his mother gloried in the publication; and that the ſoldiery would never bear the rule of a Prince contaminated with ſuch unnatural pollution. FABIUS RUSTICUS aſcribes this ſtrange appetite not to AGRIPPINA, but to NERO; and recounts that, by the cunning of the ſame ACTE, he was wean’d and reſcued. But, the detail given by CLUVIUS is the ſame with that of the other writers; and on this ſide too is the teſtimony of popular fame: whether it were, that ſhe really nouriſh’d in her heart an impurity ſo monſtrous, or whether the concerting of this unheard of proſtitution appear’d the more credible in her, who almoſt in her childhood had, from thirſt of dominion, conſented to be debauch’d by LEPIDUS; with the like ſpirit of power, abandon’d herſelf to the luſt of PALLAS; and during her inceſtuous marriage with her uncle CLAUDIUS, had been practis’d in a courſe of wickedneſs of every kind and degree.

Thenceforth NERO began to avoid all private encounters with his mother; and, upon every occaſion of her retiring to any of her gardens out of Rome, or to her ſeats at Tuſculum or Antium, he us'd to applaud her for thus employing her leiſure: but, at length, conſidering her as his dread and torment, wherever ſhe reſided, he aſſum'd a reſolution to kill her, and was only in ſuſpence about the means, whether by poiſon or the ſword, or any other effectual violence: that of poiſon was preferr'd at firſt; but to adminiſter the ſame was difficult: if it were done at the Prince's table, its operation could never paſs nor be underſtood as a ſudden and accidental death, ſince in the like manner BRITANNICUS had already periſh'd: to apply to her own domeſticks, appear'd a great riſque; as ſhe was a woman who from her own long intimacy with frauds and blood, was wary and vigilant againſt all ſnares and circumvention, and moreover always ſecur'd herſelf by counter poiſons againſt the efforts of poiſon: and, how to diſpatch her with the ſword, and yet cover the appearances of the execution, no one pretended to deviſe: it was fear'd too, that the orders would be rejected, to whomſoever they were given, for the perpetration of ſuch hideous iniquity. Here, ANICETUS profer'd his ſervice and dexterity; a franchiz'd ſlave this, Tutor to NERO in his infancy, but now Commander of the fleet which rode at Miſenum; one who was virulently hated by AGRIPPINA, and with equal virulence return'd the hatred: he therefore explain'd, " how a veſſel might be ſo contriv'd, that " by the ſudden and artificial burſting of one particular " quarter in the open ſea, ſhe might be overwhelm'd, " without the leaſt warning or apprehenſion: nothing, " he ſaid, was ſo fertile of diſaſters as the ſea; and, if " ſhe were thus diſpatch'd by ſhipwreck, who could be " ſo injurious as to aſcribe the malignity of wind and " waves to the malice and contrivance of men? moreover, " the Prince would of courſe beſtow on his deceas'd mo- " ther, a temple and altars, and all other honours proper " to create an oſtentation of filial grief and piety."

NERO was pleas'd with the device, which was alſo favour'd by the juncture of time, that of the ſolemn feſtival of Minerva, call'd *Quinquatrus*, which he was then celebrating at Baiæ. Thither he inticed his mother: for, he was frequently declaring, " that the haſty humours of

“ parents were by all means to be born withal; and, to-“ wards her it behov'd him to ſuppreſs every irritation of “ his own ſpirit;” as by ſuch declarations he meant to raiſe a general rumour of his own reconcilement to her; a rumour which he hop'd would reach AGRIPPINA and find credit with her, from the credulous genius of women, prone to believe whatever feeds their wiſhes and promiſes matter of joy. When ſhe approach'd, he met her upon the ſhore, for ſhe came by ſea from Antium, preſented her his hand, and embrac'd her; then conducted her to Bauli; ſo the villa is call'd, which lying between the cape of Miſenum and the gulf of Baiæ, is waſh'd by the ſea which winds round the point. Here, amongſt ſeveral other veſſels, there lay one more gaudy and ornamental than the reſt; as if, in this particular too, he meditated freſh honour to his mother: for, ſhe had been always wont to be carried in a galley with three banks of oars, row'd by Mariners from the fleet. Moreover, the banquet to which ſhe was invited, was ſo tim'd, that under the dark ſhades of night the horrid execution might be cover'd. It was, however, apparent, that ſome body had betray'd the deſign, and that AGRIPPINA, upon hearing the perfidious machination, tho' ſhe was doubtful whether ſhe ought to believe it, had yet choſen to be carried by land to Baiæ in a ſedan: but, upon her arrival there, the plauſible and frank behaviour of NERO aſſwag'd her fears: for, beſides his receiving her graciouſly, placing her at table above him, regaling her magnificently, treating her with all tenderneſs and careſſes; he entertain'd and amus'd her with great variety of converſation; this minute breaking out into ſallies of youthful frankneſs; the next, with an air compos'd and grave, diſcourſing of weighty affairs; as if he had, in truth, therein ſought her counſel and participation: and after he had with this hollow fondneſs, drawn out the banquet into a great length, he attended her aſſiduouſly to the ſhore, at parting hung upon her more ardently than before, kiſs'd her eyes, kiſs'd her boſom, and left it uncertain whether, by ſuch paſſionate behaviour, he only meant to complete this baſe ſcene of diſſimulation; or whether the laſt ſad ſight of a mother juſt going to periſh, really pierc'd him, and check'd his ſpirit however fierce and ſavage.

THE night prov'd clear, the ſtars ſhone in full luſtre, the ſea was ſmooth and calm; as if all this had been concerted by the providence of the Gods, for the more incontestable detection of the murder. AGRIPPINA, of all her numerous domeſticks, was, when ſhe embark'd, attended only by two, CREPEREIUS GALLUS who ſtood by the ſteerage, and ACERONIA, who, as her Lady repos'd, lay at her feet, and was recounting to her, with much joy, the remorſe of her ſon, and the favour which by it he had regain'd from his mother: nor had the veſſel yet made much way, when ſuddenly, upon a ſignal given, the deck over that quarter was looſen'd, and being purpoſely loaded with a great quantity of lead, ſunk violently down, and inſtantly cruſh'd CREPEREIUS to death. AGRIPPINA and ACERONIA were defended by the poſts of the bed, which happen'd to be too ſtrong to yield to the deſcending weight: neither did the ſtructure of the veſſel burſt; for, the mariners were all embaraſſed, and thoſe of them who were not entruſted with the fraud, obſtructed the meaſures of ſuch as were: the next expedient concerted by the latter was to bear her down on one ſide, and ſo ſink her: but, neither amongſt theſe accomplices was there an inſtant concurrence in executing a project thus haſtily propos'd; and there were others at the ſame time ſtruggling contrariwiſe to preſerve her; and hence it proceeded that ſhe was not ſwallow'd up at once in the deep, but deſcended more leiſurely. Now ACERONIA, while ſhe declar'd herſelf to be AGRIPPINA, and call'd upon them paſſionately, to ſuccour and ſave the Prince's mother, was purſu'd with poles, and oars, and whatever other naval weapons came accidentally to hand, and ſo ſlain. AGRIPPINA kept ſilence, and, being therefore the leſs known, eſcap'd, with one wound however upon her ſhoulder. What with ſwimming, what with the aſſiſtance of ſome fiſher-boats, which row'd out to ſuccour her, ſhe reach'd the lake Lucrinus, and was thence conducted to her own villa.

HERE ſhe revolv'd upon her danger, that for this very end ſhe had been inveigled by the fraudulent letters of her ſon, and for this treated by him with ſuch ſignal marks of honour: ſhe reflected, that the veſſel, even under the ſhelter of the ſhore, without the agitation of winds, without concuſſion from rocks, had yielded in its upper part, and tumbled down, like a frail ſtructure of earth: ſhe conſider'd the fate of ACERONIA, miſtaken for her ſelf and deſignedly ſlain: and ſhe beheld her own wound, wilfully inflicted: but from the whole however ſhe inferr'd that her only reſource againſt theſe black machinations was to act as if ſhe ſaw them not. With this view, ſhe diſpatch'd AGERINUS her freedman, to notify to her ſon, "that through the benevolence of the Gods, "and the auſpicious influence of his imperial fortune, ſhe "had eſcap'd a grievous caſualty; but beſought him, that "however terrified ſhe knew he would be with the danger which had threaten'd his mother, he ſhould yet "poſtpone the trouble of viſiting her; for, what ſhe only "needed at preſent was reſt." And, the mean while, counterfeiting perfect ſecurity and fearleſsneſs, ſhe had medicines applied to her wound, and her body chaf'd and anointed: ſhe call'd too for the laſt will of ACERONIA, and ordered all her effects to be regiſter'd and ſeal'd up: in which proceeding only ſhe acted without counterfeiting.

AS to NERO; while he was hourly expecting expreſſes to apprize him, that the parricide was executed, tydings arriv'd, "that ſhe had eſcap'd only with a ſlight hurt; "having ſo far felt the danger as to remain in no uncertainty who it was that ſought her life." At this he became mortally ſtruck with agonies and diſmay, and ſwore in paſſionate terms, "that, without peradventure, "ſhe would preſently be at hand, bent upon taking haſty "vengeance; whether by arming the ſlaves, or by ſtirring "up againſt him the rage of the ſoldiery, or by flying "to the Senate and people, with a tragical repreſentation "of the veſſel wreck'd, her ſelf wounded, her friends "murder'd, and her ſon the author of all: and againſt "this menacing event, what reſource, what protection "had he; unleſs ſome ſuch could be propos'd by BURRUS and SENECA?" For, the inſtant he receiv'd the news of the diſappointment, he had call'd for them both to conſult them: neither is it certain whether, before this, they were unacquainted with the conſpiracy: upon this emergency, they both kept long ſilence; as they apprehended that it was in vain to perſuade him to drop the deſign; and perhaps believ'd it to be already puſh'd ſo far, that unleſs AGRIPPINA ſoon periſh'd, NERO certainly muſt. At length, SENECA prov'd the more forward of the two; but no further than to look at BURRUS, and ask “ whether the orders for this execution were not to be “ truſted to the ſoldiery?” Burrus anſwer'd, that “ the “ Pretorian guards were ſo zealouſly attach'd to the “ whole family of the CESARS, ſo fond in particular, of “ the name and memory of GERMANICUS, that, againſt “ any deſcendent of his they could never be animated to “ ought that were cruel and bloody: it therefore behov'd “ ANICETUS to acquit himſelf of his engagement.” Neither did ANICETUS pauſe one moment, but even demanded the office of completing the murder. Nero became reviv'd with theſe words, and declaring himſelf to be that day preſented with the Empire, own'd his franchiz'd ſlave for the author of the mighty preſent, and urg'd him to diſpatch, leading with him for his aſſiſtance ſuch as were moſt prompt to obey. The freedman however, having heard that AGERINUS was arriv'd from AGRIPPINA, with the news of her diſaſter and eſcape, contriv'd a plot to turn the treaſon upon her; and therefore, as the other was delivering his meſſage, dropp'd a dagger between his legs; and then, as if he had caught him in the terrible fact, call'd for irons to be inſtantly caſt upon him. By this fable, he purpos'd to ſupport another, by feigning that the deſtruction of the Prince had been concerted by his mother; and that being ſtruck with confuſion upon the diſcovery of her treaſon, ſhe had deſperately put an end to her own life.

During theſe tranſactions, while the danger which threaten'd AGRIPPINA at ſea, flew abroad (for it was underſtood as the effect of chance) the people flock'd impatiently to the ſhore, each as ſoon as he heard it. Some climb'd up the mounds which ſhoot out into the ſea; ſome crowded into barks and ſkiffs; others enter'd the floods and waded as deep as their height would permit; nay, there were thoſe who ſtretch'd out their arms, as it were to catch and receive her: ſo that, with lamentations for her misfortune, with vows for her deliverance, and with the indiſtinct clamour of a multitude, many asking different queſtions, or returning uncertain anſwers; the whole coaſt reſounded. There ran, moreover, to the reſt a great crowd with lights in their hands; and, as ſoon as it was confirm'd, that AGRIPPINA was out of danger, they were ſpeeding, with all zeal, to offer her their congratulations, till by the ſight and menaces of an arm'd band, they were terrified and diſpers'd. ANICETUS beſet the villa with a guard, and burſting open the gates, ſeiz'd and ſecur'd all ſuch of her ſlaves as appear'd to ſtop him. He then advanc'd towards her chamber, where he found the door guarded by very few: all the reſt were ſcar'd away by the terror and violence of his entrance. In her chamber was a ſmall light, and only one of her Damſels. AGRIPPINA too her ſelf was more and more toſs'd with anxious thoughts, that no ſoul had yet arriv'd from her ſon, nor had even AGERINUS return'd: ſhe perceiv'd from without ſtrange viciſſitudes and an unuſual ſcene, the deſertion of her own people, and the ſudden violence and tumult of ſtrangers, with all the warnings of her laſt fate: inſomuch that, ſeeing her maid too about to depart, ſhe ſaid, " thou likewiſe art going to abandon me;" and, that moment, ſpied ANICETUS, accompanied with HERCULEUS Captain of a galley, and OLOARITUS a Centurion of the navy: ſhe told him, " if he came from " the Emperor to be inform'd of her health, he ſhould " acquaint him ſhe was well refreſh'd and recover'd; if " upon any bloody deſign, ſhe would no wiſe believe him " commiſſion'd by her ſon: her ſon could never give un- " natural orders for parricide." The aſſaſſins, having placed themſelves round her bed, the Captain was the firſt that wounded her, ſtriking her upon the head with a club: for, to the Centurion, as he was drawing his ſword to diſpatch her; ſhe preſented her belly, and with a loud voice, " ſtrike thy ſword into my womb," ſhe cried, and was inſtantly aſſaſſinated with a multitude of wounds.

IN theſe particulars authors are unanimous: but, that NERO afterwards ſurvey'd the breathleſs body of his mangled mother, and magnified its ſymmetry and lovelineſs; there are thoſe who have related, and thoſe who deny.

That very night her corps was burn'd with ſordid obſequies; and upon no other bed than ſuch as ſhe us'd to recline upon at meals: neither, during the reign of NERO, were her relicks repoſited, or cover'd with common earth; till afterwards from the benevolence of her domeſticks, ſhe receiv'd a ſlight and vulgar grave, upon the road to cape Miſenum, adjoyning to a villa of CESAR's the Dictator, which from its elevated ſituation overlooks the coaſt and bays below. MNESTER a freedman of hers, as ſoon as her funeral fire was lighted, run himſelf through with a ſword; whether from grief and affection for his Lady, or from dread of ſome terrible doom to himſelf, is altogether uncertain. This violent end of AGRIPPINA was foretold her many years before, and believ'd and yet ſet at naught, by her: for, as the Chaldeans, whom ſhe conſulted concerning the fortune of NERO, anſwer'd that, "he would certainly reign and kill his mother;" "let "him kill me, ſaid ſhe, ſo he do but reign."

THE ſcene of this horrible iniquity being over, the Emperor became throughly poſſeſs'd with its crying greatneſs and enormity, and paſſed the reſt of the night in a ſad ſeries of ſollicitude; now dumb, motionleſs, and his eyes fixt; then ſtarting up, amaz'd, and trembling; always ghaſtly and wild, and out of his mind; and thus waited, in agonies, the approach of day; a day which, he apprehended, would pour upon him ſome direful and final doom. From theſe horrors he was rouz'd into hopes and aſſurance, by the behaviour of the Tribunes and Centurions, who, at the inſtigation of BURRUS, were the firſt that paid him their flattery upon this occaſion, by catching his hand, and congratulating with him, "that he "had thus happily eſcaped ſuch ſudden and unforeſeen "peril, and the mortal treaſon devis'd by his mother." Next, his friends and intimates betook themſelves, for thankſgiving, to the ſeveral Temples, and the example being thus begun was followed by the adjacent towns and communities of Campania, who gave publick teſtimonies of their joy, by ſacrifices to the Gods, and embaſſies to the Prince. For himſelf; his diſſimulation took a different turn from theirs: ſad and dejected was his mein; he ſeem'd to hate a life, which, upon ſuch cruel terms, had been ſav'd, and bewail'd with many tears, the woful death of his mother. However, as places cannot change their face and aſpect, like the ſupple countenances of men, and as the continual proſpect of that deadly ſea and of thoſe tragical ſhores, was inceſſantly reproaching him, and grievous to behold, (beſides that there were thoſe who believ'd, that from the high clifts and hills round about, were uſually heard the ſhrill ſound of trumpets, and ſhrieks and wailings from AGRIPPINA's grave) he withdrew to Naples, and there ſent letters to the Senate of which theſe are the heads:

" That AGERINUS, a freedman of AGRIPPINA's, one " of thoſe whom ſhe truſted moſt, had been ſent by her " to aſſaſſinate him, but timely apprehended, juſt prepar'd with his dagger; and ſhe had now undergone " the pains of her own parricide, with the ſame guilty " conſcience that prompted her to contrive it." To this he added a catalogue of her crimes, traced a long way backwards; how " her ambition had aim'd at a co-ordinate power with himſelf in the Empire, aim'd at drawing a prepoſterous oath from the Pretorian bands, an " oath of ſubmiſſion and fidelity to a woman; nay to " the diſgrace and abaſement of the Senate and people, " had expected the like mark of ſubjection from them; " and finding all this her ambition diſappointed, hence " ſhe became enrag'd againſt the ſoldiery, againſt the " fathers, and the populace; hence oppos'd a donative " to the guards, and a largeſs to the people; and hence " plotted ruinous miſchief and mortal ſnares againſt the " illuſtrious chiefs of Rome. Nay, it was inexpreſſible, " the labour it coſt him to defeat her deſign of aſſuming a ſeat in the Senate, and of returning anſwers to " the Ambaſſadors of foreign nations." He even obliquely laſh'd the tranſactions under CLAUDIUS, and upon his mother throw'd all the vile meaſures and black iniquities of that reign; alledging, " that it was through the auſpicious fortune of the Roman ſtate, ſhe had fallen:" to this alſo he aſcrib'd the ſhipwreck, of which he recounted the particulars: but, where liv'd there a ſoul ſo ſtupid as to believe that event to be the blind work of chance? or believe that a forlorn woman, juſt ſaved from a wreck, a wreck, ſhould employ a ſingle aſſaſſin, to break through an arm'd fleet and the imperial guards, and ſlay the Emperor? but, on this occaſion, it was not now upon NERO that the popular cenſure fell (for NERO's brutal barbarity ſurpaſs'd all cenſure) but upon SENECA; for that, by ſuch a repreſentation to the Senate, he had in writing avow'd the deed.

WONDERFUL however was the heat and competition of the Grandees in decreeing the following ſolemnities; "that at all the altars publick devotions ſhould be "perform'd; the feaſt of Minerva, during which the conſpiracy was detected, ſhould be celebrated with anniverſary plays for ever; in the Senate houſe ſhould be "placed the ſtatue of that Goddeſs in gold, and cloſe by "her, that of the Emperor; and, in the liſt of unhallow'd days, AGRIPPINA's anniverſary ſhould be inſert"ed." THRASEA PETUS, who was hitherto wont either to paſs over the like ſallies of flattery and ſervile decrees in utter ſilence or with a ſhort word of aſſent, walk'd now out of the Senate, and thence awaken'd future vengeance againſt himſelf, and yet to the reſt open'd no ſource of liberty. There happen'd moreover at the ſame time frequent prodigies; from which aroſe many prognoſticks but no conſequences: one woman brought forth a ſerpent; another, in the embraces of her huſband was ſtruck dead with a thunder-bolt: the ſun became ſuddenly darken'd, and the fourteen quarters of the city felt the effects of lightning: all which events came to paſs ſo apparently without any providential care or deſign in the Deities, that for many years after this NERO continued ſafe in his ſovereignty and inhuman crimes. Now, in order to heighten the popular hate towards his mother, to blacken her memory, and withal to magnify his own clemency, as if the ſame were enlarg'd now ſhe was remov'd, he reſtor'd to their native country and inheritance JUNIA and CALPURNIA, Ladies of illuſtrious quality, with VALERIUS CAPITO and LICINIUS GABOLUS, men of Pretorian dignity; all formerly doom'd to exile by AGRIPPINA: he likewiſe permitted the remains of LOLLIA PAULINA to be brought home, and for them a ſepulcher to be built: ITURIUS too and CALVISIUS, men whom he had lately baniſh'd, he now pardon'd and releas'd: for, as to SILANA; ſhe had already yielded to the lot of mortality at Tarentum, whither, from her remote baniſhment, ſhe had return'd; either becauſe the authority of AGRIPPINA, by whoſe enmity ſhe fell, was then declining, or her wrath by that time aſſwag'd.

While NERO linger'd in the towns of Campania, full of anxiety how to conduct himſelf upon his return to Rome; whether, if he enter'd the Senate, he ſhould find them obſequious; or, if he addreſs'd himſelf to the people, they would ſhew themſelves affectionate; his doubts were combated by all the profligates of the court (and no court upon earth abounded with more): they argued, "that "the very name of AGRIPPINA was deteſted; inſomuch "that by her death, he had ſtirr'd up, even to a flame, "the affections of the people towards him: he ſhould "therefore proceed, and in perſon receive proofs of popular adoration." They demanded at the ſame time, that, for trial, they might arrive ſomewhat before him; which they did, and found, in all reſpects, a more forward and officious zeal than they themſelves had promiſed: the ſeveral tribes, in diſtinct bodies, came forth to meet him; as alſo the Senate in their robes of ſtate, with mighty droves of women and children, all exactly ranged into ſeparate claſſes, according to the uniformity of their ſex and age; and all along, where he was to paſs, a ſucceſſive variety of plays and ſhews, and ſcenes of publick rejoycing, were pompouſly prepar'd; with all the parade and magnificence that attends the ſolemnizing of a triumph: elated with pride upon ſuch a reception, and aſſuming the pride of victory from this general ſervitude, he repair'd to the Capitol, and there paid his vows and oblations; and thenceforth abandon'd himſelf to the full bent and dominion of all his extravagant paſſions: for, tho' he had hitherto but poorly controul'd them; yet his reverence to his mother, however weak it were, had till then check'd their violence.

IT was a uſual diverſion of his, and long allow'd him, to drive a chariot drawn by four horſes: nor leſs ſcandalous was his paſſion for ſinging to the harp, as he was wont when he ſupp'd, in a theatrical geſture and habit.

"An employment, which he alledg'd to have been commonly practis'd by the Kings and Heroes of old; that the ſame was celebrated in the ſongs of the poets, and ever dedicated to the honour of the Gods; for, thus were muſick and ſinging ſacred to Apollo; and thus repreſented, with the ſame dreſs and inſtrument, not only in the cities of Greece, but even in the Roman Temples, ſtood that ſublime and oracular Deity." Neither was he any wiſe to be reſtrain'd in his propenſity to theſe extravagant pleaſures: ſo that SENECA and BURRUS, leſt he ſhould have obſtinately rioted in both, judg'd it adviſable to indulge him in one. Thus, a piece of ground, in the Vatican, was encloſ'd with a wall, that he might there exert his dexterity in racing and the diſcipline of ſteeds, without being expoſ'd as in a publick ſhew, to a promiſcuous crowd of ſpectators: but, in a ſhort time, he even ſought to be publickly ſeen, and to the ſight invited the Roman populace, who fail'd not to magnify him with abundant encomiums and acclamations; ſuitably to the ſpirit of the vulgar, ever longing after publick gayeties, and ever delighted when the ſame inclination in the Prince gratifies theirs. Moreover, this his vulgar proſtitution of all modeſty and ſhame did not, as theſe his miniſters expected, produce in him any ſatiety or remorſe, but contrariwiſe freſh ſpirit and eagerneſs. As he imagined too that, by bringing many others under debaſement and infamy, he ſhould diſcharge himſelf of his own; he introduced, as actors into the Theatre, ſeveral noble Romans, ſuch as were deſcended from illuſtrious families, but decay'd, and, through indigence, become venal; men who are now themſelves in the arms of death, and whoſe names I repeat not with their ſtory, from a conſideration which I apprehend to be due to the dignity of their great anceſtors; ſeeing too, that upon his head the iniquities recoil, who, rather than they ſhould not tranſgreſs, gave them money for tranſgreſſing. He likewiſe engag'd ſeveral Roman Knights (men well known) to undertake the acting of parts in publick repreſentations, and this he did by exceſſive rewards; unleſs it be thought that pay from one who has authority to command, carries with it the power of compulſion.

Nevertheleſs, that he might not as yet debaſe himſelf in the common Theatre, he inſtituted a ſort of plays call'd *Juvenales*; and, for the filling and celebrating of theſe, names were given in from all quarters: at them no man's quality and blood, nor his age, nor the publick figure and offices he had borne, prov'd any impediment to their degrading themſelves to perſonate the port and buffoonry of the Greek and Roman mimicks, even in the obſcene geſticulation of their bodies and the effeminate cadences of their voice: nay, the contagion even reach'd Ladies of illuſtrious quality, who came alſo to deviſe unſeemly rendezvouſes and filthy revellings: inſomuch that, in the grove which was planted by AUGUSTUS round the lake where the naval combat was exhibited, tabernacles were erected for reception of theſe dark aſſemblies; for their entertainment booths were built; and, in them, wine and dainties ſold, with whatever incites to ſenſuality and wantonneſs: moreover, to promote the debauch, men had money given them, the innocent as well as the voluptuous, to be waſted alike in the promiſcuous riot; by the former from awe of NERO, by the latter from oſtentation of vice. From this tainted ſource aroſe a monſtrous increaſe of pollution, ſcandalous vices and infamy; and tho' our manners had been long before miſerably corrupted, yet whatever progreſs that corruption made, never was it more heighten'd by any inundation of diſſoluteneſs and depravity, than by that abominable ſink of lewdneſs and debauch. Modeſty is a thing hard to be ſecur'd even by the moſt virtuous management and reſtraints; much leſs is modeſty, or chaſtity, or any honeſt endowment, to be guarded and preſerv'd amidſt avowed ſcenes of impurity, where rampant vices are engag'd in a contention to outvie each other.

At length, NERO could forbear no longer, but mounted the Stage and took the harp, trying the ſtrings with much attention and care, and ſtudying his part. About him ſtood his companions; a Cohort too of the guards were arriv'd, with many Tribunes and Centurions and BURRUS the Prefect; ſad as he was on this infamous occaſion, and praiſing NERO but grieving for him. At this time alſo was firſt enroll'd the body of Roman Knights entituled *Auguſtani*, young men diſtinguiſh'd by the bloom of their years, and their vigour and ſtrength of body; but all profeſs'd profligates, ſome from the inherent bent of nature, the reſt in hopes of preferment and power: and, as the Emperor ſpent whole days and nights at the harp and ſong, ſo did theſe in clapping the Emperor and ſounding his applauſes: they utter'd marvellous praiſes upon his perſon and voice, and extoll'd the beauty of both by names and epithets peculiar to the Gods; as if to all this incenſe they were prompted by their zeal for eminent virtue, and thence only deriv'd all their ſplendour and honour.

THE Emperor however, that he might not be only renown'd for the ſcience and accompliſhments of a player, was alſo poſſeſs'd with an ardent ambition to excel in Poetry; having, for that purpoſe, drawn about him ſeveral ſuch as had a genius for poeſy, tho' not yet noted for their poems: all theſe were wont to ſit down in concert with the Prince, and connect together ſuch lines as they had ſeverally brought, or ſuch as they found already compos'd; thus contributing their different wits, and piecing out with ſupplements of their own all the effuſions, however lame and crude, which at theſe poetical meetings were utter'd by him. This medley is apparent from the very compoſition of theſe poems, which flow with no uniformity of ſtile or genius, nor retain the marks of native flame and impulſe. He us'd, beſides, to beſtow ſometime after-meals upon hearing the reaſonings of different Philoſophers; and while each maintain'd his own ſect, and every one expreſly contradicted another, they all conſpir'd to expoſe their endleſs variance and broils, as well to diſplay their peculiar and favorite opinions: nay there were ſome of thoſe ſolemn maſters of wiſdom highly fond of being ſeen, with their gloomy aſpect and rigid accent, amongſt the Royal exceſſes and recreations of NERO.

ABOUT the ſame time; from a conteſt altogether trivial there aroſe a horrid ſlaughter between two of our Italian Colonies, that of NUCERIA and that of POMPEIUM, at the celebration of a combat of Gladiators exhibited by LIVINEIUS REGULUS, whoſe expulſion from the Senate

I have before recounted. Now, as they teas'd and rallied each other with the uſual gibes and petulance of citizens, they became ſo heated that they proceeded to bitterneſs and invectives, then to rage and vollies of ſtones, and at length to a general encounter at arms: but to the Pompeian populace, who were the more powerful, the victory remain'd, as in their territory too the revel was exhibited: hence, numbers of thoſe of Nuceria were borne to Rome, with mangled and mutilated bodies; and many arriv'd with complaints and wailings, ſome for the tragical death of their ſons, ſome for that of their fathers. The cognizance and deciſion of this affair was by the Prince left to the Senate, and by them to the Conſuls; but return'd again before the fathers, who by a decree diſabled the Pompeians from meeting in any ſuch popular concourſe for ten years, and diſſolv'd for ever the fraternities which againſt the Law they had inſtituted: LIVINEIUS and the other incendiaries of the riot were doom'd to exile.

PEDIUS BLESUS was alſo puniſh'd with expulſion from the Senate, at the ſuit of the Cyrenians, who urg'd that he profanely violated the treaſure of ESCULAPIUS; and that, in the enrolling of ſoldiers, he had been govern'd by price and popularity, and other ſelfiſh and ambitious views, and thence ſubjected that truſt to all the efforts of corruption. The ſame Cyrenians brought a charge againſt ACILIUS STRABO, one who had been inveſted with the Pretorian power, and ſent as an arbitrator from the Emperor CLAUDIUS to adjuſt and diſcriminate the territories formerly held by King APION, and by him bequeathed, together with his whole Kingdom, to the Roman people; for that the ſame had been uſurp'd on every ſide by the borderers; who having thus enjoy'd them a long while, deriv'd a claim of right from direct encroachment and iniquity, and were for founding a title upon uſurpation. STRABO therefore, having adjudg'd the lands to the Romans and expulſ'd the invaders; hence much matter of popular hate againſt the arbitrator was adminiſter'd to the Cyrenians; the ground this of the proſecution. In anſwer to the charge the Senate ſaid, "that to them the tenour of his commiſſion "from CLAUDIUS was unknown, and in this affair they

" muſt conſult the Prince." NERO approv'd the arbitration of STRABO, but wrote back, "that he would nevertheleſs relieve and ſupport our confederates the Cyrenians, and yield them up the uſurp'd poſſeſſions."

THEREAFTER follow'd the deaths of theſe illuſtrious Romans, DOMITIUS AFER and MARCUS SERVILIUS; men, who for the ſublime dignities of the ſtate, which they had ſway'd, and for their own abounding eloquence, had flouriſh'd in ſignal credit: the firſt was renown'd for a powerful Pleader; SERVILIUS too for his long ſucceſs at the bar, and afterwards for the Hiſtory by him compil'd of the Roman affairs, as alſo for the elegance and probity of his life; which receiv'd freſh luſtre from the oppoſite behaviour of AFER, who in parts and genius was in truth his equal, but far different in life and manners.

DURING the fourth Conſulſhip of NERO with CORNELIUS COSSUS for his collegue, Quinquennial Games were inſtituted at Rome, after the faſhion of the prize matches amongſt the Greeks; and, like almoſt all new inſtitutions, were variouſly repreſented. There were ſome who alledg'd, "that POMPEY too was cenſur'd by our " anceſtors, for having founded a permanent Theatre: till " then, the publick ſports were wont to be exhibited " from ſcenes occaſionally erected for the ſolemnity, to " laſt no longer, and to be ſeen from ſeats ſuddenly rear'd: " or, if times more remote were conſulted, the people " would be found to have then beheld ſuch repreſentations ſtanding; leſt, had they been indulg'd with ſeats, " they might have conſum'd whole days in the idleneſs " and amuſements of the theatre. In truth, the primitive rule in repreſenting popular ſhews would be juſtly " preſerv'd, were the ſame ſtill exhibited by the Pretors, " and no Roman citizen whatever compell'd to enter the " publick liſts: but, now, the ancient and venerable uſages " of our country, which had been long decaying piecemeal, were utterly ſunk and obliterated for ever, by a " deluge of foreign gratifications, by imported voluptuouſneſs. Inſomuch that at Rome might be ſeen, from all " quarters, whatever was capable of being corrupted or " of propagating corruption: the Roman youth muſt degenerate from the virtue and education of their anceſ-

"tors, and become abandon'd to the habits and purſuits "of foreigners, to common wreſtling-ſchools, to a life "of ſloth and effeminate pleaſures, to the contamination "of filthy and unnatural amours; guided, as they were, "in all theſe ſcenes of infamy, by the ſupreme directi- "on and controulment of the Prince and Senate; who "not only granted full licence and impunity to a general "torrent of vice, but were active to promote them by "ways of authority and coercion: already had men of "the firſt figure amongſt the Romans, under colour of "rehearſing to the audience their poems and harangues, "defil'd themſelves with the baſeneſs of the ſtage. After "ſuch proſtitution, what remain'd to be added; unleſs "they ſtripp'd themſelves naked, commenced fencers, "wielded the whirle-bat; and, in the place of military "glory and the exerciſe of arms, ſubſtituted the ſtudy "and diſcipline of theſe theatrical skirmiſhes, for pay? "would the bands of Roman Knights, would thoſe lately "preferr'd to that order with the pompous title of *Auguſtani*, more worthily fulfil their noble truſt and office "of judicature, by virtue of a nice and skilful ear, or "by liſtning aſſiduouſly to the enchanting modulations "of muſick, and by applauding, like able artiſts in ſong, "the effeminate ſhakes and thrills of NERO's throat? nay, "nights as well as days were beſtow'd upon the infamous "revel, that no portion of time might remain, for skreen- "ing modeſty and ſhame; but, in that huge aſſembly, "where thoſe of every ſex and age were blended at random "together, every libertine might dare to gratify by night "whatever his concupiſcence prompted him to by day."

THIS was the reaſoning of ſome. Many others were well pleas'd with this diſſolute paſtime, but diſguis'd it however under venerable authorities and virtuous names: "even our rigid anceſtors, they alledg'd, had not ab- "ſtain'd from the pleaſure and divertiſement of publick "repreſentations and feſtivities, which were exhibited in "a manner ſuitable to the fortune of that time, and the "revenue of the ſtate: for this end, at the requeſt of "Rome, Tuſcany furniſh'd them with players; Thurium "with the diverſion of racing: after the conqueſt of "Greece and Aſia, the Roman ſports were improv'd, and

" ſolemniz'd with greater elegance and accuracy: yet, in " a courſe of two hundred years, ever ſince the triumph " of LUCIUS MUMMIUS, the firſt that preſented the Romans with theſe foreign ſhews; no Roman of ingenious birth had ever debas'd himſelf to the arts and diſcipline of the ſtage: nay, publick frugality too had been " conſulted and promoted by rearing a ſtanding and perpetual Theatre, much more than by erecting a great occaſional edifice, at an immenſe expence, every year: " neither had the Magiſtrates occaſion, henceforth, to " exhauſt their private fortune, nor the people to importune the Magiſtrates, for the exhibition of the competitory games and prize-combats of Greece; ſince by " the Commonwealth all the expence was defray'd. Moreover, the victorious prizes then gain'd by Poets and " Orators, would prove incentives to the univerſal cultivation of wit and genius: nor to any one of thoſe " who ſate judges there, could it prove at all irkſome to " lend his ear to the rehearſal of generous productions and " ſtudies, and to recreations altogether innocent and lawful. In fine, the nights ſpent upon this ſolemnity (a " few nights once in the long courſe of five years) were " rather appropriated to mirth and diverſion, than to wantonneſs and lubricity; illuminated, as they were, with " ſuch a copious blaze of lights, that no ſally of iniquity " could poſſibly be conceal'd." It is very true, that this revel eſcap'd free from any ſignal act of diſhonour: nor, during it, were the affections of the people inflam'd, or ſeverally rent into partialities and zeal for ſeveral Actors: for, tho' the Pantomimes, who had often caus'd ſuch animoſities, were again reſtor'd to the ſtage; they were reſtrain'd from entring the liſts in games which, like theſe, were held ſacred. The prize of eloquence was borne away by none; but the victory adjudg'd to NERO. The Grecian garb, worn at this ſolemnity by many, and generally rail'd at, waxed now into diſuſe.

DURING theſe tranſactions, a Comet blaz'd; a phenomenon which, according to the perſuaſion of the vulgar, always portends a change of Kings: hence, as if NERO had been already depriv'd, it became the topick of general inquiry, who ſhould be choſen to ſucceed him: and, by the univerſal voice on this occaſion, the name of RUBELLIUS PLAUTUS was ſounded, one who by his mother inherited the nobility of the Julian race: in his own perſon too he obſerv'd the reverend inſtitutions and manners of our anceſtors; was himſelf ſevere in his dreſs; his houſe virtuous and undefil'd, and devoted to retirement: but, the more cloſely he buried himſelf in receſs, ſhunning and dreading power, the more popularity he acquir'd and obnoxious renown. This rumour and theſe prognoſticks were heighten'd by the falling of a flaſh of lightning; upon which accident an interpretation was put juſt like the former, credulous and vain: for, as NERO ſat at meat in a villa call'd Sublaqueum, upon the banks of the Simbruine Lakes, lightning darted upon the repaſt, ſcatter'd the diſhes, and overthrew the table. As this caſualty happen'd in the neighbourhood of Tivoli, from whence PLAUTUS by his father's ſide originally ſprang, the people believ'd that this was the man mark'd out for Empire by the deſignation of the Deities. He was likewiſe favour'd by many from views of policy; men who are early in cultivating the approaches of a change, and from an ambition which always hurries them, and for the moſt part deceives them, foſter hopes full of novelty and alteration, and engage in purſuits fraught with ambiguity and danger. All this alarm'd NERO, who therefore ſignified to PLAUTUS by a letter, "that he would do well to conſult the peace and "tranquillity of Rome, and withdraw himſelf from the "reach of thoſe who malignantly defam'd him: that in Aſia "he had ancient poſſeſſions, where he might enjoy the "bloom of his life, free from all peril and the embroilments "of faction." Upon this warning, he retir'd thither, with ANTISTIA his wife and a few friends. In the courſe of theſe days, the inordinate propenſity of NERO to variety of voluptuouſneſs, involv'd him in much danger and infamy: for, as he would needs ſwim in the ſource of the aqueduct which ſupplies the city, and derives its name from (ANCUS) MARCIUS, the founder; it was conſtrued, that by this action, he had polluted, with a body all over impure, the ſacred ſtream, and profan'd the eſtabliſh'd ſanctity of the place: a dangerous malady too of his, which enſued, aſcertain'd the wrath and reſentment of the Deities.

Now, CORBULO judg'd it proper, after the demolition of Artaxata, to improve the reigning terror, and, while it laſted, to ſeize Tigranocerta; for that, having once taken it, whether he were to raze it or ſave it, he ſhould either infuſe freſh dread into the foe, or fill them with the fame of his clemency. Thus he march'd towards it, but in his march committed no hoſtilities; leſt he ſhould baniſh all hopes of pardon; nor yet receded from his uſual exactneſs and diſcipline; appriz'd, as he was, that it was a nation addicted to ſudden changes; and, as in encountring dangers, they were dull and ſpiritleſs; ſo, in feats of perfidiouſneſs, they were dextrous and catch'd at all occaſions. Various at his approach were the meaſures and conduct of the Barbarians; and each follow'd the native impulſe of his own heart. Some met him with the ſtile and abaſement of ſupplicants; others abandon'd their dwellings, and betook themſelves to the receſſes of the deſert: ſeveral crept into caves, accompanied with whatever was deareſt to them. The methods therefore taken by the Roman General were various as the occaſion: to the ſupplicants he extended mercy; after the fugitives he order'd quick purſuits; but towards thoſe who had hid themſelves in dens, he was rigorouſly ſevere; for, with faggots and bruſhes he fill'd the mouths and iſſues of the caverns, and ſet the ſame on fire: then continuing his march along the confines of the Mardians, he was inſulted by the predatory bands of that people, who are exerciſed in continual robberies, and protected by their wild mountains againſt reprizals and invaſions: but CORBULO, by pouring in the Hiberians upon them, ſubjected them to the ſpoil of fire and ſword, and took vengeance of their hoſtile inſolence, at the expence of the blood of foreigners.

BUT, tho' neither he, nor his army, was any wiſe impair'd by fighting; they were yet both ſpent with continued travel and want, and reduced to combat hunger with the uſe of fleſh alone. Add to theſe diſtreſſes a ſcorching ſummer, extreme ſcarcity of water, mighty marches; evils which were extenuated only by the exemplary patience of the General, who, in truth, underwent more hardſhips than any common ſoldier. Thence they arriv'd in places that were cultivated, where the ripen'd harveſt refreſh'd them with bread; and, as here ſtood two caſtles whither the Armenians had flock'd for ſanctuary, one was taken at once by ſtorm; the other, having repuls'd the firſt onſet, was by a ſiege compell'd to ſurrender. CORBULO paſs'd next to the country of the Taurantes, where he eſcap'd a threatning and unexpected danger; for hard by his pavilion a Barbarian arm'd with a dagger was apprehended; one of no mean degree, who, upon the rack, unfolded the order of the conſpiracy, own'd himſelf the contriver, and diſcover'd his aſſociates, who, being all convicted, ſuffer'd the juſt doom of traitors; ſuch as, under the ſacred name and profeſſion of peace and friendſhip, were meditating guile and iniquity. Not long after, the Ambaſſadors by him ſent forward to Tigranocerta, return'd with tidings, that the inhabitants were bent upon ſubmitting to the Roman authority, and their gates ſtood open to receive the Roman army. At the ſame time, they preſented him from the city with a golden crown, as a token of hoſpitality and friendly reception: an acknowledgment which he accepted with all marks of honour; and in no one inſtance infring'd the property or privileges of the town; that from this encouragement they might perſevere in their allegiance, being left as they were in the full enjoyment of their former eſtate.

BUT the Royal citadel, which was ſhut and defended by a garriſon of young men of reſolute valour, was not conquer'd without blows: nay, they even ventur'd upon a ſally, and join'd battle without the walls, but were beaten back into their fortification, and our men forc'd an entrance after them; ſo that at laſt they were oblig'd to yield to the cover'd approaches and arms of the aſſailants. Theſe enterprizes were the more eaſily accompliſh'd, for that the Parthians were engag'd the while in a war with the Hyrcanians; a people who had already ſent an embaſſy to the Roman Emperor, to entreat his alliance; repreſenting it as a ſignal pledge of their friendſhip to Rome, that they had thus diverted the power and arms of VOLOGESES. As theſe Ambaſſadors were returning, that they might not, by croſſing the Euphrates, be intercepted by the ſtationary guards of the enemy, CORBULO furniſh'd them with a convoy of ſoldiers, who conducted them as far as the coaſt of the Perſian gulf; from whence, without touching the bounds or precincts of Parthia, they return'd in ſafety to their native homes.

MOREOVER, as TIRIDATES had paſſed through Media, and thence invaded the extreme parts of Armenia; CORBULO, having ſent forward VERULANUS his Lieutenant General, with the auxiliary troops, advanc'd himſelf at the head of the Legions lightly equipped and diſincumber'd of their baggage; and conſtraining the invader to retire quite away from that Kingdom, depriv'd him of all hopes from purſuing the war: having likewiſe laid utterly waſte, with fire and ſlaughter, all thoſe quarters which he had learnt were zealous for that King, and therefore diſaffected to us, he had already aſſum'd the complete poſſeſſion and government of all Armenia, when TIGRANES arriv'd, a Prince preferr'd by NERO to that crown. He was a Cappadocian, nobly deſcended, and grandſon to King ARCHELAUS; but from the former lot of his life, having paſſed many years at Rome in the quality of a hoſtage, his ſpirit was miſerably debas'd, even to a degree of abjectneſs and ſervility: neither was he now receiv'd into the ſovereignty with general unanimity; as amongſt ſeveral there ſtill remain'd a laſting affection for the family of the Arſacides: however, as there were many who abominated the fierce pride of the Parthians, they preferr'd the accepting of a King from the hands of the Romans. Upon the new Monarch too were beſtow'd a body of guards, namely, a thouſand Legionary ſoldiers, three Cohorts detach'd from our confederates, and two wings of horſe, to ſupport him in maintaining his new realm. Several portions, beſides, of Armenia were ſubjected to the neighbouring Kings, to PHARASMANES, to POLEMON, ARISTOBULUS and ANTIOCHUS; according to the contiguity of the ſame to their reſpective dominions. CORBULO having completed this ſettlement, withdrew into Syria; a province aſſign'd to him, upon the death of VINIDIUS, the late Governor.

THE ſame year, Laodicea, one of the capital cities of Aſia, having been overthrown by an earthquake, roſe again by the means of her own peculiar treaſure, into her former luſtre; unaſſiſted by any aid or contribution from us.

But,

But, in Italy, the ancient city of Puzzoli obtain'd from NERO the prerogative and title of a Colony. All the Veterans then diſmiſs'd were ingrafted amongſt the inhabitants of Tarentum and Antium, yet cur'd not the defect and thinneſs of people there: for, many of theſe newcomers ſtragled away from their preſent ſettlement to their old haunts in the provinces, where, during their term of ſervice, they had quarter'd: being, beſides, never accuſtom'd to engage in wedlock, or to rear children, they liv'd without families, and died without poſterity. For, Colonies were not now eſtabliſh'd as of old, when intire Legions were tranſplanted thither, with their officers, Tribunes and Centurions, and all the ſoldiers in their diſtinct claſſes; ſo as they might from ancient acquaintance, unanimity, and habitual friendſhip, fall naturally into the form and duties of a Commonweal: but, upon this occaſion, a medly of men, not known to each other, and yet thrown together, without any ruler to manage them, without mutual affection to unite them, and all detach'd from different companies, appear'd like ſo many individuals, ſuddenly amaſs'd from ſo many different races of men, and were rather a crowd than a Colony.

THE election of Pretors follow'd; a tranſaction wont to be ſubject to the pleaſure of the Senate; but, as this proceeded with unuſual vehemence, and all the flaming efforts of caballing; the Prince interpos'd, and ſettled the contention, by preferring to the command of a Legion each of the three candidates who exceeded the ſtated number. He alſo exalted the credit and dignity of the fathers, by ordaining, that, "whoever ſhould appeal from the "ſtated judges to the Senate, ſhould be expos'd to the "hazard of forſeiting the ſame ſum of money as did "thoſe who appeal'd to the Emperor." For, hitherto this was left at large and free from all penalty. At the cloſe of the year VIBIUS SECUNDUS, a Roman Knight, was, upon the accuſation of the Moors, condemn'd for publick extortion, and expell'd Italy; for he eſcap'd a ſeverer doom by the prevailing credit and opulence of VIBIUS CRISPUS, his brother.

DURING the Conſulſhip of CESONIUS PETUS and PETRONIUS TURPILIANUS, we ſuffer'd a cruel ſlaughter in Britain: in truth, as the Governor AVITUS, had done no more there than juſt maintain'd our former conqueſts; ſo his ſucceſſor VERANIUS, having only in ſome light incurſions ravag'd the territories of the Silures, was intercepted by death from any further proſecution of the war: a man this of high reputation during his life, for ſevere virtue and manners; but by the ſtile of his laſt will, his ſervile ambition and court to power, became notorious: for, after manifold expreſſions of flattery beſtow'd upon NERO, he added, "that to his obedience he ſhould have "completely ſubjected that province, had his own life "been prolong'd for two years." After him, SUETONIUS PAULLINUS obtain'd the government of Britain; one who was a competitor with CORBULO in the ſcience of war, and in the voice and eſtimation of the populace, who to every man of renown are ſure to create a rival: he hop'd too, by utterly ſubduing that fierce enemy, to reap a glory equal to that which the other deriv'd from the recovery and ſettlement of Armenia: he therefore prepar'd to fall upon the Iſle of Angleſey, a country powerful in inhabitants, and a common place of refuge to the revolters and fugitives: he built, for that end, boats with broad flat bottoms, the eaſier to approach a ſhore full of ſhallows and uncertain landings: upon theſe the foot were embark'd: the horſe follow'd partly by fording, partly by ſwimming.

ON the oppoſite ſhore ſtood the enemy's army, in thick array compact with men and arms: amongſt them were Women running frantickly every where, to and fro, repreſenting the wild manner and tranſports of furies; diſmally clad in funeral apparel, with their hair diſhevel'd, and torches in their hands: round the hoſt alſo appear'd their Prieſts the Druids, with their hands lifted up to heaven, uttering direful imprecations, and invoking celeſtial vengeance: inſomuch, that at the amazing novelty of the ſpectacle, the ſpirit of the Roman ſoldiers was ſtruck with diſmay; and, as if all their limbs had been benumb'd, they ſtood motionleſs, their bodies expos'd, like fixt marks, to wounds and darts; till, by the repeated exhortations of the General, as well as by mutual incitements from one another, they were at laſt rous'd to ſhake off the ſcandalous terror inſpir'd by a band of raving women, and fanatick prieſts; and thus advancing their enſigns, they diſcomfited all that reſiſted, and involv'd them in their own fires. A garriſon was thereafter eſtabliſh'd over the vanquiſh'd, and the groves cut down by them dedicated to ſanguinary and deteſtable ſuperſtitions: for, there they ſacrificed captives, and upon their altars, as an oblation, ſpill'd human blood. There, in order to diſcover the will of the Gods, they conſulted the entrails of men: practices of cruelty theſe by them accounted holy. While SUETONIUS was thus employ'd, tydings were brought him of the ſudden revolt of the Province.

PRASUTAGUS, the late King of the Icenians, a Prince long renown'd, for his opulence and grandeur, had by will left the Emperor joint heir with his own two daughters: by ſuch a ſignal inſtance of loyalty, he judged he ſhould purchaſe a ſure protection to his Kingdom and family, againſt all injury and violence. A ſcheme which produced an effect ſo intirely contrary, that his realm was ravag'd by the Centurions, and his houſe by ſlaves; as if both his houſe and realm had been the juſt ſpoils of war. Firſt of all BOUDICEA his wife underwent the ignominious violence of ſtripes, and his daughters that of conſtupration: and, as though the entire region had been as a donation, bequeath'd to the plunderers, all the principal Icenians were ſpoil'd of their ancient hereditary poſſeſſions, and the Royal-relations of the late King, were kept and deem'd amongſt the ſlaves. Enrag'd by all this contumelious tyranny, and dreading oppreſſions ſtill more ſevere, ſince they were already reduced into the precarious lot of a province: they flew unanimouſly to arms; having animated the Trinobantes to join in the revolt; as well as all others who were not yet broken by the yoke of ſervitude, and had ſecretly conſpir'd to recover their original liberty. They were incens'd with implacable enmity towards the Veterans, lately tranſlated to the Colony of Camalodunum: for, theſe new gueſts had thruſt them out of their houſes, exterminated them from their native lands, and, adding ſcorn to oppreſſion, treated them with the vile titles of captives and ſlaves: theſe outrages too of the Veterans, were abetted by the common ſoldiers, from their ſimilitude of life and inclination, and in hopes of arriving themſelves at the ſame licentious ſituation. Another alarming grievance was the Temple built and dedicated to the deified CLAUDIUS, by them regarded as the bulwark of a domination eſtabliſh'd over them without end: beſides that they were miſerably drain'd by the Prieſts who had been cull'd out for miniſtring in the Temple, and, under the cloak and demands of Religion, devour'd their whole ſubſtance. Neither did it appear to the revolters an arduous undertaking to extirpate a Colony no wiſe ſecur'd by fortifications: a proviſion little minded by our Commanders, who had conſulted accommodation and pleaſure antecedently to advantage and ſecurity.

DURING theſe tranſactions, the Statue of Victory at Camalodunum, without any viſible violence, tumbled down with her face turn'd round! as if by it ſhe betoken'd her yielding to the enemy: there were women too who, tranſported with oracular fury, chanted prophetick denunciations, that bloody deſtruction was at hand: in the place where they aſſembled for the buſineſs of the publick, the accent and tumultuous murmurs of ſtrangers were heard: their Theatre eccho'd with diſmal howlings; and, in the lakes form'd by the tides reſiſting the Thames, a repreſentation was ſeen of a Colony overthrown: the ſea too appear'd all dyed with blood; and, at the departure of the tide, phantoms of human bodies appear'd left behind upon the ſtrand. From which extraordinary omens, as the Britons deriv'd matter of hope and joy, ſo did the Veterans matter of heavineſs and fear. But, becauſe SUETONIUS was at a great diſtance, they ſought ſuccours from CATUS DECIANUS, Procurator of the province, who yet ſent them no more than two hundred men, nor theſe completely arm'd; and, in the Colony it ſelf, was but a ſmall handful of ſoldiers. The Veterans not only relied upon the ſhelter and ſtrength of the Temple, but were fruſtrated in their meaſures by ſuch as were ſecret accomplices in the revolt: hence they had neither ſecur'd themſelves by a ditch or palliſade, nor remov'd their women and old men, and reſerv'd, as they ought, only thoſe of youth and vigour for their defence. So that, utterly unprepar'd, and as void of circumſpection as if full peace had reign'd, they were, by a vaſt hoſt of Barbarians, environ'd and opreſs'd. In truth, every thing in the Colony yielded to inſtant violence, and was raz'd or burnt; only the Temple, whither the ſoldiers were retired in a body, ſtood a two days ſiege, and was then taken by ſtorm. Moreover, PETILIUS CERIALIS, Commander of the ninth Legion, as he advanc'd to relieve his friends, was met and encounter'd by the victorious Britons: his Legion routed, and all his infantry ſlain. CEREALIS, with the horſe, eſcap'd to the camp, and there defended himſelf in his entrenchments: CATUS the Procurator, terrified with this ruin and ſlaughter, and with the univerſal hate of the province, which by his rapacious avarice he had driven into deſpair and hoſtility, fled over into Gaul.

But SUETONIUS, with marvellous and undaunted bravery, march'd through the heart of the enemy quite to London, a city in truth not ſignal for bearing the title of a Colony, but highly fam'd for the vaſt conflux of traders, and her abundant commerce and plenty. Here he was deliberating about ſettling his head quarters in this place, and chuſing it for the ſeat and centre of the war: but, having well reflected upon the thin number of his ſoldiers, and being well warn'd by the temerity of PETILIUS ſo ſignally chaſtiz'd, he reſolv'd to abandon it, and, with the loſs of one town, to ſave the whole province. Nor could the tears and wailings of numbers imploring his guard and protection, divert him from ordering the ſignal for departure to be ſounded: into part of his forces he aſſum'd all thoſe who would accompany him: whoever ſtaid behind, whether detain'd by the weakneſs of their ſex, by the unweildineſs of old age, or by the charms of the place, fell, without exception, by the rage of the enemy. The like ſlaughter befell the municipal city of Verulamium. For, the Barbarians, who were charm'd with plunder, but cold and daſtardly in other exploits of war, omitted to attack forts and garriſons: but, wherever there was abundant booty, eaſy to be ſeiz'd by the ſpoiler, dangerous to be defended by the owner; thither they carried their animoſity and arms. In the ſeveral places which I have mentioned, it appear'd that ſeventy thouſand ſouls had periſh'd, all Romans, or the confederates of Rome.

For, the enemy gave no quarter, and neither made, nor ſold, nor exchang'd priſoners; nor obſerv'd any other law of war; but upon all exercis'd mortal fury, by preſent killing, gibbetting, burning and crucifying; with the deſperate eagerneſs and precipitation of men, who were ſure of undergoing a terrible doom, and reſolv'd, by anticipated vengeance, to ſpill the blood of others before their own were ſpilt.

SUETONIUS had already an army of nigh ten thouſand men; namely, the fourteenth Legion, with the Veterans of the twentieth, and auxiliaries from the quarters next adjoyning: ſo that, relinquiſhing all further delay, he prepar'd for encountring the enemy in open battle, and choſe a place which ſtretch'd out before into a hollow and narrow vale, with ſteep ſides, and was behind girt in with a wood. He was thoroughly appriz'd, that in the front only the whole forces of the enemy were to be expected, and that the ſpace between was a plain bottom, where no ſtratagems nor ambuſhes were to be dreaded: he, therefore, drew up the Legionary ſoldiers into thick and condens'd ranks, environ'd them with the ſoldiery lightly arm'd, and on each wing placed the cavalry. The Britiſh army were every where exulting and bounding in great ſeparate bands, ſome of horſe, ſome of foot, and exhibited in all a multitude ſo vaſt as hitherto was not parallel'd: they were animated by a ſpirit ſo reſolute and fierce, that with them they had alſo brought their wives, to be ſpectators of their victory, and ſtow'd them in their waggons, which they had plac'd round the extremity of the camp.

BOUDICEA was carried about in a chariot, where before her ſat her two daughters: traverſing the field, from nation to nation, ſhe to all declar'd, "that it was, in "truth, uſual to the Britons to war under the conduct "of women: yet, upon this occaſion, ſhe aſſum'd not "the port and authority of one deſcended from ſuch "mighty anceſtors; nor aim'd to revenge the loſs of her "Kingdom wickedly uſurp'd, the loſs of her Royal opu"lence baſely plunder'd: but, ſhe then appear'd upon the "ſame foot with one of the vulgar, and ſought ven"geance for the extirpation of publick liberty, for the "ſtripes inflicted upon her perſon, for the brutiſh defile-

" ment of her virgin daughters. To ſuch a pitch of un-
" bridled violence were the Romans arriv'd, that nothing
" could eſcape their fury and contamination, neither the
" perſons of any, nor old age, nor the virginity of ten-
" der maidens: but, ſtill the incens'd Deities were ready
" to aid the juſt ſword of vengeance; by it a Legion,
" which dared to tempt an engagement, had already fal-
" len; the reſt skulk'd behind the entrenchments of their
" camp, or were deviſing on every ſide which way to
" fly: nor would they be ever able to bear the uproar
" and ſhouts of ſo many thouſand men; how much leſs
" bear their impetuous onſet and vengeful arms? To con-
" clude; if the Britons would ſurvey the number of men
" under arms; if they would well weigh the affecting
" cauſes of the war; they would find, that in that bat-
" tle they muſt remain utterly victorious, or utterly periſh:
" to do one of theſe was the firm purpoſe of her who
" was a woman: for the men; they might, if they pleas'd,
" ſtill enjoy life and bondage."

NEITHER was SUETONIUS ſilent at a juncture ſo awakening and perillous: tho' he confided in the bravery of his men, yet he fail'd not to join to it the force of exhortations mixt with entreaties, " that they would be ſure
" to deſpiſe the ſavage dinn and clamour of the Barba-
" rians, with all their impotent menaces. In that great
" hoſt were to be ſeen more weak women than vigorous
" men; an unwarlike hoſt, deſtitute of arms, and diſ-
" pos'd to inſtant flight, as ſoon as they came to expe-
" rience, anew, the ſame victorious bravery and ſteel which
" by too many defeats they had prov'd. Even, in an army
" compos'd of many Legions, the glory of diſcomfiting
" the foe remain'd always to a few: hence it would re-
" dound to their peculiar glory, that tho' but a ſmall
" band, they ſhould reap all the renown which could ac-
" crue to a great and complete army. They were only
" to keep condens'd in their ranks, and having firſt diſ-
" charg'd their darts, cloſe in, and with the navels of
" their ſhields and edge of their ſwords, purſue the de-
" feat and ſlaughter: of the ſpoil they muſt have no
" thought: after victory, to their ſhare would ſpontane-
" ouſly fall ſpoil, and honour, and all things."

EVERY

Every part of the General's ſpeech was follow'd by ſuch ſignal ardour in his men; with ſuch promptneſs had the old ſoldiers, men long inur'd to all the arts and events of battle, already aſſum'd a proper poſture for weilding and darting their javelins, that SUETONIUS, as certain of the iſſue, gave the ſignal for onſet.

First of all, the Legion kept their ground immovable, and ſtill ſhelter'd themſelves, as with a bulwark, within the natural ſtreights of the place, till the enemy had advanced within arrow ſhot, and exhauſted all their darts: upon this advantage, they ruſh'd out tempeſtuouſly upon them, as it were with the force and keenneſs of a wedge: equal was the vigour and impetuoſity of the auxiliaries: the horſe too, advancing with a moving battlement of pikes, utterly broke and overthrew whatever quarters of the foe exerted any reſiſtance and ſtrength; for, all the reſt turn'd their backs, but found it difficult to eſcape: the incloſure made by their own carriages had obſtructed their flight: ſuch too was the fury of the ſoldiers, that they ſpar'd not even the lives of women; nay the very beaſts eſcap'd not: they were pierced with darts, and ſerv'd to ſwell the mighty heaps of the dead. Signal was the glory that day gain'd; and equal to the fam'd victories of the ancient Romans: for, there are authors who record that of the Britons were ſlain almoſt eighty thouſand; of our men about four hundred, with not many more wounded: BOUDICEA ended her life by poiſon: POENIUS POSTUMUS too, he who was Camp-Marſhal to the ſecond Legion, upon tidings of the exploits and ſucceſs of the fourteenth and twentieth, became ſtruck with remorſe, that he had defrauded his own of equal honour; and, contrary to the laws of military duty, had diſobey'd the orders of his General: ſo that he ran himſelf through with his ſword.

The whole army was thereafter drawn together, and kept the field under tents, in order to finiſh the remains of the war. Their forces were moreover augmented by NERO, who from Germany ſent them two thouſand Legionary ſoldiers, eight Cohorts of auxiliaries, and a thouſand horſe. By their arrival the ninth Legion was ſupplied with a Legionary recruit; the auxiliary Cohorts and wings of the cavalry were poſted in new winter quarters; and thus, which ever of the ſeveral nations appear'd hoſtile or ſuſpicious, were ſubjected to the devaſtations of fire and ſword. But famine, above all other calamities, afflicted the foe, who had utterly neglected to cultivate and ſow the ground; and, as thoſe of every age amongſt them were wholly bent upon the war, they had deſign'd, inſtead of providing for themſelves, to appropriate our ſtores and proviſions to their own uſe: beſides, that this people by nature wonderfully reſolute and ſtubborn, were become more cold and backward in their inclinations to peace, from the behaviour of JULIUS GLASSICIANUS; who was come as ſucceſſor to CATUS, and, being at variance with SUETONIUS, obſtructed the publick good to gratify private pique: thus he had every where publiſh'd, "that another Governor "was by all means to be deſired and expected, ſuch a "one as being free from the ſettled wrath of an enemy, "free from the vanity and arrogance of a conqueror, "would by merciful meaſures recover and enſure the ſub-"miſſion of the province." At the ſame time, he tranſmitted advice to Rome, "that unleſs a ſucceſſor were "ſent to SUETONIUS, there never would be an end "of war and blood:" and, while he charg'd all the croſſes and diſaſters of that General upon baſeneſs of conduct; to the auſpicious fortune of the Republick he aſcrib'd all his conqueſts and ſucceſs.

Hence POLYCLETUS, one of the Imperial freedmen, was diſpatch'd to inſpect the condition of Britain: a project from which NERO conceiv'd mighty hopes, that by the authority of his domeſtick, private amity between the Governor and Procurator would not only be effected, but the hoſtile ſpirits of the revolted Barbarians reconcil'd to peace: nor was POLYCLETUS backward to aſſume the employment; thus far at leaſt, that having travell'd through Italy and Gaul, and oppreſs'd both with his enormous train, thence croſſing the channel, he march'd with ſuch awful ſtate and attendance, that even to our own ſoldiers he became a terror. But, to the enemy he prov'd a pompous object of deriſion; for, as amongſt them popular liberty even then reign'd, they were yet utter ſtrangers to the power and grandeur of manumiz'd bondmen: they were, beſides, amaz'd, that a victorious General and army, who had finiſh'd ſo formidable a war, ſhould themſelves be ſubſervient to ſlaves. After all, the adminiſtration and tranſactions there were reported to the Emperor in a favourable light; ſo that SUETONIUS was continued in the government: but, after having ſtranded a few gallies, and loſt the men who row'd them, as if this accident had been a proof that the war ſtill ſubſiſted, he was ordered to reſign his army to PETRONIUS TURPILIANUS, who had juſt ended his Conſulſhip: a Commander this, who, as he neither offer'd the foe any act of hoſtility, nor from them receiv'd any inſult, beſtow'd upon this ſtupid and daſtardly inaction the worthy appellation of Peace.

THIS ſame year were committed at Rome two glaring iniquities; one by a Senator, the other by the deſperate hand of a ſlave. DOMITIUS BALBUS had ſuſtain'd the dignity of Pretor; and his wealth and childleſneſs, added to his exceeding age, expos'd him to the plots and machinations of villany. Hence a will forg'd in his name by VALERIUS FABIANUS his kinſman, one nominated to publick offices; who took into the combination VINCIUS RUFINUS, and TERENTIUS LENTINUS, both Roman Knights: with them were aſſociated in the ſame cauſe ANTONIUS PRIMUS, and ASINIUS MARCELLUS; ANTONIUS a man of a daring ſpirit, prompt and enterprizing; MARCELLUS was ſignal in his deſcent, as on him devolv'd the luſtre of his great grand-father ASINIUS POLLIO: nor paſs'd he himſelf for a deſpicable perſon in his own conduct and manners, ſave that he believ'd poverty to be of all evils the heavieſt and moſt ſevere. FABIANUS therefore, in confederacy with thoſe whom I have mentioned, and others of leſs note, ſeal'd and witneſs'd the teſtament. A fraud of which they were amply convicted before the Senate: thus FABIANUS and ANTONIUS, with RUFINUS and TERENTIUS, were all doom'd to the penalties of the Cornelian law. In behalf of MARCELLUS the illuſtrious memory of his anceſtors, with the entreaties of NERO prevail'd, and procur'd him an exemption rather from puniſhment than infamy. The ſame day involv'd POMPEIUS ELIANUS too in his doom; a young man once inveſted with the dignity of Queſtor, but now charg'd with being privy to the deteſtable practices of FABIANUS: thus he was interdicted Italy, as alſo the place of his nativity Spain. Upon VALERIUS PONTICUS was inflicted the like ignominious ſentence; for that, he had arraign'd the delinquents at the tribunal of the Pretor, on purpoſe to ſave them from being impleaded before the Governor of Rome, and would have eluded the puniſhment through the falſe gloſſes of law; nay at laſt had meditated their eſcape by manifeſt colluſion and double dealing. To the decree of penalties therefore the Senate added, "that whoever "ſhould take a price for ſuch vile employment, or who-"ſoever ſhould procure it at a price, ſhould be involv'd in "the ſame penalty with one publickly condemn'd for ca-"lumny."

NOT long after PEDANIUS SECUNDUS, Governor of Rome, was murder'd by a ſlave of his own; either upon refuſing him his liberty, for which he had bargain'd at a certain price, or that he was enrag'd by a jealous paſſion for a pathick, and could not bear his Lord for a rival. Now, ſince according to the ſtrict inſtitutions of antiquity, the whole family of ſlaves, who upon ſuch occaſion abode under the ſame roof, muſt inevitably be adjudg'd to the pains of death; ſuch at this juncture was the uproar and conflux of the populace, zealous to ſave ſo many innocent lives, that it proceeded even to ſedition: in the Senate it ſelf, were ſome who were partial to the popular ſide, and for rejecting ſuch exceſſive rigour; while many, on the contrary, voted againſt admitting any innovation or abatement: of theſe laſt was CAIUS CASSIUS, who, inſtead of delivering barely his vote, reaſoned in this manner:

"Many times have I aſſiſted, Conſcript Fathers, in this "auguſt aſſembly, when new decrees of Senate have been "demanded, contrary to the laws and eſtabliſhments of our "fore-fathers; without ſetting my ſelf to oppoſe ſuch de-"mands: not that I forbore from any doubt I had, that, "in tranſactions of every kind, the proviſions made of "old were not better and more upright, and in whatever "inſtances they were chang'd, for the worſe they were "chang'd; but I forbore leſt I ſhould ſeem, out of an "immoderate fondneſs for primitive rules, to magnify any

“ zeal of mine. Another reaſon I likewiſe had: whatever weight or credit I may have, I judg'd the ſame ought not to be forfeited, by engaging in frequent oppoſitions, but proper to be reſerv'd in full vigour againſt any emergent conjuncture, when the Commonwealth might ſtand in need of inſtant council; a conjuncture which this very day has produced: one of our body, a Senator of Conſular rank, is murder'd in his own houſe by the bloody fraud of one of his own ſlaves; a fraud which was by none of the reſt prevented, by none of them diſclos'd; although over their heads was hanging ſtill in full force the decree of Senate, which to the whole domeſtick tribe denounced the pains of death. Aſcertain in the name of the Gods, aſcertain by a decree the deſir'd impunity: but then, what ſecurity, what defence, will any man derive from his dignity; when even the Government of Rome avail'd not to ſecure him who poſſeſs'd it? who will be protected by the number of his ſlaves; when a band of four hundred afforded no protection to PEDANIUS SECUNDUS? To which of us will ſuch domeſticks, upon any occaſion, adminiſter aid, when we ſee they no wiſe regard our lives and dangers, even where for this their neglect capital terrors ſurrounded them? or has it in truth happen'd, what ſome without bluſhing feign, that the murderer only took vengeance for injuries by himſelf receiv'd? what injuries? had this ſlave any diſpute about his paternal patrimony? or had he inherited from his progenitors a right to the bondman his pathick, now wrongfully raviſh'd from him by his Lord? Let us even give up the debate, and declare that his Lord was rightfully kill'd: tho' it is ſtrange we ſhould be hunting after arguments in an affair long ſince weigh'd and determin'd by our wiſer anceſtors! but ſuppoſe however the queſtion ſtill undecided: I would reaſon with you, and aſk; do you believe that a vindictive ſlave could aſſume the bold deſign to kill his Lord, and ſmother it under ſuch invincible ſecrecy that not a menacing word, not a note of vengeance, ſhould fall from him? did he perpetually guard his lips, ſo that nothing was raſhly utter'd by them? be it ſo, that he effectually hid his bloody purpoſe; be it ſo, that he

" procur'd and prepar'd the inſtrument of blood, in the " midſt of his fellows, who were yet all utterly ignorant " of his ends: but ſtill, could he paſs through the guard " of ſlaves at the chamber door, open thoſe doors, bring " in a light, perpetrate the ſlaughter, unknown to them " all? Many murderous deſigns are diſcover'd and prevented by our ſlaves; and while they make ſuch honeſt diſcoveries, tho' we are but individuals in the midſt " of many, we can live ſafely amongſt them, and owe " our ſafety to their ſollicitude: if at laſt we muſt periſh " by them, we have this conſolation, we ſhall not fall " unreveng'd, but the blood of many traitors ſhall atone " for ours. By our anceſtors the ſpirit of their ſlaves was " always ſuſpected, even of ſuch ſlaves as were born in " their private territories, nay born in their own houſes, " and had with their milk ſuck'd in a tenderneſs and veneration for their Lords. We ſtand upon a more dangerous foot; in our families we now entertain nations " of ſlaves, inur'd to their own national rites widely different from ours, and addicted to ſtrange Religions, or " obſerving none: hence it is impoſſible to curb ſuch a " promiſcuous rabble, without the intervention of laſting " and exemplary terrors. But with the guilty ſome innocents muſt periſh: yes; and ſo it is in an army; which, " after a ſhameful rout, are puniſh'd with decimation; " where to be baſtinaded to death, is often the blind lot " of the faultleſs and brave. Somewhat there is grievous " and unjuſt in every great inſtance of exemplary juſtice; " where for the ſake of publick utility, private ſufferings " are ſuſtain'd, and by it compenſated."

THIS was the judgment of CASSIUS; which as no particular Senator durſt venture to combat; ſo it was oppos'd by the diſſenting murmurs of ſuch as thus utter'd their compaſſion for thoſe who without diſtinction were involv'd in it; compaſſion for their number, for the age of ſome, for the ſex of others, for the undoubted innocence of moſt: it was however carried by the party who adjudg'd all without exception to pains of death. A judgment which yet it was impoſſible to execute; ſuch was the fury of the populace, who were flock'd tumultuouſly together, and breathing terrible menaces, that they would betake themſelves to the outrages of ſtones and fire. NERO therefore reprimanded the people by an edict, and with lines of ſoldiers ſecur'd all the way through which the condemn'd were led to execution. CINGONIUS VARRO had mov'd that the freedmen too, who abode under the ſame roof, ſhould be for ever expell'd Italy: but this was prohibited by the Prince; who urg'd, "that "ſince the rigorous uſage of antiquity had not been mol-"lified by mercy, it ought not to be heighten'd by cruelty.

DURING the ſame Conſuls, TARQUITIUS PRISCUS was, at the ſuit of the Bithynians, condemn'd for publick rapine; to the infinite gratification of the fathers, who well remember'd, that by him had been accus'd STATILIUS TAURUS, his own Proconſul in Africa. Moreover, a general poll was taken, and a general rate impos'd, throughout both the Gauls: an employment executed by QUINTUS VOLUSIUS, SEXTIUS AFRICANUS, and TREBELLIUS MAXIMUS; and, in it, much contention aroſe between VOLUSIUS and AFRICANUS, two men who were competitors in nobility and rank: for TREBELLIUS; while, in this their mutual ſtrife, he was overlook'd and neglected by both, they jointly contributed to render him ſuperior to either.

THE ſame year, MEMMIUS REGULUS finiſh'd his days; a man for his eminent authority and conſtancy of mind, in ſignal eſtimation; and, as far as the luſtre of a citizen is not darken'd by the ſhade and exorbitant height of an Emperor, the diſtinction he bore was ſplendid and ſublime: inſomuch that, when NERO was once under the preſſure of ſickneſs, and the flatterers about him were lamenting, "that, if the illneſs prov'd fatal, there muſt be "an inſtant end of the Empire with that of his life;" he replied, "that to the Republick there would ſtill "remain a certain reſſource." And, as they then "ask'd, from whom chiefly was the ſame to be expect-"ed," he added, "from the perſon of MEMMIUS REGU-"LUS." But notwithſtanding ſuch a dangerous declaration and character, REGULUS preſerv'd his life after this, under the protection of his own quiet ſpirit: beſides that he deriv'd his quality from a recent ſtock, and was no wiſe obnoxious for his wealth. This year too NERO inſtituted an Athletick ſchool, and to the Knights and Senators, for their exerciſes there, preſented anointing oil, according to the wanton uſages of the revelling Greeks.

In the Conſulſhip of PUBLIUS MARIUS and LUCIUS ASINIUS, the Pretor ANTISTIUS, the ſame whoſe arbitrary adminiſtration in the Tribuneſhip of the people I have remember'd, fram'd a Poem full of contumelious invectives againſt the Prince, and expos'd it to a numerous aſſembly, then banqueting in the houſe of OSTORIUS SCAPULA. Hence he was arraign'd upon the Law of violated Majeſty, by COSSUTIANUS CAPITO, who, at the requeſt of TIGELLINUS his father-in-law, had acquired the dignity of Senator: a law this, which after long diſuſe was upon this occaſion firſt reviv'd: though it was believ'd, that by its preſent revival, the doom of ANTISTIUS was not ſo much intended, as an opportunity ſought of purchaſing renown to the Emperor; for, that, after the criminal were by the Senate capitally condemn'd, CESAR meant to interpoſe his Tribunitial power, and ſave him from the pains of death. Now, as the evidence deliver'd at the trial by OSTORIUS was, that he had heard nothing at all of the imputed crime; the contrary teſtimony of other witneſſes was credited; and JUNIUS MARULLUS Conſul elect, voted that "the accus'd ſhould be diveſted of his Pretorſhip "and executed, according to the form and rigour of "antiquity:" the reſt too were concurring with the ſame ſevere vote; when PETUS THRASEA, after much honourable commendation of NERO, and many bitter reproaches upon ANTISTIUS, argued, "that whatever ſeverity the "flagrant guilt of the perſon accus'd might merit; yet "the ſubjecting of that guilt to an adequate meaſure of "puniſhment, was not what they were now to adjudge, "under a Prince ſo excellent; and, while the Senate was "in its deciſions influenced by no biaſs or compulſion: "halters and executioners were terrors long ſince aboliſh'd: "there were moreover penal ſentences already preſcrib'd "by the laws, and in conformity to them, puniſhment "might be pronounced without bringing the judges under the imputation of cruelty, or the times under that "of infamy. Hence, what remain'd, but to ſentence his "eſtate to confiſcation and him to ſolitary exile in an

“ iſland? a ſentence which would only leave him a guilty “ life; and the longer he protracted the ſame, the greater “ was the private miſery he muſt endure: but, by eſcaping with life, he would ſtill prove a ſingular example “ of publick clemency.”

THE generous freedom of THRASEA broke the bondage which hung upon the minds of others: ſo that after the Conſul had given leave to divide by diſceſſion (namely, to go over to him whoſe vote they approv'd) all but a few went readily into the motion of THRASEA: of theſe few was VITELLIUS, the moſt abandon'd of all men in ſtrains of ſervile flattery, one whoſe cuſtom it was to be always thwarting and annoying every upright man, and always to be aw'd into ſilence by every reply; a conduct uſual to ſlaviſh ſpirits, to be inſolent and cowardly. The Conſuls however not daring to give the laſt ſanction to the decree of Senate, wrote the Emperor an account of their unanimity: and the account affected him; inſomuch that he heſitated a while, ſtruggling between the different impulſes of ſhame and reſentment: at laſt he return'd an anſwer, “ that ANTISTIUS, altogether unprovok'd by any ſort of injury, had utter'd many black “ and grievous aſperſions upon the Prince; and, for theſe “ aſperſions proper vengeance had been required from the “ Senate: neither would it have been more than the retribution of juſt judgment, to have ordain'd a puniſhment ſuitable to the enormous meaſure of the iniquity. “ However, for himſelf; as he would have certainly oppos'd any rigorous doom, if ſuch they had decreed, “ ſo he would now in no wiſe fruſtrate their mercy and “ moderation: determine therefore they might, as to them “ ſeem'd beſt: nay, from him they had full leave to pronounce a ſentence of acquittal.” By the recital of theſe expreſſions, with others in the like ſtrain, his diſpleaſure appear'd notorious: but notwithſtanding his diſpleaſure, neither did the Conſuls vary the ſtate of the queſtion, nor THRASEA depart from his motion, nor any of the reſt deſert the meaſures which by their aſſent they had approv'd. To this adherence in all there were different incitements: ſome would not, by a ſeverer ſentence, ſeem to expoſe the Prince to popular malignity and hate: many there were who placed their ſafety in their numbers: for THRASEA; he was govern'd by his wonted firmneſs of ſoul, and ſcorn'd to forfeit his illuſtrious credit and renown.

FOR an offence much like the former FABRICIUS VEIENTO was involv'd in a heavy proſecution; "for that "he had compil'd a long train of opprobrious invec- "tives againſt Senators and Pontiffs, and inſerted the "ſame in the rolls to which he had given the title "of *Codicils*, or his laſt will." To this charge it was added by TALIUS GEMINUS his accuſer, "that he had "made conſtant traffick of the Prince's bounty and fa- "vours, and turn'd into purchaſe and ſale the right of "occupying the great offices of the ſtate:" an argument this that determin'd NERO to adjudge his cauſe in perſon. VEIENTO being convicted, the Emperor baniſh'd him from Italy; and doom'd to the flames theſe his writings, which were univerſally ſought and read, while it was difficult to find them, and dangerous to keep them: afterwards, from the freedom and impunity of poſſeſſing them, they ſunk into neglect and oblivion.

BUT while the publick evils wax'd every day more poignant and grievous, the friends and ſupports of the publick became leſſen'd and withdrawn; and BURRUS yielded to his laſt fate; nor is it certainly known whether by poiſon or a diſeaſe: the latter was imagin'd from hence, that the fatal ſwelling in his throat increas'd inwardly by degrees, till by a total ſtoppage of reſpiration he died ſuffocated. Many aſſerted that by the order of NERO, under appearance of applying a remedy, his palate and glands were fomented with ſome venomous medicine, and that BURRUS having perceiv'd the deadly fraud, when the Prince came to viſit him, turn'd his face and eyes another way, and to all his repeated inquiries about his health, return'd no other anſwer but this; *I am well.* Great and ſorrowful at Rome was the ſenſe of his loſs, and continued to be ſadly felt, as well through the memory of his own virtue, as from the different character of both his joint ſucceſſors, the one noted only for innocence and heavineſs, the other black with all the moſt flagrant iniquities, defilements, and adulteries. For, NERO had created two captains of the Pretorian guards; namely FENIUS RUFUS, in complement to the populace, who lov'd him for his diſintereſted adminiſtration in the ſuperintendency of the publick ſtores; an office from which he had drawn no gain or advantage; and to him join'd SOFONIUS TIGELLINUS, purely from partiality to the inveterate lewdneſs and notorious infamy of the man; for, pollution and infamy were the noted characteriſticks of TIGELLINUS. Hence much the more potent of the two was his ſway over the ſpirit of NERO; as one aſſum'd into power from an intimate confederacy in all the ſecret ſallies of his luſt: all the credit of RUFUS ſubſiſted in the city and ſoldiery, and by them he was diſtinguiſh'd with popular eſtimation: a character which with NERO brought him under prejudice and diſtaſte.

THE death of BURRUS quite overthrew the authority of SENECA; as righteous meaſures had no longer the ſame ſuccours now the other champion of virtue was remov'd; and the heart of NERO was attach'd to the perſons and counſels of men altogether wicked and deprav'd. Theſe combin'd to aſſail SENECA with criminal imputations manifold; as, "that he had already accumulated "wealth incredible, far ſurpaſſing the meaſure of a citi-"zen, and was ſtill inſatiably accumulating more: that "from the Emperor he was labouring to withdraw, and "attaching to his own perſon, the dependence and vene-"ration of the Roman people: nay ſuch were the charms "and luxury of his gardens, ſuch the ſplendor and mag-"nificence of his ſeat, as if in theſe inſtances of grandeur, "he aim'd even to excel the Emperor: to himſelf alone "he arrogated the praiſe and perfection of eloquence; "and, ever ſince NERO became inſpir'd with a paſſion "for verſifying, SENECA had employ'd himſelf, with unu-"ſual aſſiduity, in the ſame ſtudy: for, to the bodily re-"creations of the Prince, he had declar'd an open en-"mity; and hence diſparag'd his vigour and ſkill in the "managing horſes; hence turn'd his voice into mockery, "whenever he ſung; and all with this ambitious view, "that in the whole Republick there ſhould nothing oc-"cur ſignal or ſublime, which was not by his own wit "introduced and deviſ'd. Surely NERO was paſſed the "weakneſs of childhood, and arriv'd at his prime of "youth: he ought now to begin to reign, to depoſe his "pedagogue, and truſt only to the documents convey'd "to him by tutors ſufficiently famous, his own mighty "anceſtors."

SENECA was not unappriz'd of the efforts of his calumniators; the ſame being diſclos'd to him by ſuch as ſtill retain'd ſome ſympathy and concern for the honeſt intereſt of ſincerity and honour; but, as the Emperor manifeſted daily more ſhyneſs and diſtaſte, and had withdrawn his wonted affability; he beſought an hour of audience, and having obtain'd it, began thus: "this is the "fourteenth year ſince I was firſt aſſign'd to cultivate thy "promiſing and princely ſpirit, CESAR; and the eighth "ſince thy advancement to the Empire. During this "whole ſeries of time, ſo mighty and ſo many are the "honours and riches which thou haſt ſhower'd down "upon me, that to my abundant felicity nought is wanting but ſome bounds and moderation. To corroborate "the addreſs I now make, I ſhall quote great examples "and illuſtrious names; ſuch as are adapted, not to my "ſtation and fortune, but to thine. AUGUSTUS, from "whom thou art the fourth in deſcent, granted to MARCUS AGRIPPA leave to retreat to Mitylene, and to "CAIUS MECENAS he allow'd, even in Rome it ſelf, a "receſs as complete as in any remote country he could "have enjoy'd: the former his companion in the wars; "the other long haraſs'd at Rome with manifold occupations and publick cares: hence both were by him "diſtinguiſh'd with ſuch remunerations as were glorious "in truth, yet ſignally due to their tranſcendent worth "and ſervices: for my ſelf; by what merit of mine could I "pretend to incite that boundleſs munificence of thine, "other than mine own ſolitary ſtudies, form'd, if I may "ſo ſpeak, and nouriſh'd in obſcurity? and even from "them this glory is devolv'd upon me, that in the ſeaſonings of literature I am thought to have initiated "thy youth: a ſublime reward this alone for ſuch ſlender ſervice! but thou haſt encompaſs'd me about with "an accumulation of Imperial benignity and grace, beyond all expreſſion or limits, and with wealth with-

“ out meaſure or end: inſomuch that with my ſelf I often reaſon; am I, (one that is by rank no higher than a Knight, by birth no other than a foreigner) am I number'd with the Grandees of the Imperial city? Is it ſo indeed, that my new name, my modern quality, has thus blaz'd forth amongſt the illuſtrious Lords of Rome; men who juſtly boaſt a long train of honours, deriv'd from numerous and venerable anceſtors? where then is that Philoſophick ſpirit, which profeſſes to be ſatisfied with a ſcanty lot and humble neceſſaries? is SENECA that man? he who thus encloſes and adorns ſuch ſpacious gardens; he who thus travels in pomp through a variety of ſeats in the neighbourhood of Rome, all contriv'd for magnificence and luxury? is it he who wallows in wealth, in ample poſſeſſions, in copious and extenſive uſury? One plea only there is that occurs to my thoughts; that againſt thy donations it became not me to ſtrive: but both of us have now diſcharg'd to the utmoſt meaſure this commerce of liberality and duty: whatever the bounty of a Prince could confer upon his friend; whatever a friend could accept from the bounty of his Prince; thou haſt already conferr'd, I have already accepted. Every further addition can only prove freſh fuel to the bitterneſs of envy; an enemy which, like all other earthly things, lies, in truth, ſubdued and impotent under the awe and weight of thy mighty grandeur, but faſtens upon me with all its rage, and I ſtand in eminent need of ſuccour. Thus, in the ſame manner, as were I weary and faint through the toil of journeying or of warfare, I ſhould ſupplicate for refreſhment and reſt; ſo in this long journey of life, old as I am, and no longer equal to the eaſieſt truſt and lighteſt cares, and utterly unable to ſuſtain the load and envy of my own over-grown riches; I ſeek aſſiſtance and ſupport. Order the auditors of thy revenue to undertake the direction of my fortune, and to annex it to thy own: nor ſhall I by this plunge my ſelf into indigence and poverty; but having only ſurrender'd that invidious opulence, which expoſes me to the offenſive blaze of ſo much ſplendor, I ſhall redeem all the time which is at preſent ſequeſter'd to the care of pompous

" ſeats and gardens, and apply it to the repoſe and cul-
" tivation of my mind. To thee remains abundant ſtrength
" and ſupport, and thy rule is, by a long courſe of reign-
" ing, throughly eſtabliſh'd; thou mayſt now ſpare thy
" ancient friends and counſellors, and vouchſafe them a
" retreat to quiet and eaſe. To thy glory this alſo will
" redound, that to the higheſt eſtate thou hadſt advanced
" ſuch men as knew how to diſpenſe with the loweſt."

To this ſpeech, NERO replied much in this manner: "That I am able, thus inſtantly to combat theſe ſtudied " reaſonings of thine, is a faculty which from thy benignity and care I firſt deriv'd; for thou haſt taught " me, not only the art of acquitting my ſelf promptly, " where matters are prepar'd and a ſpeech is already premeditated; but even a facility of elocution in emergencies intirely unforeſeen: it is true, my anceſtor " AUGUSTUS granted liberty to AGRIPPA and MECENAS " to retreat, after a life of many labours, to a life of eaſe; " but at ſuch a time of his age and eſtabliſhment he " granted it, that his authority was ſufficient to ſuſtain " any conceſſion he could have made them, of what " kind or importance ſoever. But tho' he ſuffer'd both " to retire, he diveſted neither of the bounties and recompenſes which upon them he had conferr'd. In the " perils of war and of civil diſtraction, they had meritoriouſly ſerv'd him; for in ſuch were the younger years " of AUGUSTUS employ'd: neither wouldſt thou, SENECA, have fail'd to have aſſiſted me with thy perſon " and arms, if in arms I had been engag'd: my different " circumſtances required other aid; and whatever they " requir'd thou haſt done with wiſe rules, wholſome counſel, uſeful precepts; thou haſt cheriſh'd my infancy, and " ſince my youth: in truth, the gifts and acquirements " which from thee I hold, are permanent, and while my " life remains can never forſake me: whereas the acknowledgments which thou reapeſt from me, thy gardens, " ſeats and rents, are all expos'd to uncertainty and diſaſters; and however copious and manifold they may appear, there are many inſtances of favourites, in worthy " accompliſhments, no wiſe equal to thee, diſtinguiſh'd " with larger poſſeſſions. I bluſh to quote freedmen that "are beheld more wealthy than thou: hence too I am "aſham'd that thou, who in dearneſs to me art beyond "all others, doſt not yet in fortune ſurpaſs all; thy age "moreover ſtill retains ſoundneſs and vigour; is ſtill capable of managing thy revenues with ſufficiency, of enjoying them with pleaſure: and for my ſelf; I am but "yet in the dawn of Empire: unleſs perhaps thou doſt "account that my munificence to thee has already exceeded that of CLAUDIUS to his favourite VITELLIUS, a "man diſtinguiſh'd with three Conſulſhips: when, in "truth, all the articles of my bounty towards thee, cannot, tho' I am Emperor, equal the opulence which "VOLUSIUS, by a long courſe of parſimony only, has "acquir'd. To all this I add, that, if in any particular, "I deviate, through the giddineſs and frailty of my years; "it is thou who doſt check and recover me: and, as "thou haſt with good education embelliſh'd my youth; "thou doſt ſtill with thy aid and capacity manage and "controul it. It is not with any moderation of thine, "if thou returneſt thy wealth, nor with thy receſs, if thou "forſakeſt thy Prince, that the tongues of all men will "be employ'd: no, the treaſure return'd will by the univerſal cry be aſcrib'd to my rapaciouſneſs, and to the "dread of my cruelty, thy retirement. But ſuppoſe this "diſintereſtedneſs of thine, this heroick temperance, be "really treated with the higheſt ſtrain of popular praiſe: "yet ſurely upon a wiſe man it will reflect no honour, "that to himſelf he meditates a harveſt of glory from a "proceeding which upon his friend muſt bring infallible "infamy." To theſe hollow words he added kiſſes and embracing; fram'd as he was by nature, and by habit nurtur'd, to ſmother his hate and rancour under ſubdolous courteſy and blandiſhments. SENECA preſented his thanks; which is ever the certain iſſue of every argument with one who poſſeſſes ſovereignty: he chang'd however the methods and ſymptoms of his former power, ſtopp'd the uſual conflux of ſuch as attended to pay their court; avoided any train of attendance abroad; and his appearance there was exceeding rare; as if by ill health, or the ſtudy of philoſophy, he were confin'd at home.

After the diſgrace of SENECA; to depreſs the authority of FENIUS RUFUS, became a ſhort task; when the crime charg'd upon him by his enemies, was that of his adherence to AGRIPPINA. TIGELLINUS too wax'd daily more mighty; and as he was perſuaded that his miſchievous devices, in which alone his whole ſufficiency lay, would prove ſtill more agreeable and meritorious, if he could engage the Prince under the tyes of a cruel confederacy in acts of blood, he div'd curiouſly into his ſecret fears; and having diſcover'd that PLAUTUS and SYLLA, were the men principally dreaded, and thence both lately remov'd from Italy, the former into Aſia, the other into Narbon Gaul, he diſplay'd to NERO, "the "ſignal deſcent and quality of the men, the nearneſs "of their abode to great armies; PLAUTUS in the neigh-"bourhood of that in the Eaſt; SYLLA of that in Ger-"many. For himſelf; he harbour'd not, like BURRUS, "different hopes and views, but conſulted purely the de-"fence and ſecurity of the Prince: but tho' his ſafety at "Rome might be enſur'd, and all conſpiracies there obviat-"ed by prompt and temporary meaſures; yet, by what "meaſures could remote inſurrections be ſuppreſs'd, and "revolts in the confines of the Empire? The nations of "Gaul, animated by the dictatorial name of SYLLA, were "already upon the wing for rebellion; nor were the ſe-"veral people of Aſia leſs ſuſpected of an attachment to "the other, for the illuſtrious memory and renown of his "grandfather DRUSUS: SYLLA was likewiſe indigent: "hence an eſpecial incitement to reſoluteneſs and enter-"prize. He feign'd ſloth too and indolence; till he ſpied "an opportunity for ſome deſperate attempt. PLAUTUS "was maſter of mighty wealth, nor ſo much as pretended "a fondneſs for quiet; he even profeſs'd to admire the "lives and examples of the ancient Romans: nay he had "adopted the ſect of the Stoicks, with all their ſupercili-"ouſneſs and pride; a ſect which prompts men to be tur-"bulent, and to chuſe a life full of action." Without further deliberation or delay, the murder of both was doom'd: SYLLA was by aſſaſſins, who in ſix days arriv'd expreſs at Marſeilles, diſpatch'd as he ſat down to meat, without previous apprehenſion or tidings. When his head was preſented to NERO, the ſight mov'd him to jeſt and deriſion, "that from its unſeaſonable hoarineſs, "it look'd uncomely."

THE bloody ſentence awarded againſt PLAUTUS was not ſo ſucceſsfully conceal'd; for his life was of ſenſible concernment to many; moreover, from the length of the way and the paſſing of the ſea, ſo much time interven'd, that publick fame became alarm'd; and amongſt the people an imagination prevail'd, that he had fled for ſanctuary to CORBULO, who then commanded mighty armies; a man who, if men ſignal in name and innocence were to be mark'd out for ſlaughter, ſtood in the firſt degree of fear and jeopardy. Nay it was divulg'd with the ſame credulity, "that all Aſia had taken arms to eſpouſe the "defence of the young noblemen; and that, as the ſol-"diers diſpatch'd to perpetrate the murder, were neither "powerful in their number, nor prompt in their incli-"nations; when they could not execute their orders, "they alſo had of themſelves join'd in the revolt and "eſpous'd the new cauſe." Theſe rumours, publiſh'd by the wild genius of common fame, were readily credited by all the diſaffected, and, through hate and diſaffection, enlarg'd. For the reſt, PLAUTUS had brought to him the counſel and admonitions of LUCIUS ANTISTIUS, his father-in-law, by a freedman of his own, who, ſpeeded by a briſk wind, had out-ſail'd the fatal Centurion. The advice imported, "that he ſhould be ſure to ſhun a daſtardly death; he had yet leiſure to eſcape, and could "not fail of finding from the worthy and generous, com-"paſſion for a name ſo noble and diſtinguiſh'd: with "himſelf he muſt aſſociate the reſolute and brave: nor "ought he the while to ſlight any means of aid. If he "had once repuls'd the ſixty ſoldiers (for ſo many were "coming to the execution) he might then, while the "tydings were tranſmitting to NERO; while another band "of men were advancing ſo vaſt a way; proſecute a world "of ſchemes, enough to lay the terrible foundations of a "war: at worſt he would either, by ſuch meaſures, pur-"chaſe honourable ſecurity; at leaſt, after a brave reſiſ-"tance, he had nought more dreadful to ſuffer, than "ſuffer he muſt under a ſtupid acquieſcence."

BUT theſe conſiderations mov'd not PLAUTUS; whether it were that being a perſecuted exile and deſtitute of arms, he foreſaw no certain reſſource; or whether he were weary of perplexity and wavering hopes; or perhaps chiefly influenced by tenderneſs for his wife and children, to whom he imagin'd the Prince would prove the more reconcilable, when he found himſelf no wiſe incens'd by any inſurrection or alarms. There are thoſe who relate, that the advices he receiv'd from his father-in-law were of a different ſtrain, importing as if nothing ſanguinary or capital threaten'd him. They add, "that two Philo-"ſophers, CERANUS a Greek, and MUSONIUS a Tuſcan, "had exhorted him to wait his death with unſhaken in-"trepidity, as by it he would be diſburden'd of a life "fraught with uncertainty and fears." Certain it is, the aſſaſſins found him in the middle of the day, naked and applying himſelf to the uſual exerciſes of his body. In this ſituation the Centurion butcher'd him, in the ſight of PELAGO the Eunuch, who was by NERO ſet over the Centurion and his band, like the Royal miniſter of ſome tyrant, truſted with the command of his body-guards, and inſtruments of blood. The head of the ſlain was carried to Rome and ſhew'd to the Emperor: what he ſaid when he ſaw it, I ſhall repeat in his very words, "what "is it, cried he, that withſtands NERO, that he may "not now diſcard all fear and inſtantly ſet about ſolem-"nizing his nuptials with POPPEA; a ſolemnity hither-"to deferr'd becauſe of the terrors ariſing from ſuch "men as this? what withſtands him, that he may not "inſtantly divorce OCTAVIA his wife, one eaſie, in truth, "and modeſt in her conduct, but ſtill, from the awful "name of her Imperial father, from the ardent zeal of "the people towards her, an inſupportable burden and "eye-ſore." To the Senate he ſent letters; but in them own'd nothing of the aſſaſſination of SYLLA and PLAUTUS; yet alledg'd, that both were turbulent and ſeditious ſpirits, and what vehement ſollicitude and vigilance it coſt him to preſerve the peace and ſtability of the Commonwealth. Hence publick proceſſions and devotions were decreed to the Deities, and SYLLA and PLAUTUS degraded from the dignity of Senators. Strange mockery and inſult; more keen and provoking to the publick, than its more ſubſtantial calamities.

NERO therefore having receiv'd the decree of Senate, and once perceiving that all his bloody wickedneſs and cruelties, paſſed for ſo many laudable feats of renown, thruſt OCTAVIA forthwith from his bed, alledging, "that "ſhe was barren," and then eſpous'd POPPEA. This woman who had been long the concubine of NERO, and both as her adulterer and her husband, ever rul'd him implicitly, ſuborn'd a domeſtick of OCTAVIA's, to accuſe her of criminal amours with a ſlave: for this end EUCERUS the muſician, a native of ALEXANDRIA, and one who excell'd upon the flute, was impleaded as her gallant: hence her maids were examin'd upon the rack; and, tho' ſome of them, overcome by the exquiſite fury of the torture, favour'd the perfidious forgery, the major part perſever'd to vindicate the unſpotted ſanctimony of their Lady: amongſt theſe was one, who, while TIGELLINUS was vehemently urging a confeſſion, return'd him for anſwer, "that the parts of OCTAVIA, which denoted "her a woman, were purer than his mouth." The reſult however was her removal from the palace and her husband, under the mock-judgment of a legal divorcement: for her appenage, ſhe was preſented with the houſe of BURRUS, and with the poſſeſſions of PLAUTUS; both black and ill-boding donations: ſhe was thereafter baniſh'd into Campania, and over her a guard of ſoldiers placed. From this cruel treatment of hers, there aroſe amongſt the populace many mournful and inceſſant complaints, and by them no wiſe ſmother'd or diſguis'd, as they are govern'd by a lower meaſure of prudence and circumſpection; and, from the mediocrity of their lot, expos'd to fewer perils. Whether, by theſe daring reſentments of the people, NERO was alarm'd, or chiefly moved by the inward confuſion he felt for ſuch black iniquity, he recall'd OCTAVIA his wife.

AN event this which fill'd the people with joy: in exultations they aſcended the Capitol, and now at laſt found occaſion to accoſt the Deities with adoration and thankſgiving: the ſtatues of POPPEA they wrathfully overthrew; but upon their ſhoulders fondly bore the images of OC-

TAVIA, bedeck'd them with freſh flowers, placed them in the great Forum and in the ſeveral Temples. Into a ſudden ſtrain they alſo burſt, of ecchoing the praiſes of the Prince, and became zealous to offer him in perſon their veneration and vows: already they were filling the palace with their multitude and acclamations, when ſuddenly ſome bands of the guards iſſu'd out upon them, and aſſailing them with blows, and threatning them with ſlaughter, repuls'd and utterly diſpers'd them: the diſorders too committed during the tumult, were repair'd; to POPPEA her violated honour publickly reſtor'd, and her ſtatues replaced: but ſhe, who had been ever implacable in her hate, was now become yet more implacable through fear; leſt either the fury of the populace ſhould wax into outrages ſtill more terrible, or NERO be brought to change with the bent and inclination of the people: ſhe therefore fell proſtrate at his knees, and ſaid, " her affairs were no longer in a ſituation to encourage her competition for the glory of his marriage, tho' dearer to her than life was that glory: her life it ſelf was involv'd in extremity of danger by the followers and ſlaves of OCTAVIA; a deſperate rabble who had aſſum'd the name of the people, and, in the midſt of peace, committed ſuch violences as were ſcarce produced by war. But againſt the Prince it was that theſe arms were wielded; nor was ought wanting but a leader; a want which, when commotions were once rais'd, was ever eaſy to be ſupplied. OCTAVIA had no more to do, but to relinquiſh Campania and advance to Rome it ſelf; ſhe at whoſe nod even in her abſence faction could be inflam'd, inſurrections excited: for her own particular, with what guilt, with what tranſgreſſion was ſhe chargeable? in what inſtance had ſhe hurt or offended any individual? was ſhe from hence obnoxious, that to the houſe of the CESARS ſhe would yield a genuine iſſue; when perhaps the Roman people rather affected to ſee a ſuppoſititious offſpring, that of an Egyptian minſtrel, adopted into the ſublime heirſhip of the Imperial dignity? in a word; if this were the expedient beſt ſuiting with the exigency of things, he ought to call home his Lady rather through choice than compulſion; or

“ elſe to conſult the ſecurity of himſelf and the ſtate “ by a different method, that of juſt vengeance. It was “ true the firſt tumult was already diſſipated by ſmall “ force and moderate remedies: but, if once the people “ came utterly to loſe all hopes that OCTAVIA was ever “ again to be the wife of NERO, they themſelves would “ not fail of giving a proper husband to OCTAVIA the “ heireſs of the Empire.”

THIS diſcourſe, thus artfully mixt and fram'd to produce both terror and wrath, had its effect upon NERO; and while he liſten'd to it, at once frighten'd and enrag'd him: but little had avail'd the fiction of OCTAVIA's intrigue with her ſlaves; a fiction which was quite defeated by the teſtimony of her maids upon the rack. It was therefore agreed to procure ſome one who ſhould own himſelf guilty with her, one againſt whom might be alſo feign'd a plauſible charge of meditating a revolution in the ſtate; and a proper man was ANICETUS judg'd for this vile purpoſe; the ſame who had accompliſh'd the murder of his mother, and, as I have related, commanded the fleet at Miſenum; a man held by the Emperor, juſt after that bloody ſervice, in ſome ſlight favour, and thenceforth in heavier deteſtation: for Princes ever behold the miniſters of their cruelties and iniquity, as men whoſe looks wound their guilty ſouls with inceſſant ſtings and reproaches. Him therefore NERO ſummon'd; and reminding him of his former meritorious exploit, “ thou “ alone, ſaid he, didſt protect and relieve me from the “ black conſpiracies of a mother: an opportunity of do- “ ing me ſervice of no leſs merit at preſent invites thee, “ if thou canſt but diſcharge me effectually of an irk- “ ſome and diſaffected wife: nor in this task needeſt thou “ either ſtrength or weapon: thou art only to acknow- “ ledge that with OCTAVIA thou haſt been engag'd in “ adultery.” For this ſervice NERO promis'd him “ re- “ wards of mighty value, tho' at firſt it was neceſſary, “ he ſaid, they ſhould continue private and unknown; “ as alſo, upon his mock condemnation, lovely and de- “ lectable places of retirement; but, in caſe of refuſal, “ threaten'd him with death.” ANICETUS prompted by the native bent of his own frantick ſpirit, and by the pro-

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tection and impunity which had follow'd all his crying enormities paſt; carried his fictions even beyond orders, and communicated, as ſecrets, all his fictions to his friends: a ſet of men whom the Prince had placed about him, as it were to aid him by their counſels in his deſigns. Then, as one convicted by his own confeſſion, he was exil'd into Sardinia, where he underwent a ſort of baniſhment in truth, but one far from neceſſitous or miſerable, and died at laſt by the lot of nature.

Now NERO iſſued an edict and in it publiſh'd, "that "OCTAVIA in hopes of engaging the fleet in her con"ſpiracy, had thence corrupted ANICETUS the admiral:" and forgetting that he had but juſt before accus'd her of barrenneſs, he added, "that in guilt and conſciouſneſs of "her ſecret luſts, ſhe had always defeated her pregnancy "and forced abortion: and that all theſe her crimes were "by him fully detected." Thus he commanded her to be ſhut up in an iſland, that of Pandateria.

NEVER was there any exile who fill'd the hearts of the beholders with more affecting compaſſion: ſome there were who ſtill remember'd to have ſeen AGRIPPINA doom'd to the like fate: the more recent ſufferings of JULIA were likewiſe recall'd to mind; two illuſtrious exiles, the firſt baniſh'd by TIBERIUS, the other by CLAUDIUS: but theſe Ladies had arriv'd at ſtrength and maturity of years: they had gone through ſome ſeaſons of felicity, taſted ſome ſhare of delight; and, by reviewing a happier fortune by them once enjoy'd, their pangs, from inſtant cruelty, were abated. To OCTAVIA the firſt day of her nuptials ſerv'd for a funeral day: ſhe was brought under a roof where ſhe had nothing to encounter but what muſt prove diſmal and ſad; a roof under which ſhe had ſeen her unhappy father ſnatch'd away by poiſon, and inſtantly afterwards her little innocent brother by the ſame cruel means: next, tho' a wife, ſhe was ſubjected to the aſcendancy of a ſlave: then her huſband eſpous'd POPPEA, a marriage which could threaten nothing leſs than capital deſtruction to his legitimate wife: laſtly ſhe ſuffer'd the imputation of a crime more barbarous and piercing than any the moſt inhuman deſtruction whatſoever. Add to all this, a tender girl, in the twentieth year of her age,

terribly

terribly encompaſs'd with an arm'd hoſt of ſoldiers and Centurions, and already bereft of life, through the apprehenſion and ſad preſages of impending evils, and yet not hitherto ſurrender'd to the quiet reſt of death.

AND now after the interval of a few days, ſhe was formally doom'd to die; tho' to prevent it, ſhe deſcended to alledge, "that ſhe own'd her ſelf in a ſtate of "widowhood, and claim'd no other prerogative than of "being only the Emperor's ſiſter. She pleaded their com-"mon ties of blood, their common anceſtors; the Princes "of their houſe, who bore the dear and favourite name "of *Germanicus*:" at length ſhe even invok'd the name of AGRIPPINA; ſhe ſaid, "that had AGRIPPINA liv'd, "ſhe ſhould, in truth, with ſuch a mother-in-law, have "endur'd a lot of wedlock ſufficiently unhappy, but ſtill "ſuch a one as would never have ended in a bloody "doom." Forthwith ſhe was tied down with bonds, and the veins over all her limbs were open'd: but, as her blood was chill'd through fear and iſſued ſlowly, the execution was completed by ſtifling her in the ſteam of a boiling bath. This cruelty was follow'd by another yet more crying and brutal: her head being cut off and carried to Rome, POPPEA choſe to entertain her ſelf with the tragical ſpectacle. For this execution, as for ſome notable deliverance, the Senate pompouſly decreed gifts and oblations to the Temples: a circumſtance which I inſert with deſign that whoever ſhall, from me or any other Writer, learn the ſtory and events of thoſe calamitous times, may hold it for granted, that as often as ever ſentences of cruelty were pronounc'd by the Prince, as often as murders and baniſhments were by him commanded; ſo often, for certain, were acknowledgments and thankſgivings, by authority of the fathers, paid to the Deities: and the very ſame ordinances and feſtivals, which of old were monuments of publick proſperity and glorious exploits, ſerv'd now for monuments of publick havock and ruin. And yet, I ſhall not fail to recount every decree of Senate, which either prov'd a new flight of flattery, or only the dregs of exceſſive tameneſs and ſervitude.

THIS year was fatal to DORYPHORUS and PALLAS, two Imperial freedmen of moſt conſpicuous note; both believ'd to have periſh'd by poiſon adminiſter'd by order of NERO; the former, as if he were guilty of thwarting the marriage with POPPEA; and PALLAS, for that he protracted his old age too long, and thence detain'd from the Emperor's poſſeſſion his ineſtimable wealth. Upon SENECA too an attempt had been made; and againſt him ROMANUS had ſecretly labour'd a charge of being a cloſe aſſociate with CAIUS PISO; but was himſelf encounter'd by SENECA with more vigour for the ſame crime. Hence a ſource of much dread to PISO; and againſt NERO there aroſe a conſpiracy, mighty, in truth, and menacing, but altogether abortive and unproſperous.

FIFTEENTH ANNAL.

DURING theſe domeſtick tranſactions, VOLOGESES King of the Parthians, having learnt the exploits done and regulations made by CORBULO; that TIGRANES, an alien born, was by him eſtabliſh'd King of Armenia, a throne too from which his own brother TIRIDATES had been ignominiouſly expuls'd; became earneſt to revenge the affront and deſpite thrown upon the Monarchy of the Arſacides: but revolving again upon the mighty power of the Romans, and aw'd with reverence for the continued league ſubſiſting between the two Empires; he was perplex'd and divided between different and interfering paſſions: for, he was a Prince by nature addicted to procraſtination and wavering, and then particularly, retarded by the revolt of the Hyrcanians, (a potent and brave nation) and by the long ſeries of wars that follow'd it. In this ſuſpence and irreſolution, he was rous'd by the tydings of a freſh contumely and inſult, for that TIGRANES having paſs'd the limits of Armenia, had waſted the territories of the Adiabenians, a bordering people, with more laſting and extenſive ſpoil than by robbers was wont to be committed: an outrage this which the chiefs of theſe nations underwent with painful regret, “ that they were ſunk into ſuch abject ſcorn, as to be “ invaded and over-run, not in truth by the prowefs of “ any Roman leader, but by the inſolent arms of one

“ who had been an hoſtage to Rome, and there kept “ for ſo many years amongſt his fellow ſlaves.” The anguiſh of VOLOGESES was inflam’d by the diſcourſe of MONOBAZUS, in whoſe hands lay the government of the Adiabenians, and who us’d to ask him, “ what military “ ſuccours were there to ſecure them, and from what “ quarter to be ſought? The fate of Armenia was already “ determin’d, nay the adjacent regions were about to be “ ſwallow’d up; and unleſs they were defended by the “ Parthians, they themſelves would ſoon conſider, that “ bondage from the Romans prov’d always much lighter “ to ſuch as ſubmitted to mercy, than to thoſe who ſtaid “ to be ſubdu’d.” TIRIDATES too, who was a fugitive from his Kingdom, affected VOLOGESES yet more grievouſly, whether he beheld the ſilent diſtreſs of his brother, or heard his reſpectful complainings. For, the depriv’d Prince was wont to alledge, “ that mighty Empires “ were not to be ſuſtain’d by ſloth and inaction; but “ the vigour and efforts of men and arms were frequently to be exerted: in ſovereign fortune, thoſe meaſures “ were ever moſt righteous, which prov’d moſt potent “ and ſucceſsful. To thoſe only in a private ſtation belong’d the narrow domeſtick ambition of preſerving “ their own: but a bold ſtruggle to maſter the poſſeſſions “ of others, was matter of renown truly monarchical.”

VOLOGESES, therefore, ſtimulated by all theſe conſiderations, aſſembled a council, and placing TIRIDATES next to himſelf, began thus: “ this Prince, begotten by “ the ſame father with my ſelf, I inveſted with the poſſeſſion of Armenia; ſince to me, in regard of primogeniture, it was his lot to yield the ſovereignty of Parthia; and by wearing the Armenian diadem, he became what we account the third ſovereign of our blood: “ for PACORUS already occupied the realm of Media: “ by this means, I ſeem’d to have happily ſettled our family, and provided againſt the ancient hate and competition of brothers. This is what the Romans imperiouſly thwart; and tho’ they never infring’d the peace “ between them and us with any meaſure of felicity to “ themſelves, they now again openly break it, doubtleſs “ to their own bane and confuſion. I am far from de-

" nying that much rather by the voice of juſtice than " the effuſion of blood, much rather by arguments than " arms, would I chuſe to preſerve the acquiſition of my " anceſtors. If, in my paſt procraſtination I have been " blameable, by my future prowеſs I will make ample " atonement. For your part your glory is perfectly un-" ſullied, your vigour undiminiſhed; and to this praiſe " you have added another, that of moderation ſo long " tried; a virtue which ought never to be ſlighted even " by the moſt elevated amongſt men, and is in truth by " the Gods themſelves held in high eſtimation." As ſoon as he had thus ſpoke, upon the head of TIRIDATES he ſet the Royal diadem, to MONESES a noble Parthian, he deliver'd a complete band of ſtout horſe, which according to the cuſtom of Monarchy, always attended the perſon of the King; to theſe he added a body of auxiliary Adiabenians: and commanded that General, " to " exterminate TIGRANES from Armenia." He purpos'd himſelf the while to drop his conteſt with the Hyrcanians, to amaſs all his forces in the heart of PARTHIA, and reſerving to his own conduct the main bulk and ſtreſs of the war, to advance with a terrible hoſt, and threaten a deſcent into the Roman provinces.

CORBULO, as ſoon as by certain intelligence he had learnt all theſe proceedings, ſent two Legions to ſuccour TIGRANES, under the command of VERULANUS SEVERUS and VETTIUS BOLANUS, with ſecret injunctions, " that they ſhould act rather with ſtudied deliberation, " than with eagerneſs and diſpatch." The truth was, CORBULO aim'd more at keeping a war on foot, than puſhing it to a concluſion: beſides, he had written to NERO, " that, in order to defend Armenia, another and " diſtinct General was neceſſary; for that Syria, now " threaten'd with a terrible tempeſt from VOLOGESES, " was thence expos'd to more vehement danger." In the mean while he diſpos'd the remaining Legions along the banks of the Euphrates; he ſuddenly rais'd a body of militia out of the natives of the province; at all the paſſes he poſted guards, to obſtruct the inroads of the enemy: and, becauſe that region is ſcanty of water, over the ſeveral fountains forts were erected; and ſome ſprings he ſhut up with hills of ſand.

While CORBULO was thus buſied in meaſures for the ſecuring of Syria; MONESES advanc'd towards Armenia, with rapid marches, as by them he meant to out-run the report of his coming: but with all his rapidity, he found TIGRANES neither void of intelligence, nor in a negligent ſituation; for that Prince had poſſeſs'd himſelf of Tigranocerta, a city of great ſtrength in the multitude of its defenders, and from the mightineſs of its walls: to theſe advantages add, that the Nicephorus, a river of no ſmall breadth, environ'd great part of the wall, and round the reſt, where the defence of the river was not truſted, a vaſt trench was drawn: within it too was a garriſon of ſoldiers, and ſtores of proviſion before laid up. In bringing in theſe proviſions ſome few of the ſoldiers, having out of greedineſs ſtragled too far, fell into the hands of the ſwift and unexpected foe; but by this miſhap of theirs, the minds of all the reſt became fill'd with reſentment and animoſity, rather than with diſmay or fear. Neither have the Parthians any bravery to venture a cloſe attack upon a place beſieg'd: it was but a few ſcattering arrows that they ſhot, nor thence at all diſmay'd or repuls'd the beſieg'd, but only baffled themſelves. The Adiabenians indeed, with ladders and engines of battery, began to approach the walls; but were eaſily driven back, and by an immediate ſally of our men, put to the ſlaughter.

CORBULO however, tho' all his proceedings proſper'd, judging it wiſdom to moderate the career of his good fortune, diſpatch'd Embaſſadors to VOLOGESES to expoſtulate with him upon his hoſtile conduct, "that, with violence and war, he had fallen upon a Roman Province; "that his forces beſieg'd a King who was a friend and "confederate of Rome, nay beſieg'd the Roman Cohorts "themſelves;" and to warn him, "that either he muſt "abandon the ſiege, or CORBULO too would inſtantly "march and encamp upon the territories of the enemy." CASPERIUS the Centurion, who was delegated to execute this embaſſy, reach'd the King at the city of Niſibis, thirty ſeven miles diſtant from Tigranocerta, and there deliver'd his meſſage with great ſterneſs and defiance. It was in truth long ſince the politick drift of VOLO-

GESES and thoroughly riveted in his heart, to avoid by all means engaging with the arms of Rome: neither did his preſent enterprizes advance with any meaſure of ſucceſs: fruitleſs and vain had been the ſiege of Tigranocerta: TIGRANES ſat ſecure and ſtrong in men and proviſions: they who had undertaken to ſtorm the walls, were utterly routed: two Legions were ſent to the relief of Armenia: the remaining Legions cover'd Syria, nay ſtood ready for an offenſive war, and to invade the dominions of Parthia: his whole cavalry, through ſcarcity of forage, were miſerably enfeebled; for ſuch an infinite flight of locuſts had fallen as utterly devour'd the whole crop of earth and every green thing. Theſe conſiderations humbled VOLOGESES; he however ſmother'd all ſymptoms of dread, and aſſuming a guiſe of tenderneſs and moderation, return'd for anſwer, "that he would "ſend Embaſſadors to Rome, to ſue to CESAR for a con"ceſſion of the Kingdom of Armenia; and to corrobo"rate the peace between them." Inſtantly he commanded MONESES to relinquiſh the ſiege of Tigranocerta; and departed himſelf homewards again.

THESE quick changes were by many extoll'd, as "events "altogether honourable, purely atchiev'd by the mena"ces of CORBULO and the diſmay of the King." Others explain'd the whole "into a ſecret compact between them; "in order that the war being dropp'd on both ſides, "and VOLOGESES withdrawing from Armenia, TIGRA"NES too ſhould depart that Kingdom: upon what mo"tives elſe was the Roman army led out of Tigrano"certa? Why, in a time of inaction, were thoſe places "abandon'd, which during war were ſtrenuouſly defend"ed? Had the troops found, in the remoteſt parts of Cap"padocia, more commodious winter quarters, under poor "huts ſuddenly rais'd, than in the capital of a Kingdom "juſt before carefully kept and protected? Without all "doubt, the war was therefore ſuſpended, that upon ſome "other Commander than CORBULO the lot might fall of "meeting VOLOGESES in the field: nor to any new "riſques would CORBULO expoſe that renown and glory "which for ſo many long years he had been acquiring." For, as I have already obſerv'd, he had demanded that a diſtinct General ſhould be ſent for the particular defence of Armenia, and heard that CESENNIUS PETUS was approaching with that character: CESENNIUS was, in truth, already arriv'd, and between the two Generals the forces were ſo divided, that under the command of PETUS were to remain the fourth Legion and the twelfth, to which was added the fifth, lately call'd thither from Meſia, as alſo the auxiliaries from Pontus, Galatia, and Cappadocia: with CORBULO were to continue the third, ſixth, and tenth Legions, and what forces formerly belong'd to Syria: all other particulars they were to poſſeſs in common, or to ſhare, juſt as exigencies occur'd, and the publick ſervice required. But, as CORBULO could not bear the thoughts of a competitor; ſo PETUS, to whom it was doubtleſs abundant glory, if in merit he were reckon'd the ſecond, diſparag'd all the atchievements of CORBULO: he affirm'd, "that, in all his exploits, nothing of hoſtile "blood was ſpill'd, nothing of ſpoil was taken; and all "the boaſted praiſe of maſtering and aſſaulting cities, was "merely nominal and aſſum'd. For himſelf, he would "upon the vanquiſh'd impoſe tribute and laws; and, in"ſtead of the preſent ſhadow of a King, ſubject them "at once to the juriſdiction of Rome."

AT this very juncture, the Embaſſadors of VOLOGESES, the ſame, whom I have mentioned to have been ſent to the Prince, return'd unſucceſsful: hence the Parthians proceeded to open war; nor did PETUS decline it; but, with two Legions, the fourth and twelfth, the former then commanded by FAMISULANUS VECTONIANUS, the other by CALVISIUS SABINUS, he enter'd Armenia, and a ſad preſage accompanied his entrance; for, in paſſing over the Euphrates, which he croſs'd upon a bridge, the horſe which carried the Conſular ornaments, became frighten'd without any apparent cauſe, and ſtarting back again, got clear away: moreover, as they were fortifying their quarters againſt winter, a victim which ſtood by the works, before the ſame were above half finiſh'd, broke violently through, leap'd quite over the pale, and fled. The javelins too of our men blaz'd with ſpontaneous fire; a prodigy which appear'd the more ſignal, for that, with javelins and ſuch weapons miſſive their enemies the Parthians always fight.

BUT all theſe omens were contemn'd by PETUS; who, e'er his winter encampment was yet ſufficiently fortified, without preparing any the leaſt magazin of grain, hurried the army over the mountain Taurus, "to recover, "as he ſaid, the city of Tigranocerta; and lay waſte "the ſeveral regions which CORBULO had wholly ſpar'd." And it is true that he took certain caſtles; ſomewhat of glory too he won, and ſomewhat of plunder, if he had either poſſeſs'd his glory with moderation, or his plunder with care. But while he ſpent long travel and tedious marches, in over-running countries which could not poſſibly be held; what proviſions he had pillag'd, became corrupted and ſpoil'd, and the winter was juſt overtaking him; ſo that he led back the army to their quarters. There he compos'd letters to NERO, in big and pompous words, as if the war had been already concluded; but as to proweſs and available performances, his letters were empty and vain.

CORBULO the while ſat down himſelf upon the banks of the Euphrates; a ſtation which he had never neglected: he now particularly multiply'd the guards which defended it. And, that the enemy's troops, who with great oſtentation and numbers were prancing over the oppoſite plains, might create no obſtruction to his laying a bridge over the river, he faſten'd together with great beams, certain veſſels of vaſt bulk: upon them he rear'd large towers; and ſteering this arm'd float to and fro upon the ſtream, did thence with engines of battery annoy and diſſipate the Barbarians; upon whom by this means were pour'd volleys of ſtones and darts, at a greater diſtance than could be equall'd by the flight of arrows by them return'd. Thereafter, the bridge was extended quite over; the oppoſite hills were immediately poſſeſs'd by our ſocial Cohorts, and upon them next the Legions pitch'd their camp: all which was executed with ſuch celerity, and ſuch a formidable diſplay of forces, that the Parthians intirely abandon'd the diſpoſitions they had made for invading Syria, and turn'd all their hopes and efforts towards Armenia.

THERE abode PETUS in ſuch utter ignorance of the impending tempeſt, that he ſtill kept the fifth Legion at ſo great a diſtance as Pontus; and had weaken'd the reſt, by allowing the ſoldiers, in large and unſtinted numbers, leave to be abſent. In this ſituation he receiv'd the news, that VOLOGESES advanc'd with an hoſt mighty in number, and breathing terror and vengeance. Forthwith he call'd to him the twelfth Legion: but this very thing, from whence he hop'd the reputation of having augmented his army, betray'd their diminution and thinneſs: yet thin as they were, they might have maintain'd their camp, and by protracting the war, have baffled all the efforts of the Parthians; if in the ſpirit of PETUS there had been any firmneſs, either in adhering to his own counſel, or to the counſels of others. But whenever by the able advice of officers experienc'd in war, he was at times confirm'd in meaſures of ſecurity againſt his preſſing dangers, he was ſure to fall off; and that he might not ſeem to want the judgment and deciſion of any man, laps'd into courſes which were different and always worſe. At this very juncture he willfully departed out of the entrenchments which enclos'd their winter quarters, and uttering brave words, "that, in order to repulſe the foe, to him "was committed neither ditch nor pale, but the bodies "and arms of men;" he led forth the Legions, like one who would needs encounter the Parthians in battle. But having, as he march'd, loſt a Centurion and a few private men, whom he had ſent forward to view the enemy's forces, he return'd to his camp in great haſt and affright: yet ſeeing VOLOGESES had purſu'd his advantage with no remarkable ardour, PETUS became once more infatuated with vain confidence, and upon the next ſummit of mount Taurus placed three thouſand ſelect infantry, to repulſe the King from paſſing it: he likewiſe committed a particular part of the plain to the troops of Pannonia, which were the ſtrength of his cavalry. His wife and ſon he ſhut up in a caſtle named Arſamoſata, and for garriſoning the caſtle, gave them a band of five hundred men. With ſuch temerity did he ſeparate and diſperſe his army; who, had they been in a body, might with more ſpirit and vigour have ſuſtain'd the ſhock of a roving and inconſtant enemy: nay, it is ſaid, that he was with great difficulty induced to tranſmit to CORBULO any account of the enemy's terrible approach, and of his own diſtreſs. Neither did CORBULO, upon the news, make much diſpatch, that the more the danger encreas'd, the greater praiſe he might reap from bringing relief. He gave orders however to make ready a body of ſuccours conſiſting of three thouſand Legionary ſoldiers (one from each of the three Legions) of eight hundred horſe, and an equal number of foot detach'd from the Cohorts.

For VOLOGESES; tho' he was adviſ'd, that PETUS beſet the roads on every hand, here with his infantry, there with his horſe; yet he no wiſe varied his deſign or his march, but, with a violent onſet and oſtentation of terrors, quite diſmay'd and drove away the Pannonian troops; the Legionary foot poſted upon Taurus he utterly overthrew; and found reſiſtance from one Centurion only; namely, TARQUITIUS CRESCENS, who had the ſingular bravery to defend a tower, in which he kept garriſon: he even made frequent ſallies, and ſuch of the Barbarians who ventured to approach he ſlew, till at laſt he was aſſaulted and overwhelm'd by volleys of flaming matter: ſuch of the infantry as eſcap'd unhurt, betook themſelves to wild and remote deſerts; and the wounded recover'd the camp: there they publiſh'd "the ſignal bravery "of the Parthian King, the multitudes and barbarity of "the ſeveral nations his followers;" and, through the impulſe and perſuaſion of their own fears, magnified exceſſively whatever inſpir'd them: all which was ſwallow'd with ready credulity by the reſt, who were themſelves poſſeſs'd with the ſame terrors. Nor in truth did the General make any efforts to repel this torrent of adverſity: he had already deſerted all the duties of a Captain and every function of war, and again diſpatch'd more entreaties to CORBULO, "to come with ſpeed and ſave the "Roman Enſigns, and Eagles; to ſave the name and re"mains of an unhappy army, who with himſelf their "leader, would while their lives remain'd, honour their "deliverer with perfect faith and gratitude."

CORBULO was no wiſe daunted; but, leaving part of his forces in Syria to maintain the poſts which he had fortified upon the Euphrates; began the ſhorteſt rout, where no hazard was incurr'd of lacking proviſions; firſt through

Comagena, then through Cappadocia, and thence into Armenia. There accompanied his army, beſides other implements uſual in war, a huge train of camels loaded with grain, that he might be able to relieve the diſtreſs'd camp effectually, and repel famine as well as the foe. The firſt that he met of thoſe who were routed, was PACTIUS a Centurion of principal rank: after him came ſeveral common ſoldiers, who, while they ſtrove to cover the ſhame of their flight, each by a different excuſe, were by CORBULO admoniſh'd, "to return to their colours, and try "the mercy of PETUS: for his particular, he own'd him- "ſelf implacable to all who in battle came not off vic- "torious." At the ſame time he addreſs'd himſelf to his own Legions, from rank to rank, perſuading, exhorting and admoniſhing: he reminded them of their exploits and victories paſt, and to their preſent view exhibited a freſh harveſt of glory: ſince "it was not the villages and "cities of the Armenians that they were now in purſuit "of, as the recompence of their meritorious labours: they "were purſuing a prize more noble, even the ſaving of "the Roman Camp, and in it two Roman Legions: if "every private ſoldier was, for ſaving in battle the ſingle "life of a citizen, to be diſtinguiſh'd with the luſtre of "a Civick Crown publickly preſented by the hand of his "General; how much more ſignal and extenſive muſt "be the renown, when the lives preſerv'd, and they who "preſerve them, were thus equally numerous?" By theſe and the like ſtimulations, they became fir'd with alacrity for the common cauſe; beſides, that there were thoſe who were prompted by perſonal incitements, by the diſtreſſes and dangers in which their brothers, or their companions and kinſmen, were involv'd: ſo that from this warm zeal they ſped their march night and day, without intermiſſion.

HENCE the more vehemently did VOLOGESES preſs the beſieg'd; now aſſaulting the entrenchment of the Legions, then the caſtle in which were guarded thoſe who from the tenderneſs of their ſex and years were unfit for the roughneſs and toils of war; and puſh'd theſe his aſſaults much more cloſely than was uſual to the Parthians; in hopes by ſuch deſign'd temerity to tempt out the enemy to a battle. But they, with all theſe inſults, could ſcarce be dragg'd out of their tents: at moſt, they only endeavour'd to maintain their works; part of them in this, ſubmitting to the orders and reſtrictions of their General, and others reſign'd to their own cowardice; as men who ſtupidly waited for deliverance from CORBULO: or if the power of the aſſailants in the mean while prevail'd, they had already provided themſelves with examples to follow, namely, the behaviour of two old Roman armies overthrown, one at Caudium in Italy, the other at Numantium in Spain: " for that, neither were the Samnites (a ſingle " Italian ſtate) nor were the Spaniards, either of them " maſters of forces comparable to thoſe of the Parthians, " a mighty Empire, rival with that of Rome! nay thoſe " ſame venerable ancients, ſo very brave and ſtubborn, " and ſo much extoll'd, as often as fortune forſook them, " were ever ſupple enough to conſult ſelf preſervation." By the temper of the army, thus abandon'd to deſpair, the General was conſtrain'd to write to VOLOGESES: yet, the firſt letter he ſent contain'd nothing of ſupplicancy or abaſement, but was conceiv'd in a ſtrain of expoſtulation and complaint, " that for the Kingdom of Armenia he " ſhould thus exerciſe the violences of enmity and war, " a country ever ſubject to the Roman juriſdiction, or to " a King appointed by the Emperor of Rome. Peace " was in truth alike advantageous to the Parthians and " to the Romans: neither ought he to view only the " preſent ſituation of things; but remember that againſt " two Legions he was come at the head of the whole " power of his Kingdom, while to the Romans remain'd, " for the ſupport of the war, all the reſt of the globe."

VOLOGESES, without entering at all into the merit of the war; in anſwer to the repreſentation, wrote back, " that he muſt wait the coming of his brothers, PACORUS and TIRIDATES: to them was reſerv'd the appointment of a place and time for adjuſting ſuch meaſures concerning Armenia, as became their own high " character, and the grandeur of the Arſacides; at the ſame " time too, they would determine how to deal with the " Roman Legions." PETUS again diſpatch'd a meſſage, and deſir'd a conference with the King; who, in his own ſtead, deputed VASACES, his General of horſe. At this interview PETUS urg'd examples, and repreſented "ſuch "Roman Captains as LUCULLUS and POMPEY, and ſince "ſome of the Ceſars, acquiring and beſtowing the Realm "of Armenia." VASACES alledg'd, "that indeed the "name and ſhadow of holding and conferring it, reſted "in us Romans; but in the Parthians the eſſential power." After much mutual conteſtation, MONOBAZUS the Adiabenian was the next day join'd with them, as a witneſs to their ſtipulations: and it was between them agreed, "that "the Legions ſhould be releas'd from the leguer; all the "Roman troops utterly depart the territories of Armenia; "all their fortreſſes and ſtores be deliver'd up to the "Parthians; and after complete performance of theſe "conceſſions, VOLOGESES ſhould have free privilege to "ſend Embaſſadors to NERO."

IN the mean time, PETUS laid a bridge over the river Arſanias, which flow'd along his camp; under pretext of his preparing to march off that way: but it was, in reality, a work enjoin'd him by the Parthians, as a monument and confeſſion of their victory; for to them only it was of uſe: our men took a different rout. All this diſgrace was heighten'd by publick rumour, which added, that "the Legions had paſs'd like captives under a yoke in "form of a gallows;" with many other diſaſtrous circumſtances, ſuch as are wont to accompany diſtreſs. And it is true, that of ſuch ignominious treatment ſome ſemblance was adminiſter'd by the inſulting behaviour of the Armenians; who, before the Roman army was yet diſcamp'd, enter'd their works, beſet all the avenues and thoroughfares, ſingled out their own captive ſlaves, diſtinguiſh'd their loſt beaſts, and reſcu'd both: they even ſtripp'd the Romans of their clothes, even ſeiz'd their arms; while the poor ſoldiers only trembled and deliver'd, to cut off all provocation and excuſe of involving them in a battle. VOLOGESES rais'd a pompous heap of all the arms and bodies of the ſlain, by it to manifeſt our overthrow; but forbore beholding the ſcandalous flight of the Legions: from hence he aim'd at acquiring the applauſe of moderation, when he had juſt before glutted his pride. He paſs'd the river Arſanias mounted upon an elephant;

as did all that were near the King in blood or favour, by the vigour of their horſes. For, a report had ſpread that the bridge, by the fraud of the builders, would certainly ſink under any conſiderable preſſure: tho' they who ventur'd over it, experienced it to be a ſtrong and faithful fabrick.

For the reſt; it was notorious that the beleguer'd army were to the laſt provided with ſuch abundant ſupplies of grain, that they even ſet fire to their ſtore-houſes. And it was by CORBULO recounted, "that the Parthians, "on the contrary, were ſo deſtitute of proviſions, and "their forage ſo entirely conſum'd, that they were about to "have forſaken the leguer; neither was he himſelf above "three days march diſtant with his forces." He even added, "that PETUS covenanted, under the tye of an oath "ſolemnly taken under the ſacred Eagles, in the pre"ſence of thoſe whom the King had ſent to witneſs it; "that no Roman ſhould enter Armenia till by the arrival "of letters from NERO, it were known whether he conſent"ed to the peace." But tho' ſuch imputations as theſe were to paſs only for infamy aggravated, yet the ſubſequent conduct of PETUS and his army is liable to no ambiguity; that in one day they travell'd the ſpace of forty miles; that the wounded were every where dropp'd and forſaken, and that no leſs infamous was the flight and diſmay of thoſe fugitives, than if they had turn'd their backs and run in the day of battle. Upon the banks of the Euphrates CORBULO with his forces met them; but without ſuch a diſplay of flying colours and glittering arms as might ſeem to upbraid their different and melancholy plight. Sorrowful were his ſeveral bands, and in tender commiſeration for the heavy lot of their fellow ſoldiers, could not refrain a flood of tears: ſcarce were they able to exchange their ſalutations for weeping: all competition about ſuperiour bravery and exploits was vaniſh'd, as well as all unſociable ambition of glory; the paſſions theſe of happy and proſperous men! compaſſion only prevail'd, and the lower the men the ſtronger their compaſſion.

Between the two leaders there follow'd a brief conference, CORBULO lamenting, "that ſo much travel had

“ been fruitleſsly beſtow’d, and defeated; when the war “ might have been finiſh’d with the utter flight of the “ Parthians.” The other replied, “ that the affairs of “ Armenia remain’d perfectly as they were. Let us, ſaid “ he, turn about our Eagles and invade it in concert; “ enfeebled as it is by the departure of VOLOGESES.” CORBULO alledg’d, “ that from the Emperor he had no “ ſuch orders: he had already paſs’d out of his Province, “ from no other inducement than to deliver the diſtreſs’d “ Legions; and as it was altogether uncertain where the “ next efforts of the Parthians would fall, he would “ retire back into Syria: and even thus they had cauſe “ to invoke the Deity of happy fortune, that the foot “ which were ſo miſerably ſpent with great marches, might “ be able to come up with the Parthians horſe, which “ were altogether freſh and untir’d, and in travelling eaſily “ over thoſe ſmooth plains, were ſure to out-march them.” PETUS therefore withdrew to Cappadocia, and there winter’d. But to CORBULO a meſſage arriv’d from VOLOGESES, “ to withdraw his ſeveral garriſons from beyond “ the Euphrates, and let the river remain as formerly the “ common boundary.” CORBULO too inſiſted, “ that “ all the Parthian garriſons ſhould evacuate Armenia.” And at laſt the King complied. Moreover, all the fortifications rais’d by CORBULO on the other ſide Euphrates, were demoliſh’d; and by both the King and CORBULO the Armenians were left to their own diſpoſal and controulment.

BUT, at Rome the while, they were erecting trophies of victory over the Parthians, and raiſing triumphal arches upon the mount of the Capitol: ſolemnities decreed by the Senate while the war was yet in its height, nor even now diſcontinued, as popular ſhew and empty appearances were only ſtudied, in defiance of conviction and fact. Nay NERO, in order to diſguiſe effectually all ſollicitude from affairs abroad, order’d the ſtores of grain, which from time to time was diſtributed amongſt the populace, but now corrupted with ſtaleneſs and keeping, to be thrown into the Tiber; in oſtentation of the publick ſecurity and plenty of proviſions: it is certain their price became nothing rais’d, notwithſtanding that almoſt two hundred

veſſels

veſſels thus loaded, were by a violent ſtorm ſunk in the very harbour; and a hundred more already arriv'd in the Tiber, were conſum'd by an accidental fire. Thereafter he committed the direction of the publick revenue to three Senators of Conſular dignity, LUCIUS PISO, DUCENNIUS GEMINUS, and POMPEIUS PAULLINUS; inveighing againſt the Princes his anceſtors, "for that, through "the profuſeneſs of their expence and disburſements, they "had exceeded their annual receipts: whereas by himſelf "the Commonwealth was yearly preſented with more than "a million of crowns."

THERE prevail'd in thoſe days a peſtilent abuſe, practis'd by men ambitious and childleſs; who, whenever the election of Magiſtrates, or the allotment of Provinces, was at hand, provided themſelves with ſons by fraudulent adoptions: then when in common with real fathers they had obtain'd Pretorſhips and provincial Governments, they inſtantly diſmiſs'd ſuch as they had occaſionally adopted. Hence thoſe who were genuine fathers, betook themſelves with mighty indignation to the Senate: there they repreſented their own "inherent right from nature; their many toils "and paternal cares beſtow'd in education and rearing, "in oppoſition to the fraud, ſelfiſh devices, and facility "of theſe adoptions haſtily made and ſuddenly diſſolv'd: "to ſuch as were childleſs, it was abundant compenſation, "that with much ſecurity, and exempt from all "anxiety and charge, they could arrive at publick diſtinction, "and honours, and find every advantage in the "ſtate eaſy and open to their wiſhes. For themſelves; the "preference and advantages enſur'd to them by the law, "and by them tediouſly expected, vaniſh'd in diſappointment "and mockery, while every man had it in his option "to become a parent without parental tenderneſs "and ſollicitude, and fatherleſs again without the lamentation "and anguiſh of a parent; and thus by the colluſive "ceremony of a moment, arriv'd at equal emoluments "with natural fathers, by themſelves ſo long purſu'd." This produc'd a decree of Senate, "that in "the purſuit of any publick employment whatſover, no "feign'd adoptions ſhould have influence, nor yet avail "in claiming eſtates by will."

WHAT follow'd was the accuſation and trial of CLAUDIUS TIMARCHUS of Crete, who, beſides other exceſſes common to the Grandees of all provinces, elated with over-grown wealth, and thence wantonly prompted to domineer over their inferiors, had utter'd an expreſſion, which imported great ſcandal and contumely to the Senate: he had often declar'd, that in his power it lay, whether the "Proconſuls who had obtain'd the government of Crete, "ſhould for their adminiſtration receive the publick "thanks." An occaſion this which PETUS THRASEA ſought to improve to the benefit of the publick; ſo that, after he had deliver'd his vote, namely, "that the accus'd "ſhould be exterminated Crete," he added the following ſpeech: "it is a truth confirm'd by conſtant ex-"perience, Conſcript Fathers, that renown'd laws and "wholſome precedents are by upright patriots deriv'd "from the tranſgreſſions and delinquency of others: thus "was the Cincian law produced by the licentious beha-"viour of the Orators; the Julian ordinances by the am-"bitious caballings and efforts of the candidates for pub-"lick preferments: and the inſtitutions of CALPURNIUS "the Tribune, by the avarice and rapine of the Magi-"ſtrates. For guilt is ever antecedent to puniſhment; and "later than the offence comes the correction. In order "therefore to quell this freſh inſolence of the Provincials, "let us take meaſures at once worthy of the good faith, "and of the magnanimity of the Romans, ſuch as may "no wiſe enfringe the protection due to our confederates, "nor yet leave room for any Roman to depend for his eſti-"mation upon other judgment than that of his fellow "citizens. Of old indeed, not Pretors and Conſuls only, and "men in office, were ſent into the Provinces; but pri-"vate perſons inveſted with no magiſtracy, were alſo "ſent, to inſpect the ſtate of thoſe Provinces in general, "and to report what they judg'd meet concerning the "civil conformity and obſervance of every particular; and "by the judgment of ſingle inſpectors nations were aw'd. "But now we court foreigners, and flatter them; and "as at the beck of ſome one of them thanks are decreed "to our Magiſtrates; ſo from the ſame motive, but with "more facility, is their accuſation decreed: nay let ſuch

" accuſations be ſtill decreed; to the Provincials let there " always continue a privilege of making, in ſuch inſtances, " an oſtentation of their power: but for their falſe and " groundleſs applauſe, their commendations extorted by " importunity and prayers; let theſe be diſcourag'd and " reſtrain'd with the ſame rigour as the efforts of malice, " as the ravages of cruelty. Into heavier defaults we often fall, while we labour to oblige, than when we are " not afraid to offend. Nay there are even certain virtues which are ſubject to popular hate; ſuch as a ſtrict " ſeverity never to be ſhaken, and a ſoul impregnable " againſt all the efforts of inſinuation and courtſhip. " Hence it is that the adminiſtration of our Magiſtrates " abroad, is generally beſt at the beginning, but relaxes " in the cloſe; while in the ſubmiſſive manner of candidates for honours at home, we ſollicit favourable ſuffrages from the Provincials. Now if this deprav'd cuſtom be effectually ſuppreſs'd, the Provinces will be " rul'd with more impartiality, with greater firmneſs and " reſolution: for, as by the terror of the law againſt extortion and rapine, the force of avarice in the governors is broken; ſo by aboliſhing the uſage of giving " them publick thanks, is to be reſtrain'd the court and " condeſcenſion by them paid to the Provinces."

GREAT was the applauſe and univerſal the aſſent, that accompanied this propoſition from THRASEA, which yet could not be reduced into a decree, ſince the Conſuls inſiſted that the ſame was a matter foreign from the queſtion firſt mov'd. But afterwards, at the motion of the Prince, it was ordain'd, "that to the general council of " the Provinces no man ſhould have leave to propoſe a " deputation to the Senate for publick thanks to any Pretorian or Proconſular Governor whatſoever; and that " no man ſhould be allow'd to execute ſuch a deputation." During the ſame Conſuls, the Athletick Academy was by a blaſt of lightning burnt to ruines; and in it the brazen ſtatue of NERO melted to a ſhapeleſs maſs. In Campania too, the noble city which from POMPEY takes its name, was in a great meaſure overturn'd by an earthquake; and this year died LELIA the Veſtal virgin, into whoſe place was aſſum'd CORNELIA, of the Coſſian family.

In the Conſulſhip of MEMMIUS REGULUS and VERGINIUS RUFUS, a daughter was by POPPEA born to NERO, and fill'd him with more than mortal joy: inſomuch, that he nam'd her *Auguſta*, and upon POPPEA conferr'd the ſame title. The place of her birth was the Colony of Antium; a place where he himſelf was born: the Senate had before to the Gods ſolemnly recommended the pregnant womb of POPPEA, and for her delivery, undertaken publick vows: now many more were added, and the whole amply fulfilled: days of devotion and proceſſions were alſo ſubjoin'd; a Temple was decreed to "Fecundity, "and Athletick ſports in imitation of thoſe which were "peculiar to Antium; that in the throne of Jupiter "Capitolinus ſhould be placed golden images of the "Fortunes; and that at Antium, in honour to the Claudian and Domitian families, Circenſian games ſhould "be celebrated; as at the ſuburbs Bovillæ they were in "diſtinction to the Julian race." But all theſe prov'd ſhort and fleeting memorials; for within four months the infant expir'd: from whence aroſe freſh ſallies of flattery; ſince to her, deification was voted with "divine "worſhip, a tabernacle, chapel, and prieſt." For the Emperor's particular; as he had rejoiced, ſo he ſorrowed, beyond all meaſure. It was a particular univerſally obſerv'd, that when juſt upon the delivery of POPPEA, the Senate in a body flock'd with congratulations to Antium, THRASEA was by NERO reſtrain'd from accompanying them; a contumely which, tho' it foreboded his impending deſtruction, he yet receiv'd with a ſpirit perfectly calm and undiſmayed. It was reported that NERO afterwards vaunted to SENECA his own clemency and reconciliation to THRASEA; and that to NERO in return SENECA expreſs'd his gladneſs and thanks. Hence freſh glory accrued to theſe illuſtrious patriots; and by their additional renown was increas'd their obnoxiouſneſs and danger.

DURING theſe tranſactions, there arriv'd in the beginning of ſpring, Embaſſadors from the Parthians, charg'd with overtures from VOLOGESES their King, and with letters of the like import; that he now voluntarily relinquiſh'd "all his former meaſures ſo long purſued and "ſo much conteſted, about the enjoyment of Armenia,

" ſince the Gods, tho' they were the ſovereign arbitra-
" tor between potent ſtates, and had yielded the poſſeſ-
" ſion of that Kingdom to the Parthians, yet had ſo
" yielded it, that from this acquiſition of theirs, ignominy
" devolv'd upon the Romans: he had lately held TI-
" GRANES block'd up in a ſiege, and next PETUS and
" the Legions; and when it was in his power to have
" ſubjected them all to captivity and the ſword, it was
" his choice to diſmiſs them free and unhurt: ſufficiently
" had he diſplay'd the irreſiſtibleneſs of his forces, and ex-
" hibited too a glaring proof of his meekneſs and mode-
" ration: neither would his brother TIRIDATES refuſe
" coming to Rome, there to receive the Armenian dia-
" dem; but that as he was a Magian, the religious laws
" of his Prieſthood with-held him: he was ready how-
" ever to addreſs himſelf to the Roman Enſigns, and to
" the Images of CESAR, and there in preſence of the
" Legions, receive the ſolemn inveſtiture of the King-
" dom."

WHEN theſe letters of VOLOGESES were read, ſo oppoſite to the account tranſmitted by PETUS, as if things remain'd entirely in the ſame ſituation; the Centurion, who had arriv'd with the Embaſſadors, was ask'd, " in " what condition ſtood the Kingdom of Armenia?" he anſwer'd that, " out of it all the Romans were to a man " withdrawn;" and as hence was underſtood the ſcorn offer'd by the Barbarians, who by a mock embaſſy were ſuing for a country, which they had already ſeiz'd, NERO held a conſultation with the principal Grandees, whether to engage in a perilous and uncertain war, or prefer an infamous peace: nor was there any heſitation in reſolving upon war; and to CORBULO, who by the experience of ſo many years, knew both the ſoldiery and the enemy, the ſupreme command was committed, leſt through the temerity and unskilfulneſs of any other, more faults and diſgrace might be incurr'd: for, of PETUS and his conduct they were ſorely aſham'd. The Embaſſadors were therefore diſmiſs'd unſucceſsful, but diſtinguiſh'd with preſents; thence to raiſe hopes that, were TIRIDATES in perſon to bring his own ſupplications, he would not ſupplicate in vain. To SESTIUS was given the adminiſtration of Syria;

and to CORBULO were granted all the military forces; which were alſo increaſed by the addition of the fifteenth Legion, led by MARIUS CELSUS from Pannonia: directions were likewiſe written to the Kings and Tetrarchs in the Eaſt, to the Deputies and Superintendents, and to the ſeveral Propretors who rul'd the neighbouring Provinces; "to "pay entire obedience to the orders of CORBULO;" who was thus truſted with much the ſame extenſive and unlimited authority, which the Roman people had conferr'd upon POMPEY in his expedition againſt the Pirates. Upon the return of PETUS to Rome, while he was dreading a more rigorous treatment, NERO deem'd it ſufficient to laſh him with ſarcaſtical railleries, in ſuch language as this: "I pardon you, ſaid he, and I do it inſtantly; leſt, "poſſeſs'd as you are with that ſtrange propenſity to be "frighten'd, you might ſicken and pine away were your "anxiety ever ſo little protracted."

NOW when CORBULO had remov'd into Syria the fourth and twelfth Legions, which from the loſs of all their braveſt men, and the abject conſternation of the reſt, were judg'd little qualified for feats of war; he drew from that Province the ſixth Legion and the third, a body of men freſh and undiminiſh'd, harden'd by variety of military toils, and accuſtom'd to proſperous exploits; and led them to Armenia. To them he likewiſe added the fifth, which being quarter'd in Pontus had wholly eſcap'd the late defeat. Moreover the ſoldiers of the fifteenth Legion lately arriv'd, and ſome choſen bands from Illyrium and Egypt, with all the auxiliary troops of horſe and companies of foot, as alſo the ſuccours from the confederate Kings, were drawn together at Melitene, as from thence he had concerted their paſſing the Euphrates. He then purified the army by the uſual ſolemnity of Luſtration, and in a ſtated aſſembly animated them with a ſpeech: in it he made a glorious diſplay "of the "auſpicious ſway of Imperial Rome, the invincible for- "tune of CESAR; of the ſignal victories and exploits by "himſelf atchiev'd;" and upon the inſufficiency and ſimple conduct of PETUS he caſt "whatever contumelies or "diſaſters had been ſuſtain'd." Theſe things he deliver'd with great ſpirit and authority; which in a military man like him carried all the purpoſes and force of eloquence.

He took next the ſame rout which of old was paſs'd by LUCULLUS, having remov'd whatever impediments, in ſo long a courſe of years, had clos'd up the way: neither did he diſcountenance the Embaſſadors, who were approaching from TIRIDATES and VOLOGESES, with overtures of peace; but to confer with them, appointed certain Centurions, whom he furniſh'd with inſtructions no wiſe harſh nor ſhocking; namely, "that as yet the conteſt was "not riſen to ſuch violent height as that nothing could "determine it, but the ultimate deciſion of the ſword. "The Roman arms had in many inſtances been proſperous, in ſome the Parthian: and from ſuch mutability "in the fortune of both, might be drawn a ceſſion againſt "arrogance and preſumption in either. It moreover concern'd the particular intereſt of TIRIDATES to poſſeſs a "Kingdom untouch'd by devaſtation and the ravages of "war, as he might, would he accept the ſame as the "gift of the Romans: more ſubſtantially too would VOLOGESES ſtudy the advantage of the people of Parthia by an alliance with the Romans, than by involving them both in mutual damages and miſchief: it "was well known what terrible diſſention and revolts "were even then rending the bowels of his Monarchy; "how exceeding fierce and unruly were the ſeveral nations which he govern'd. To the Roman Emperor, "on the contrary, there continued in all his dominions a "ſteady and inviolable peace, and only the weight of "that ſingle war." To enforce this his pacifick reaſoning and counſel, he immediately ſubjoin'd the terrors of the ſword; drove from their ſeats the Grandees of Armenia, who were the firſt revolters from us, raz'd their caſtles; and fill'd with equal diſmay the inhabitants of the ſteep mountains and thoſe of the vales, the warriors, and the unwarlike.

The name of CORBULO was held in no diſtaſte or averſion, much leſs in hoſtile hate and horror, even amongſt the Barbarians: hence they believ'd his counſel ſincere, and worthy to be truſted: VOLOGESES therefore, who was never violent for a general war with the Romans, now ſought a truce and neutrality for certain of his Governments. TIRIDATES demanded a day and place for a conference; and a time near at hand was appointed: for the place, as the Barbarians choſe that where they had lately beſieg'd PETUS and the Legions, from a fond remembrance of their more propitious atchievements there; the ſame was not declin'd by CORBULO, that from the different face of his own fortune, his glory might be augmented: yet neither ſuffer'd he the diſgrace of PETUS there to be blacken'd with any freſh acrimony; a tenderneſs which was chiefly manifeſt from hence, that he order'd the ſon of PETUS, who was his own Tribune, to march at the head of ſome companies and commit to ſepulchres the ghoſtly remains of that unfortunate field. Upon the day ſtipulated, TIBERIUS ALEXANDER an illuſtrious Roman Knight, one ſent with CORBULO as an aſſiſtant and inſpector, in the meaſures of the war; and with him, VIVIANUS ANNIUS ſon-in-law to CORBULO, one under the age of a Senator, but ſet over the fifth Legion in the room of its own Commander; enter'd together into the camp of TIRIDATES, as a complement of honour, and that poſſeſs'd of ſuch hoſtages, he might fear no guile. Then the King and the General took each twenty horſe and proceeded to the interview; at the ſight of CORBULO, the King leap'd firſt from his horſe, nor was CORBULO ſlow to return the courteſy; and both on foot interchang'd their right hand.

THENCE the Roman Captain proceeded to applaud the young Prince, "that renouncing all wilful and deſperate meaſures, he had wiſely adopted ſuch as were "wholſome and ſecure." TIRIDATES, after a long previous diſplay "of the nobleneſs and ſplendor of his race," purſued the reſt of his diſcourſe with ſufficient modeſty and condeſcenſion; "that he would travel to Rome and "preſent a new ſubject of glory to CESAR; a Prince of "the Arſacides his ſupplicant, at a ſeaſon when no cir"cumſtance of diſtreſs impair'd or perplex'd the affairs "of Parthia." It was then agreed that before the image of CESAR he ſhould reſign the Royal Diadem, never to reſume it more except from the hand of NERO; and ſo ended the conference with a mutual kiſs. Then after an interval of a few days, the two armies met with mighty pomp and oſtentation on both ſides: there ſtood the Parthian horſe, rang'd into troops, and diſtinguiſh'd by the ſtandards of their ſeveral nations; here were poſted the battalions of the Legions, their Eagles glittering, their Enſigns diſplay'd, with the figures of the deified Emperors exhibited like Deities in a Temple. In the center was placed a tribunal, which ſupported a chair of ſtate, as did the chair a ſtatue of NERO: to this TIRIDATES approach'd, and having, according to form, ſlain certain victims, pull'd the Diadem from his head and laid it at the feet of the Statue. Great upon this occaſion were the emotions in the minds of all men; and the greater as they had ſtill before their eyes the late overthrow, at leaſt the late ſiege of the Roman armies: “ but now, intirely inverted were the blind operations of fortune: TIRIDATES was departing for Rome, expos'd in oſtentation as a ſpectacle to the nations, under a character how little below that of a captive?”

Corbulo to all his glory added actions of complaiſance and a ſumptuous banquet; during which the King, as often as any uſage of ours occurr'd, which was new to him, was frequent in his enquiries what the ſame might mean; why a Centurion advertis'd the General, when the watch was firſt ſet? why, when meals were ended the trumpet ſounded? why the fuel upon the altar rear'd before the Augural port, was kindled with a torch? all which CORBULO explain'd, and magnifying the ſame beyond juſt bounds, ſtruck him with admiration of the venerable old inſtitutions of the Romans. The next day, TIRIDATES beſought “ ſo much time, before he undertook ſo long a journey, as might ſuffice to viſit his brothers and his mother;” and, for an hoſtage, deliver'd up his daughter, and writ a ſupplicant letter to NERO.

Thus he departed, and found PACORUS in Media, and at Ecbatana VOLOGESES, who in truth was far from neglecting the concerns of this his brother: for, by a ſpecial embaſſy he had deſired of CORBULO, “ that TIRIDATES might bear no mark or viſible ſemblance of ſlavery; nor be oblig'd to ſurrender his ſword, nor be

" debarr'd from the diſtinction of embracing the Governors of Provinces; nor ſtand waiting at their gates " for admittance; and, that in Rome, the ſame honour " ſhould be paid him as to the Conſuls was paid." In truth, that Prince, inur'd to the pride and loftineſs which prevails among foreigners, was a ſtranger to the temper and maxims of us Romans, who value only the eſſence and ſinews of Empire, and eaſily overlook the ſhadows and empty forms.

THE ſame year, CESAR conferr'd upon thoſe nations of the Alps who inhabit the ſea coaſt, the rights and immunities of Latium: to the Roman Knights he aſſign'd places in the Circus before the ſeats of the populace: for, till that time they ſat there without diſcrimination; ſince the ſanctions of the Roſcian law were only confin'd to the fourteen rows in the Theatre. On this year too was exhibited a combat of Gladiators equally magnificent with the former; but many Ladies of illuſtrious quality, and many Senators enter'd the liſts, and infamouſly contaminated themſelves.

IN the Conſulſhip of CAIUS LECANIUS and MARCUS LICINIUS, NERO became every day more vehemently tranſported with a paſſion for mounting the publick ſtage, and entertaining the promiſcuous multitude: hitherto he had only ſung in the aſſemblies entituled *Juvenalia*, which were reſtrain'd to particular houſes and gardens; places which he deſpis'd, as not ſufficiently celebrated, and too confin'd for a voice ſo noble and auguſt as his. At Rome however, he dar'd not to begin; he therefore choſe Naples, as a properer ſcene, the ſame being a Greek city, " where it was eligible, he thought, to make his firſt " eſſay and appearance; that paſſing thence over to " Greece, and there having, by victory in ſong, gain'd " the prize-crowns, ever ſo highly renown'd and held ſacred of old, he could not fail of attracting, with height" en'd applauſe, the hearts of the Roman citizens." To this entertainment crowded all the rabble of Neapolitans; with numbers from the neighbouring cities and colonies, excited by the rumour and curioſity of the ſpectacle; beſides ſuch as follow'd the Emperor, either in complement to him or about private affairs of their own: nay with theſe enter'd ſeveral bands of ſoldiers, and all together throng'd the Theatre; where an accident befel, which, in the opinion of many, was ſad and preſaging: but with NERO it paſs'd for a providential event, and betoken'd the immediate tutelage of his guardian Deities: the Theatre, when the audience who fill'd it were retired, tumbled to the ground; but as not a ſoul was in it, none were hurt by its ruins. For this deliverance NERO celebrated the benignity of the Gods in ſongs of thankſgiving purpoſely compoſed; as alſo the ſtory and deſcription of the recent contingency: then in his rout to paſs the Adriatick, he reſted a while at Beneventum, where by VATINIUS was preſented a ſplendid ſhew of Gladiators. This VATINIUS was one of the many baleful monſters that haunted the court, and one of the formoſt; originally bred in a ſhoemaker's ſtall; in his perſon hideous and diſtorted; addicted to ſneering and drollery, and at firſt admitted merely as a buffoon: thence by calumny, and lying accuſations againſt every worthy man, he had arriv'd to ſuch high conſideration, that in favour, in opulence, and in power to injure and deſtroy, he even ſurpaſs'd the other implements of miſchief.

NERO, during the courſe of this ſolemnity, tho' he attended it aſſiduouſly, forbore not however, even in the midſt of his diverſion and pleaſures, he forbore not to purſue feats of tyranny and blood: ſince, in thoſe very days of feſtivity, was TORQUATUS SILANUS forc'd to die; for that, beſides the ancient obnoxious ſplendor of the Junian family, he was great grandſon to the deified AUGUSTUS. Againſt him the accuſers had orders to object, "his great prodigality, his extravagant bounties; and "that other reſſource and views he had none, ſave only "in a publick revolution. Nay, ſuch already was his "affectation of ſtate, that about him he kept men with "the ſtile of principal Secretaries, of Chancellors, of Trea-"ſurers; names and offices of Imperial grandeur, which "he thus aſpir'd to, and even perſonated." Immediately, all his freedmen, in any degree of intimacy with their maſter, were caſt into bonds, and hurried to the dungeon. TORQUATUS, ſeeing his impending condemnation, open'd the veins of both his arms, and expir'd:

an event which was follow'd, according to cuſtom, with a ſpeech from NERO; "that however guilty the criminal had been; how juſtly ſoever he had deſpair'd of "acquitting himſelf by any defence; his life had ſtill "been ſpar'd, had he ſtaid for the clemency of his "Judge."

NERO, having deferr'd his voyage to Greece, for reaſons which were not known, ſoon after re-viſited Rome, his head boiling with ſecret imaginations about ſhewing himſelf to the Provinces in the Eaſt, eſpecially to Egypt: at laſt this project became the ſubject of a publick edict: in it he declar'd, that "his abſence would not be of long "continuance; and the Commonwealth, in all its parts, "would continue the while in the ſame perfect quiet "and proſperity;" and then for the ſucceſs of that journey, betook himſelf in devotion to the Capitol. While he was there, paying his oblations to the ſeveral Deities, as he enter'd amongſt others, into the Temple of Veſta, he became ſeiz'd with a ſudden and prevailing horror, which ſhook him in every joint: whether it were that the aſpect and awe of the Goddeſs ſtruck him with diſmay; or whether, from being eternally haunted by the hideous remembrance of his foulneſs and crimes, he was thence never a moment deſtitute of the pangs and impreſſions of fear: it is certain ſuch was his conſternation, that he dropp'd his project; making many aſſeverations, "that lighter with him were all his gratifications and pur"ſuits than his paſſion for his Country: he had ſeen the "ſorrowful looks of the Roman citizens; he ſtill heard "their ſecret ſighs and complainings, that he would ven"ture upon ſuch mighty travels, when in truth they could "never bear with patience even his ſhorteſt excurſions "from Rome; accuſtom'd as they were to be hearten'd "and reviv'd under all diſaſters, by the joyful ſight of the "Prince. Hence it was that, as in the inſtance of private "conſanguinities and friendſhip, deareſt in affection were "the neareſt in blood; ſo over himſelf above all con"ſiderations avail'd that of the Roman people; and when "they would thus retain him, it behov'd him to obey." Theſe and the like declarations of his were well pleaſing to the populace; from their propenſity to the revels and diverſions, which, by his reſidence at Rome, they enjoy'd; and from another motive ever the moſt prevalent of all, the ſcarcity of proviſions apprehended in his abſence. The Senate and Grandees were in ſuſpence whether he were to be eſteem'd a more raging tyrant at Rome, or remote from Rome; and thence, according to the genius of all great and affecting fears, they believ'd that which happen'd, to be the worſt that could happen.

NERO himſelf, in order to beget a popular reputation of delighting, above all places, in Rome, banquetted frequently in the publick places and great ſquares, and us'd the whole city as his own houſe. But, as particularly ſignal for pomp, and luxury, and obſervation, was the feaſt prepar'd by TIGELLINUS; I ſhall here, for an example, recount its order and ſtate, that henceforth I may not be oblig'd to a frequent recital of the like enormous prodigalities. For this purpoſe, he built, in the lake of AGRIPPA, a large veſſel which contain'd the banquet, and was it ſelf drawn by other veſſels with oars: the veſſels were embelliſh'd with diverſified ornaments of gold and ivory, and row'd by bands of Pathicks, who were rang'd according to their ſeniority, and different accompliſhments in the ſcience and variety of monſtrous proſtitutions: from divers regions he had procured variety of wild foul and wild beaſts for veniſon, with ſea fiſh as far as the Ocean: upon the borders and angles of the lake ſtood brothels fill'd with Ladies of illuſtrious rank: over againſt them profeſs'd harlots were expos'd, completely naked: now every where, were beheld obſcene poſtures and agitations, with all the preludes and repreſentations of laſciviouſneſs; and as ſoon as darkneſs ſpread, all the neighbouring groves and circumjacent dwellings, reſounded to each other with the joyful ſymphony of muſick and ſongs, and appear'd all illuminated with a blaze of lights. For NERO's part, he wallow'd in all ſorts of defilements, natural and unnatural: he in truth had then left no kind of abomination untried, which could ſerve to finiſh his vileneſs, had he not, in a few days after, perſonated a woman, and as ſuch been given in marriage, with all the forms and ſolemnity of genuine nuptials, to one of this contaminated herd, a Pathick nam'd

PYTHAGORAS: over the Roman Emperor, as over a bride, was caſt the ſacred nuptial veil; the Augurs were ſeen in form ſolemnizing the eſpouſals, the portion of the bride was openly paid, the bridal bed diſplay'd, the nuptial torches kindled, and, in fine, to view was expos'd all the reſt, which even in natural commerce with women, is ever buried under the ſecret ſhades of night.

THERE follow'd a dreadful calamity; but whether merely fortuitous, or by the execrable contrivance of the Prince, is not determin'd; for both are by authors aſſerted: but of all the evils which ever befel this city by the rage and devaſtations of fire, this was the moſt deſtructive and ſevere. It aroſe in that part of the Circus, which is contiguous to mount Palatine and mount Cœlius; where beginning amongſt ſhops, in which were kept ſuch goods as are proper to feed the fury of fire, it grew inſtantly outragious; and being alſo aided by freſh force from the wind, it devour'd the whole extent of the Circus: for, neither were particular houſes ſecured by any defences or encloſures, nor the Temples inviron'd with walls, and it had nothing to encounter capable of obſtructing its violence; but the flame ſpreading every way, with terrible impetuoſity, invaded firſt the flat regions of the city, then mounted to the higher; and again ravaging the lower, ſuch was its amazing velocity as to fruſtrate all relief, and its havock was felt before any meaſures to oppoſe it could be tried: beſides, the city was obnoxious to conflagrations from the plan and diſpoſition of its building, with long narrow allies, winding like labyrinths to and fro, and ſtreets void of all regularity: ſuch was the ſtructure of old Rome. Add to all this, the ſhrieks and lamentable wailings of women under the agitations of woe and diſmay; the helpleſs condition of the young and tender; that of the aged and infirm, with the confuſion of ſuch as ſtrove only to provide for themſelves, interfering with thoſe who labour'd to aſſiſt others; theſe dragging the weak and unweildy, thoſe waiting for the like help; ſome running, others lingring: from all which various efforts there aroſe only mutual interruption, and univerſal embarraſſment: and while they chiefly regarded the danger that purſu'd them behind, they often found themſelves ſuddenly beſet before, and on every ſide: or if they had firſt eſcap'd into the quarters adjoyning, theſe too were already ſeiz'd by the devouring flames; even the parts which they believ'd quite remote and exempt, were diſcover'd to be under the ſame affecting calamity. At laſt, utterly perplex'd what they had beſt ſhun, or where to ſeek ſanctuary, they fill'd with their multitude the ſtreets and ways, and lay along in the open fields. Some there were who, in deſpair for the loſs of their whole ſubſtance, and even bereft of daily ſuſtenance; others who through ſorrowful tenderneſs for their relations, whom they had not been able to ſnatch from the flames; ſuffer'd themſelves to periſh in them, tho' they had full ſcope and opportunity to eſcape. Neither durſt any man offer to marr the progreſs of the fire: ſuch were the repeated menaces of many who openly forbid all attempts to extinguiſh it; and, as a greater terror, there were others who, in the face of the publick, heighten'd it by volleys of lighted fire-brands; with loud declarations, "that they "had one to authorize them;" whether they only meant it as a device for the more licentious exerciſe of plunder; or, whether in reality they had ſuch orders.

Nero was at that juncture ſojourning at Antium; but never offer'd to return to the city, till he heard that the fire was advancing to that quarter of his houſe which fill'd the ſpace between the Palace and the Gardens of Mecenas: nor, even upon his arrival, could its rage be ſtaid: in ſpight of oppoſition, it devour'd houſe and palace and every thing round about. For the relief however and conſolation of the forlorn people, thus vagabond and bereft of their dwellings, he laid open the field of Mars and all the great edifices erected by AGRIPPA, and call'd his monuments; he even preſented them the uſe of his own Gardens. He likewiſe rear'd haſty tabernacles, for the reception of the deſtitute multitude: from Oſtia too and the neighbouring cities, by his orders, were brought all ſorts of houſhold implements and neceſſaries; and the price of grain reduced to three ſeſterces the meaſure. All which proviſions and bounties of his, however popular and beneficent, were beſtow'd in vain and fruſtrate of any gratitude: becauſe a rumour had flown abroad, "that, dur-

“ ing the very time when Rome was under the fury of “ conſuming flames, he enter'd his domeſtick Theatre, and “ chanted the deſtruction of Troy; likening the preſent “ deſolation to the tragical calamities of antiquity.”

At length, on the ſixth day, the conflagration was ſtay'd at the foot of mount Eſquiline, by levelling with the ground an infinite number of buildings, and making a mighty void; ſo that the raging devaſtation hitherto uninterrupted, might find nothing to encounter but open fields and empty air. Scarce had the late conſternation ceas'd, when a new and no trivial alarm recurr'd: the fire broke out with freſh outrage, but in places more wide and ſpacious; hence fewer lives were deſtroyed: but, more Temples were here overthrown, and more ſumptuous Porticos, ſuch as were appropriated to publick diverſion and feſtivity. This conflagration too was ſubject to the greater meaſure of infamy, for that it roſe in the poſſeſſions of TIGELLINUS, in the Amylian fields: whence it was conjectur'd that NERO was thus aiming at the glory of building a new city, and calling it by his name: for, of the fourteen quarters into which Rome is divided, four were ſtill ſtanding entire, three lay in utter ruines; and, in the ſeven others, there remain'd only here and there a few ſhadows of houſes, miſerably ſhatter'd and half conſum'd.

Easy it were not to recount the number of the houſes, ſquares, palaces, and temples which were loſt: but formoſt in antiquity and primitive rites, were the following edifices; that dedicated by SERVIUS TULLIUS to the Moon; the Temple and great Altar conſecrated by EVANDER the Arcadian to HERCULES then a living Deity, and preſent in perſon; the Chapel vow'd by ROMULUS to Jupiter the Stayer; the Court of Numa, with the Temple of Veſta, and in it the tutelar Gods peculiar to the Romans; all now conſum'd to ruins. In the ſame fate were involv'd the treaſures acquir'd and accumulated by ſo many victories; the beautiful productions of Greek artiſts, ancient writings of Authors celebrated for genius, and till then preſerv'd perfectly entire; which, tho' many of them were ſtill remember'd by aged men, yet even upon the reſtoration of the city with ſuch mighty luſtre and embelliſhments, could never be retriev'd nor ſupplied. There were thoſe who obſerv'd, that on the eighteenth of July the fire began, the ſame day on which the Gauls, call'd Senones, having taken and ſpoil'd the city, burnt it to the ground: others were ſo exact and curious in this calculation, as to reckon the juſt number of years, months and days between the two conflagrations.

For the reſt; NERO appropriated to himſelf the ruins of his native country, and upon them founded a palace; one where profuſion of gold and precious ſtones, rais'd not the chief admiration: theſe were ſtale and uſual ornaments, ſuch as from diffuſive luxury were become long ſince common: but the principal ſurprize and gratification aroſe from beauties purely exterior; ſuch as ſpacious glades, large artificial lakes: and, in imitation of vaſt wilderneſſes, here ſtood thick woods and ſhades; there lay ample lawns, avenues, and open views. The projectors and comptrollers of this plan, were SEVERUS and CELER, two men of ſuch temerity and enterprizing talents, as to attempt to remove by art the everlaſting obſtacles of nature, wantonly to miſpend the treaſures of the Prince, and to baffle, in vain experiments, all his power: they had even undertaken to ſink a navigable canal from the lake Avernus to the mouth of the Tiber, over a dry and deſert ſhore, or through ſteep intervening mountains: nor all that way, could they have encounter'd any ſource of moiſture for ſupplying water, ſave only the marſh Pomptina: the reſt was every where a ſucceſſion of rocks, or a ſoil perch'd and untractable: or, had it even been poſſible to have broke through all obſtruction; intolerable had been the toil, and the end incompetent. NERO however, zealous for atchieving feats which were deem'd incredible, exerted all his might to perforate the mountains adjoining to Avernus: and to this day remain the traces of his romantick and abortive ambition.

The remainder of the old foundations, which his own court cover'd not, was aſſign'd for houſes: nor were theſe placed, as after 'twas burnt by the Gauls, at random and ſtragling; but the ſtreets were delineated regularly, ſpacious and ſtreight; the height of the buildings was reſtrain'd to a certain ſtandard; the courts were widen'd;

and, to all the great houſes which ſtood by themſelves, for ſecuring their fronts, large Porticos were added: theſe Porticos NERO engag'd to rear at his own expence, and then to deliver to each proprietor the ſquares about them, diſcharg'd of all rubbiſh. He moreover aſſign'd donatives proportion'd to every man's rank and ſubſtance; and ſet a day for payment, on condition that againſt that day their ſeveral houſes or palaces were finiſh'd: he appointed the marſhes of Oſtia for a receptacle of the ruins, and that with theſe the veſſels, which had convey'd grain up the Tiber, ſhould return laden back; that the new buildings ſhould be rais'd to a certain height from the foundation without rafters or boards: that they ſhould be arch'd and partition'd with ſtone from the quarries of Gabi or Alba, the ſame being proof againſt the violence of fire: that over the common ſprings, which were licentiouſly diverted and waſted by private hands, overſeers ſhould be placed, to provide for their flowing in greater abundance into the publick ciſterns, and for ſupplying a greater number of places: that every houſe-keeper ſhould furniſh his yard with ſome machine proper to extinguiſh fire; neither ſhould there be any more a common intermediate wall between houſe and houſe, but within its own independent walls every houſe ſhould be enclos'd. Theſe regulations, which importing the general benefit of the citizens, were popularly receiv'd, deriv'd alſo much beauty and decoration upon the new city: yet, ſome there were who believ'd, that the ancient form and ſtructure were more conducing to health; as from the narrowneſs of the ſtreets, and the height of the building, the rays of the ſun were hardly felt or admitted; whereas now, ſo ſpacious was the breadth of the ſtreets, and ſo utterly deſtitute of all ſhade, that the heat ſcorch'd with unabated rage.

THUS far the proviſions made, were the reſult of counſels purely human. The Gods are next accoſted with expiations; and recourſe had to the Sibyll's Books. By admonition from them, to Vulcan, Ceres and Proſerpina, ſupplicatory ſacrifices were made, and Juno aton'd by the devotion of Matrons, firſt ſolemniz'd in the Capitol, then upon the next ſhore, where by water drawn from the ſea the Temple and Image of the Goddeſs were be-

and her feaſt and wake were celebrated by Ladies who had husbands. But not all the relief that could come from man, not all the bounties that the Prince could beſtow, nor all the atonements which could be preſented to the Gods, avail'd to acquit NERO from the infamous charge, which was ſtill univerſally believ'd, that by him the conflagration was authoriz'd. Hence to ſuppreſs the prevailing rumour, he transferr'd the guilt upon fictitious criminals: he ſubjected to moſt exquiſites torture, and doom'd to executions ſingularly cruel thoſe people who, for their deteſtable crimes were already in truth univerſally abhorr'd, and known to the vulgar by the name of *Chriſtians*. The founder of this name was CHRIST, one who in the reign of TIBERIUS ſuffer'd death as a criminal, under PONTIUS PILATE Imperial Procurator of Judea, and, for a while, the peſtilent ſuperſtition was quell'd: but it reviv'd again and ſpread, not only over Judea, where this evil was firſt broach'd, but even through Rome, the great gulph into which, from every quarter of the earth, there are torrents for ever flowing of all that is hideous and abominable amongſt men: nay, in it the filthy glut of iniquity never fails to find popular reverence and diſtinction: firſt therefore were ſeiz'd ſuch as freely own'd their ſect; then, a vaſt multitude by them diſcover'd; and all were convicted, not ſo much for the imputed crime of burning Rome, as for their hate and enmity to humankind. To their death and torture were added the aggravations of cruel deriſion and ſport: for, either they were diſguis'd in the skins of ſavage beaſts, and expos'd to expire under the teeth and rage of devouring dogs; or they were hoiſted up alive, and nail'd to croſſes; or wrapt in combuſtible veſtments, and ſet up as torches; that, when the day ſet, they might be kindled to illuminate the night. For preſenting this tragical ſpectacle, NERO had lent his own Gardens, and exhibited at the ſame time the publick diverſion of the Circus; ſometimes driving a chariot in perſon; and, at intervals, ſtanding as a ſpectator amongſt the vulgar, in the habit of a Charioteer. Hence it proceeded, that towards the miſerable ſufferers, however guilty and juſtly deſerving the moſt exemplary death, popular commiſeration aroſe;

as for people who, with no view to the utility of the ſtate, but only to gratify the bloody ſpirit of one man, were doom'd, without exception to periſh.

In the mean time, in order to ſupply his prodigality with money, all Italy was pillag'd, the Provinces were ſqueez'd and deſolated: ſo were the ſeveral nations our confederates, and all thoſe cities which have the title of free. In this general ſpoil, even the Gods were involv'd, their Temples in the city plunder'd; and from thence all the treaſures of gold convey'd, which the Roman people, in every age of their ſtate, either as monuments of triumphs celebrated, or of vows fulfill'd, had ſolemnly conſecrated, both in their times of proſperity, and in ſeaſons of publick peril and diſmay. Through Greece and Aſia the ſame ſacred ravages were committed, and the Deities not only deſpoil'd of their gifts and oblations, but even of their Statues and Images: for, into theſe Provinces, and with this commiſſion, had been ſent ACRATUS his freedman, and SECUNDUS CARINAS; the former a prompt inſtrument to execute any iniquity, however black and flagrant; the other a man practis'd in the Greek learning, which however ſunk no deeper than his lips, and with virtuous acquirements he had never form'd his ſoul. Of SENECA it was reported, "that to avert from himſelf the odium and imputation of this ſacrilege, he had beſought NERO for leave "to retire to a ſeat of his own remote from Rome, but "was refus'd, and thence feigning an indiſpoſition in his "nerves, confin'd himſelf to his chamber." It is by ſome authors recorded, "that a freedman of his, named CLEONICUS, had by the command of NERO, prepar'd poiſon for his maſter, who eſcap'd it, either from the diſcovery made by the freedman, or from the caution inſpir'd by his own inceſſant apprehenſions; while with "a diet exceeding ſimple he ſupported an abſtemious life, "ſatisfying the call of hunger by wild fruit from the "woods, and of thirſt by a draught from the brook."

About the ſame time a body of Gladiators, who were kept at the city of Preneſte, labour'd an eſcape and revolt; and tho' by the diligence of the ſoldiers who guarded them they were maſter'd and ſuppreſs'd, the people were already in buſy murmurs reviving the terror of SPARTACUS

TACUS and the publick miſeries of old; fond as they ever are of agitations and novelty, and yet ever frighten'd by them. Nor was it long after this that a fatal diſaſter befel the fleet; from no encounter in war; for ſcarce ever was known a time of ſuch profound peace: but NERO had order'd the gallies to return to the coaſt of Campania at a limited day, without any allowance made for the ſudden changes and caſualties of the deep: ſo that the Pilots, even while the ſea raged, ſteer'd from the port of Formia; and by a violent tempeſt from the South, while they ſtruggled to double the Cape of Miſenum, were driven upon the ſhore of Cuma, where many gallies of three banks of oars, and a number of ſmaller veſſels, were wreck'd.

IN the cloſe of the year, the heads and mouths of the people were fill'd with a long rote of prodigies; as ſo many heralds of impending calamities: at no time had thunder roar'd, or lightning ſhot with ſuch fierceneſs and frequency, beſides the appearance of a Comet; an omen ever expiated by NERO with the effuſion of illuſtrious blood. In the ſtreets and roads were found expos'd ſeveral monſtrous births with double heads, ſome of the human ſpecies, ſome of brutes; as alſo from the bellies of victims ſome ſuch were taken, when for the ſacrifice cuſtom requir'd beaſts that are pregnant: and in the territory of Placentia, by the ſide of the publick way, was brought forth a calf with its head growing upon its leg: a prodigy which, according to the interpretation return'd by the Soothſayers, boded "that for human kind "another head was preparing, but one which would never "arrive at ſtrength, or remain conceal'd; for that this "which preſag'd it, had lain repreſs'd in the womb, and "then iſſu'd into the world cloſe by the publick road."

SILIUS NERVA and ATTICUS VESTINUS commenc'd Conſuls, during the progreſs of a conſpiracy ſo vigorous that to the ſame moment it ow'd its beginning and advancement. In it Senators, Knights, ſoldiers, and even women, had engag'd with a ſpirit of eagerneſs and competition: ſuch was their deteſtation of NERO, and equally ſtrong their zeal for CAIUS PISO. This Patrician, a deſcendent of the Calpurnian houſe, and by the nobleneſs of his paternal blood, allied to many illuſtrious families; was for his own virtue, or for qualities that reſembled virtues, held amongſt the populace in ſignal applauſe: for, he was a maſter of eloquence and employ'd it popularly, in the patronage and defence of his fellow citizens; generous to his friends and acquaintance; and even toward ſuch as were unknown to him, complaiſant in his language and addreſs; he poſſeſs'd, with theſe advantages, others that were fortuitous, tallneſs of perſon and a graceful countenance: but ſtrictneſs of life and manners he never practis'd, nor obſerv'd reſtraints in his pleaſures; the ways of delicacy he ever indulg'd, as alſo thoſe of magnificence; ſometimes the exceſſes of luxury. Many too there were who approv'd this his conduct; ſuch as are they who, in a general prevalence of ſenſuality and debauchery, would not have the ſupreme head confin'd in his morals, nor ſtrictly ſevere.

IT was from no ambition or purſuit of his that the birth of the conſpiracy ſprung; and yet I could not eaſily recount who he was that firſt concerted it, nor who animated a deſign which was by ſuch a number eſpous'd: that SUBRIUS FLAVIUS Tribune of a Pretorian Cohort, and SULPICIUS ASPER the Centurion, were the keeneſt champions in it, the ſpirit and conſtancy with which they encounter'd death, do abundantly evince. LUCAN the Poet, and PLAUTIUS LATERANUS, Conſul elect, concurr'd from the inſtigations of ardent animoſity and hate; the former ſtimulated by perſonal provocations, for that NERO had obſtructed the fame of his Poems, and from a ridiculous emulation, forbid their publication: LATERANUS was piqued by no injury done to himſelf; but, from ſincere affection to the Republick, became an accomplice. But there were two men, FLAVIUS SCEVINUS and AFRANIUS QUICNTIANUS, both Senators, who by engaging in an interprize ſo great and daring, and even claiming to be formoſt in the execution, departed from the conſtant character which they had ever maintain'd amongſt all men; for, SCEVINUS had a ſoul drown'd in ſenſuality, and thence led a ſtupid life devoted to ſleep and ſloth: QUINCTIANUS was infamous for having in his perſon ſuffer'd conſtuprations; and having been by NERO expos'd in a virulent Satyr; to revenge the indignity he conſpir'd.

Now as all theſe, as well in conferences with one another, as amongſt their friends, were ever diſplaying "the endleſs tyranny and inhuman cruelties of the Prince; the "deſperate condition of the Empire, threaten'd with inſtant diſſolution; and the neceſſity of ſubſtituting in "his place ſome one capable of relieving the afflicted "ſtate;" they drew into the combination TULLIUS SENECIO, CERVARIUS PROCULUS, VULCATUS ARARICUS, JULIUS TUGURINUS, MUNATIUS GRATUS, ANTONIUS NATALIS, and MARTIUS FESTUS; all Roman Knights. Of theſe SENECIO, who had liv'd in ſingular intimacy with NERO, and preſerv'd even then the face of favour, was thence the more encompaſs'd with dread and danger. To NATALIS all the ſecret purpoſes in the heart of PISO were open without reſerve: ſecret views govern'd the reſt, and they ſought their own intereſt in a change. Of the men of the ſword, beſides SUBRIUS and SULPICIUS, the officers already mention'd, there were aſſum'd as accomplices, GRANIUS SILVANUS and STATIUS PROXIMUS, Tribunes of the Pretorian bands, with the Centurions, MAXIMUS SCAURUS, and VENETUS PAULLUS. But, as their main ſtrength and dependence, they conſidered FENIUS RUFUS, Captain of the Imperial Guards, a man for life and eſtimation, in ſignal credit and popularity; one who expos'd himſelf to daily perils from the hate and perſecution of TIGELLINUS, his collegue, who, by the recommendations of a cruel ſpirit, and manners altogether impure, had gain'd a ſuperiour aſcendancy in the heart of the Prince, and labouring to deſtroy him by forged crimes, had often well nigh effected his deſtruction, by alarming NERO with the views and diſcontents of RUFUS, "as one who had been engag'd in a criminal "commerce with AGRIPPINA; and, in anguiſh and re"ſentment for her untimely end, was bent upon ven"geance." As ſoon therefore as the conſpirators had from the frequent diſcourſe of the Captain receiv'd full conviction that he too had embraced their party, they proceeded more reſolutely to debate about the time and place of the aſſaſſination: it was reported, "that SUBRIUS

“ FLAVIUS had undertaken to make the firſt onſet, and “ aſſail NERO, either while he was chanting in the Thea- “ tre, or ſcouring from place to place, in his drunken “ revels by night, unatended by his guards.” In the latter project an incitement from ſolitude; in the former, even the great conflux of people, all witneſſes of an exploit ſo glorious, had rous'd his ſoul; inſpir'd, as in truth he was, with a purpoſe full of nobleneſs and merit, had not a ſollicitude to execute it with impunity, reſtrain'd him; a conſideration which, in all grand enterprizes, is ever unſeaſonable and fatal.

IN the mean time, while they were heſitating and protracting the iſſue of their hopes and fears, a certain woman, named EPICHARIS, applied her ſelf to rouſe the conſpirators; tho' it was a perfect myſtery by what means ſhe came at all appriz'd of the conſpiracy (for till then ſhe had never ſhewn any regard to ought that was worthy or honourable) but at laſt, when all her importunity, ſtimulations and reproaches, profited nothing, ſhe became impatient of their ſlowneſs; and retiring to Campania, employ'd all her induſtry and skill to alienate the hearts of the chief officers in the fleet riding at Miſenum, and to engage them in the deſign, in the following manner ſhe began: in that fleet VOLUSIUS PROCULUS had the command of a thouſand Marines; one of the miniſters of blood employ'd to diſpatch the mother of NERO, and, in his own opinion, not diſtinguiſh'd with promotion equal to the mighty and meritorious murder. As this officer, whether from old acquaintance with EPICHARIS, or a friendſhip newly contracted, recounted to her “ his ſignal ſer- “ vices to NERO, and how fruitleſs they had been beſtow'd;” and as he ſubjoin'd “ bitter complaints, with a ſettled re- “ ſolution of taking vengeance whenever opportunity aroſe,” ſhe conceiv'd hopes that he might be engag'd himſelf in the deſign, and to it conciliate many others: nor of ſmall moment was the aid and concurrence of the fleet, and frequent were the opportunities of exerting it; as NERO took ſingular delight in ſailing often about the coaſts of Miſenum and Puzzoli. EPICHARIS therefore, in anſwer to PROCULUS, urg'd many reaſonings, with a copious detail of all the crying cruelties, all the barbarous outrages

committed by the Prince. She added, "that to the Se-"
" nate nothing remain'd to be done towards accompliſh-
" ing his fall; only 'twas already determin'd to what
" pains the tyrant muſt be doom'd for deſtroying the Ro-
" man ſtate. What therefore was to be expected from
" PROCULUS, but that he ſhould aſſume the task with
" zeal, purſue it with vigour, aſſociate in the cauſe
" all the braveſt ſoldiers; and then depend upon a recom-
" penſe worthy of ſuch ſublime ſervice." From him however, ſhe conceal'd the names of the conſpirators: hence it was that even when he had betray'd to NERO her whole diſcourſe, his diſcovery avail'd nothing. For, when EPICHARIS was ſummon'd, and confronted with the informer, as his charge againſt her was ſupported by no witneſſes, ſhe found it eaſy to refute and baffle him. After all, ſhe was detain'd in priſon; becauſe NERO vehemently ſuſpected, that theſe matters were not the more falſe for not being prov'd to be true.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ſilence of EPICHARIS, the conſpirators, who were throughly alarm'd with the dread of a diſcovery, came to a reſult to haſten the aſſaſſination, and to do it at Baiæ in a villa belonging to PISO, whither the Emperor often reſorted: he was charm'd with the lovelineſs of the place; and there wont to bath and banquet, remote from his guards and the other encumbrances of Imperial ſtate. But in this, PISO would by no means concur: he alledg'd "the general abhorrence
" which muſt enſue, were the inviolable rites of the
" table, were the Gods of hoſpitality, defil'd by the blood
" of a Prince, however vile he were: hence it were more
" adviſable to diſpatch him at Rome, in that ſame de-
" teſted houſe which with the ſpoils of the unhappy citi-
" zens he had rear'd: or, rather they ought, in the face
" of the publick, to execute a deed, which for the be-
" nefit of the publick they had undertaken." Thus he reaſon'd openly amongſt the conſpirators; but, in his heart, he was influenced by ſecret jealouſy: he dreaded LUCIUS SILANUS a man of tranſcendent quality, and by the tuition of CAIUS CASSIUS, by whom he was bred, ennobled with accompliſhments proper for every the moſt reſplendent dignity; leſt SILANUS might for himſelf ſeize the

the vacant ſovereignty, as he would be ſure of inſtant aſſiſtance from all ſuch as were clear of the conſpiracy, and from all thoſe who ſhould prove affected with compaſſion for NERO, as for one traiterouſly ſlain. There were many who believ'd, that "PISO likewiſe fear'd the lively and "turbulent ſpirit of the Conſul VESTINUS; how the ſame "might, upon ſuch occaſion, operate; whether he might "not be prompted to reſtore liberty and the ancient government; or elſe, procuring ſome other than PISO to be "choſen Emperor, turn the Republick into a gift of his "own beſtowing." For in the conſpiracy he had no ſhare; though NERO afterwards, under the imputation of this very crime, doom'd him an innocent ſacrifice to ſatiate his own inveterate rancour.

AT length they agreed to perpetrate their deſigns upon the anniverſary ſacred to Ceres, and always ſolemniz'd with Circenſian games: for that, the Emperor who otherwiſe came ſeldom abroad, but remain'd ſhut up in his apartments or Gardens, was yet wont to frequent the diverſions of the Circus, where, during the gayety and pleaſures of the ſports, acceſs to him was more readily obtain'd. The ſcheme of their plot they contriv'd on this wiſe: "LATERANUS, in the poſture of a ſupplicant, and "feigning to implore relief in his domeſtick affairs, was "to fall at the Prince's feet, and, while he apprehended no ſuch attempt, throw him down; and, as LATERANUS was of a daring ſpirit and huge in ſtature, hold him fixt to the place: while he lay thus "preſs'd and entangled, the Tribunes, Centurions, and all "the reſt, according as they felt themſelves prompted by "preſent impulſe and magnanimity, were inſtantly to "ruſh in and ſlay him: that SCEVINUS ſhould be the "formoſt to ſtrike," was a task by himſelf earneſtly claim'd: from the Temple of Health in Etruria, or, as others have recorded, from that of Fortune in the city of Ferentum, he had brought away a dagger, and carried it conſtantly about him, as a weapon by him peculiarly conſecrated to the perpetration of a deed of mighty moment. It was moreover concluded, "that PISO ſhould "wait the event in the Temple of Ceres, and be thence "brought forth by FENIUS Captain of the Guards, and

“ the other conſpirators, and conducted to the camp; “ moreover, in order to attract the affections of the po- “ pulace, ANTONIA daughter of the late Emperor CLAU- “ DIUS, was to accompany him.” A particular this recorded by CAIUS PLINIUS: for my ſelf; I was determin’d to ſuppreſs no circumſtance in what way ſoever deliver’d; however marvellous and inconſiſtent it may ſeem, that either ANTONIA ſhould contribute her name, and riſque her life, to promote a ſcheme, to herſelf fruitleſs and vain; or, that PISO, a man univerſally known to have been paſſionately fond of his wife, ſhould engage to marry another; were it not that, of all the paſſions which actuate the heart of man, the luſt of reigning is the moſt vehement and flaming.

BUT, wonderful it was, in a combination ſo numerous, ſo variouſly fram’d; amongſt thoſe of every condition, different in rank, in quality, ſex, and age; many wealthy, many poor; all things ſhould be buried in ſuch faithful ſilence and ſecrecy, till from the family of SCEVINUS the traiterous diſcovery firſt aroſe. The day before that of the deſign’d aſſaſſination, he had been engag’d in a long conference with ANTONIUS NATALIS, and immediately, upon returning home, ſeal’d his will: then unſheathing the dagger mention’d above, he complain’d that it had lain ſo long neglected till it was become blunt; order’d it to be grinded into an edge, and the point to be accurately ſharpen’d: the charge of this he committed to MILICHUS, one of his freedmen; and next betook himſelf to a repaſt more gaudy and profuſe than ordinary: his favourite ſlaves he preſented with their liberty, others with ſumms of money: upon his countenance too there hung clouds and melancholy; and it was apparent, that his mind labour’d with ſome grand and tempeſtuous thought; tho’ he counterfeited cheerfulneſs by many ſtarts of diſcourſe upon as many ſubjects: at laſt, he directed the ſame MILICHUS to prepare bandages for wounds, and applications for ſtopping blood; whether the freedman were in truth already privy to the conſpiracy, and had hitherto perſever’d in fidelity, or whether he were utterly in the dark, and then firſt, as ſeveral authors have written, gather’d from conſequences his ſudden ſuſpicion. For, when the freedman, one ſtill acted by the baſe ſpirit of a ſlave, revolv'd with himſelf the recompenſe to be expected from proving a traitor to his maſter, and at the ſame time beheld, as already his own, immenſe ſtore of money and potent ſway; he renounc'd at once every tie of faith and truſt, all tenderneſs for the fortune and life of his Lord, and all remembrance of liberty by him generouſly beſtow'd: but, beſides his own mercenary motives, he had taken counſel of his wife; a woman's counſel and the worſt: ſhe was ever urging him with the peril and terror of hiding treaſon, and alledging " that many freedmen, many ſlaves, " had beheld, as well as he, the ſame things, and of " no availment would prove the ſilence of one: yet only " by one, whoever he were who firſt diſcover'd, would " all the rewards be reap'd."

MILICHUS, therefore, at the firſt dawn of day, went ſtraight to the Gardens of SERVILIUS, where NERO then abode; and being refus'd admittance, declar'd that he brought " mighty and horrible diſcoveries;" with ſuch earneſtneſs, that he was conducted by the Porters to EPAPHRODITUS, a freedman of NERO'S, and by him forthwith to NERO himſelf: to him he repreſented, " what " formidable conſpiracies were concerted; what mortal " danger was juſt impending;" with all the circumſtances which he had heard, with whatever from his own obſervation he conjectur'd, and even ſhewing the dagger deſtin'd to deſtroy him, deſir'd the criminal to be inſtantly produced. SCEVINUS was by the ſoldiers haled haſtily thither; and proceeding to make his defence, he anſwer'd, " that for the dagger with which he was charg'd; it was " a relique left him by his forefathers, ever held ſacred " in their family, by himſelf always kept in his chamber, " and from thence traiterouſly convey'd away by his freedman: new wills he had often made, and ſeal'd them, " without obſerving any diſtinction of days: frequently " before this, upon his ſlaves he had beſtow'd liberty and " largeſſes; lately with the greater liberality, for that his " fortune being now reduced, and his creditors importunate, he diſtruſted his power of gratifying his domeſticks by legacies. A generous table he had ever kept,

“ and ever indulg'd himſelf in a life of eaſe and plea-
“ ſure; ſuch a one as by the rigid cenſurers of manners,
“ was but little approv'd: dreſſes for wounds, he had or-
“ der'd none; but, as all the other imputations objected by
“ his freedman, were manifeſtly impotent and vain; he
“ had invented and added a charge of treaſon, ſuch as
“ might enable him to be at once witneſs and accuſer.”
His words he enforced with an undaunted ſpirit: he even charg'd the accuſer, as “ a fellow peſtilent and traiterous,
“ and his teſtimony incompetent,” with a voice and countenance ſo intrepid, that the informer muſt have been baffled, but for his wife. She advertiz'd him, that “ with
“ SCEVINUS, ANTONIUS NATALIS had held a long con-
“ verſation and exceeding ſecret; and that both were
“ cloſe confidents of CAIUS PISO.”

NATALIS therefore was call'd, and both were examin'd, but apart, concerning “ the particulars, concerning the
“ ſubject of that converſation.” As their anſwers varied, they began to adminiſter cauſe of ſuſpicion, and were thrown into irons: but the ſight of the rack, and the menaces of torture, neither could bear: NATALIS however was formoſt to confeſs, as better acquainted with the whole order and progreſs of the conſpiracy, and withal more expert in impeaching: firſt, he diſcover'd how far PISO was concern'd, afterwards to him he added SENECA; whether he had indeed acted as an inter-agent between him and PISO, or whether he only did it to purchaſe the favour of NERO; who, in ardent hate to SENECA, was daily hunting after all ſorts of devices to deſtroy him. Now SCEVINUS, having learnt that by NATALIS a confeſſion was made, yielded to the ſame imbecillity of ſpirit; or perhaps he believ'd that already the confederacy was, in every particular, diſclos'd, and from his own ſilence no emolument to be expected. Hence he declar'd all the other accomplices. Of theſe LUCAN and QUINCTIANUS, and SENECIO, perſiſted long in denying the charge: but at length, by a promiſe of their exemption from puniſhment, they ſuffer'd themſelves to be corrupted: then, to atone for their late ſlowneſs they named their deareſt friends: LUCAN inform'd againſt ATTILLA, his own mother; QUINCTIANUS againſt GLICIUS GALLUS, and SENECIO againſt ANNIUS POLLIO.

NERO the while recollected that, upon the evidence of VOLUSIUS PROCULUS, EPICHARIS was holden in cuſtody; and ſuppoſing that the tender body of a woman could never endure the rage of the rack, order'd her to be cruſh'd and mangled with variety of torments. But neither the fury of ſtripes, nor of fire, nor of the torturers, who tore her with the more vehemence, leſt with all their dexterity and efforts in cruelty, they ſhould be at laſt ſcorn'd and baffled by a woman, could at all vanquiſh her. She ſtill utterly denied every particular objected: the iſſue this of the torture the firſt day, and by her its violence was deſpis'd. The day following, as ſhe was returning to ſuffer a repetition of the ſame outrageous torments, and reconducted in a chair (for, all her members being rent and disjointed, ſhe could not ſupport her ſelf) with the girdle that bound her breaſts, ſhe fram'd a nooſe for her neck, and tying it to the canopy of the chair, hung upon it with all the weight of her body, and diſlodg'd the ſlender remains of life. Behind her ſhe left an example the more ſignal and heroick, for that a woman who was once a ſlave, ſhould, upon an occaſion ſo trying and important, undergo torture and death, to protect ſuch to whom ſhe had no tye of kindred or friendſhip, nay ſuch as ſhe ſcarce knew: when men, and men born free; when Roman Knights, and Senators of Rome, without once feeling the torture, betray'd, without exception, every one the deareſt pledges he had in friendſhip and blood. For, LUCAN too and SENECIO, and QUINCTIANUS, never ceas'd making diſcoveries, and were ſtill naming more accomplices: a detail which was inceſſantly adding to the affright and diſmay of NERO; tho' he had, with guards redoubled, fenc'd himſelf in: nay, as if he meant to have impriſon'd Rome it ſelf; upon the walls, all round, bands of ſoldiers were poſted: even the ſea and the Tiber were garriſon'd. Moreover, parties of foot and horſe were perpetually ranging every where; in the publick ſquares, in private houſes; even through the circumjacent territory, and neighbouring municipal towns: but, with both horſe and foot, there were Germans intermixt: for, in them, as they were foreigners, the Prince chiefly confided. Thenceforth, the accuſed were hal'd in whole droves, numbers after numbers, without intermiſſion, towards his tribunal, and lay together, in miſerable expectation, at the gates of his Garden: when they had enter'd, in order to be ſucceſſively heard and examined, if it appear'd, or was charg'd, "that they had ever "been ſeen gay or ſmiling with any of the conſpirators; or happen'd to ſpeak to them, tho' fortuitouſly; "or to meet them, however unexpectedly; or to have "been common gueſts at the ſame table, or ſat together "at ſome publick ſhew;" all this, or any part of it, was imputed as inevitable guilt and treaſon. Beſides the cruel ſcrutiny made by NERO and TIGELLINUS, violent were the queſtions and imputations urg'd by FENIUS RUFUS, who had as yet eſcaped all information; and, to beget a perſuaſion, that he had been an utter ſtranger to the plot, manifeſted himſelf now ſtern and outrageous againſt his own aſſociates. Nay 'twas he that fruſtrated the bold purpoſe of SUBRIUS FLAVIUS, who, while he attended, and demanded by ſigns, whether he ſhould draw his ſabre, and even in the heat of the inqueſt, perpetrate the aſſaſſination, was by contrary ſigns from RUFUS forbid and his ardour check'd, when already his hand graſp'd the hilt.

THERE were thoſe who, when the conſpiracy was firſt betray'd, while MILICHUS was yet under examination, while SCEVINUS waver'd, exhorted PISO, "to proceed "directly to the Camp, or mount the Roſtrum, and try "the affections of the people and ſoldiery: for, if once "his accomplices were openly aſſembled to maintain his "efforts, thoſe too who were not engag'd, would certainly follow; and, when the deſign was avow'd, and "the commotion begun, mighty would be the publick "noiſe and alarm: an incident which, in all new attempts, "is of infinite availment. Neither was NERO provided to "reſiſt the ſhock: with terrors that come ſudden and unforeſeen, even brave men were daunted: how much leſs "was it to be apprehended that, that Comedian, guarded "forſooth by TIGELLINUS with his hoſt of harlots, would "dare to riſque a conflict of arms? Many deſigns there "were, which, tho' to daſtardly ſpirits, they appear'd "arduous and impoſſible, were yet accompliſh'd by try-

“ ing to accompliſh them. In ſuch a mixt multitude,
“ engag'd in the plot, or privy to it, it was vain to expect
“ conſtant faith and ſecrecy; or, that the minds of
“ all would be proof againſt temptation, and their bodies
“ againſt pain: to the force of recompences and tortures
“ nothing was impenetrable: nay, there would ſoon arrive
“ men, who would commit to bonds PISO himſelf,
“ and at length ſubject him to a contumelious death.
“ But with how much more glory and renown, would
“ he fall, while he eſpous'd the Commonwealth; while
“ he was bravely invoking aid, and rouſing champions
“ in defence of publick Liberty; while, even tho' the ſoldiers
“ fail'd him, tho' the people forſook him, he ſtill
“ perſiſted with magnanimity, and, by loſing his life, approv'd
“ his death worthy of his anceſtors, glorious to his
“ poſterity?” But, upon PISO theſe reaſonings had no influence: after he had appear'd for a ſmall ſpace abroad, he retir'd to privacy at home, and was preparing his mind to encounter a deliberate death, when at his houſe arriv'd a band of ſoldiers, all young men, either in years or ſervice; thus purpoſely cull'd by NERO, who dreaded the old ſoldiers, as tinctur'd with partiality for the conſpirators: then it was, that cauſing the veins in both his arms to be broach'd, he expired. A will he left full of noiſome and odious flattery to NERO, thus fram'd in tenderneſs to his wife, a woman of vitious conduct, void of every recommendation ſave the beauty of her perſon; one whom he had raviſh'd from her huſband, a friend of his own; his name DOMITIUS SILIUS, and hers ARRIA GALLA; and both concurr'd, he by his paſſiveneſs, ſhe by her wantonneſs, to blaze the diſhonour of PISO.

THE next death added by NERO to this, was that of PLAUTIUS LATERANUS, Conſul elect, and inflicted with ſuch precipitation, that he would not allow him to pay the laſt embraces to his children, no nor that ſhort interval wont to be indulg'd to the condemn'd, for chuſing their own death. Inſtantly he was dragg'd to the place allotted for the execution of ſlaves, and there, by the hand of STATIUS the Tribune, ſlaughter'd. He died full of exemplary firmneſs and invincible ſilence, nor once upbraiding the Tribune with an equal participation in the conſpiracy. The bloody doom of SENECA follow'd, to the infinite joy of the Prince; from no proof that he had of his engagement in the plot, but to ſatiate his own cruelty, that the raging ſword might perpetrate what had been by poiſon unſucceſsfully attempted: for, NATALIS only had nam'd him; but concerning him could diſcover no more than thus much, "that he had been by PISO "ſent to viſit SENECA, then indiſpos'd, to complain in "his name, that he himſelf was refus'd admittance; and "withal to repreſent, that it would be better if they "maintain'd their friendſhip in free and familiar inter-"courſe: that to this SENECA replied, that the maintain-"ing of frequent converſations and interviews by them-"ſelves, was conducing to the ſervice of neither: but, in "ſum, upon the ſafety of PISO his own ſecurity reſted." GRANIUS SILVANUS, Tribune of a Pretorian Cohort, was order'd to repreſent all this to SENECA, and to demand of him; whether he own'd the words of NATALIS, and his own anſwers. SENECA had that very day, either from chance or foreſight, return'd from Campania, and reſted at a villa of his, four miles from Rome: thither arriv'd the Tribune in the evening, beſet the villa with his men, and to him, as he ſat at table with PAULLINA his wife, and two friends, deliver'd his orders from the Emperor.

SENECA replied, "that NATALIS had in truth been "ſent to him, and in the name of PISO complain'd, that "the latter was debarr'd from viſiting him; a complaint "which he had anſwer'd by excuſes taken from his bodily "diſorder and deſire of quiet; but ſtill he never had any "motive to declare, that to his own ſecurity he preferr'd "the ſafety of a private man: a genius addicted to flat-"ter, he never had; as no man better knew than NERO, "who from SENECA had felt more frequent proofs of "freedom than ſervility." When this his anſwer was by the Tribune reported to NERO, in preſence of POPPEA and TIGELLINUS, who were aſſiſtants to the raging tyrant, and compos'd his cabinet council; he ask'd, whether SENECA were determin'd upon a voluntary death? the Tribune averr'd, "that he had manifeſted no one "ſymptom of fear; and neither in his words nor looks "was ought of anguiſh to be diſcover'd." Hence, he was commanded to return directly, and carry him the denunciation of death. FABIUS RUSTICUS writes, "that "the Tribune took not now the ſame road which he came, "but wheeling aſide to FENIUS Captain of the Guards, "and diſcloſing the Emperor's orders, demanded whether "he ſhould obey him; and was by him admoniſh'd to "purſue them." Such was the fatal ſpiritleſsneſs and timidity of all the conſpirators! SILVANUS too was one, and yet contributing to multiply the ſame bloody iniquities which he had conſpir'd to avenge. He avoided however ſeeing SENECA, and delivering in perſon the ſad meſſage; but ſent in a Centurion to apprize him of "his final "doom."

THE denunciation no wiſe diſmay'd SENECA, who call'd calmly for his will; and, as this was prohibited by the Centurion, turning to his friends, he told them, "that ſince he was diſabled from a grateful requital of "their benefits, he bequeath'd them that which alone was "now left him, yet ſomething more glorious and amiable than all the reſt, the pattern of his life: if they "retain'd the impreſſions and reſemblance of this, they "would thence reap the applauſe of virtuous manners, "as well as that of perſevering in their friendſhip." He withal repreſs'd their tears, ſometimes with gentle reaſoning, ſometimes in the ſtile of authority and correction, and ſtrove to recover them to reſolution and conſtancy. "Where, he often ask'd, where were now all the documents of philoſophy? where, that philoſophical principle, for ſo many years premeditated, againſt the ſudden "encounter of calamities? for, to whom was unknown "the bloody nature of NERO? nor, after the butchering "of his mother and the murthering of his brother, did "ought remain, to conſummate his cruelty, but to add to "theirs the ſlaughter of his nurſing father and inſtructor."

HAVING utter'd theſe and the like reaſonings, directed to the company in general; he embraced his wife; an affecting object, which ſomewhat abated his firmneſs, and ſoften'd him into anxiety for her future lot: he preſs'd and beſought her, "to moderate her ſorrow, to beware "of perpetuating ſuch a diſmal paſſion; but to bear the "death of her huſband by contemplating his life ſpent "in a ſteady courſe of virtue; and to ſupport his loſs "by all worthy conſolations." PAULLINA, on the contrary, urg'd her purpoſe to die with him, and call'd for the aid of a miniſter of death. Upon this declaration, SENECA would not bereave her of ſo much glory: ſuch beſides was his fondneſs for her, that he was loth to leave one by himſelf belov'd above all things, expos'd to inſults and injuries: "I had laid before thee, ſaid he, the "delights and ſolacements of living: thou preferreſt the "renown of dying: I ſhall not envy thee the honour of "the example. Between us let us equally ſhare the fortitude of an end ſo brave; but greater will be the ſplendour "of thy particular fall." Preſently after this converſaſation, both had the veins of their arms open'd, at the ſame inſtant: SENECA was aged, his body cold, and extenuated by feeble diet: ſo that the iſſues of his blood were exceeding ſlow: hence he caus'd to be cut the veins alſo of his legs and thoſe about the joints of his knees. As he was ſuccumbing under many grievous agonies, he perſuaded her to retire into another chamber, leſt his own ſufferings might vanquiſh the reſolution of his wife, or he himſelf by beholding her pangs, lapſe into weakneſs and impatience: and, his eloquence flowing even to the laſt moment of his life, he call'd for his ſcribes, and to them dictated many things, which being already publiſh'd in his own words, and common, I forbear to rehearſe in any words of mine.

Towards PAULLINA, NERO bore no perſonal hate, and, to avoid feeding the publick abhorrence of his cruelty, order'd her death to be prevented. Hence, at the perſuaſion of the ſoldiers, her domeſtick ſlaves and freedmen bound up her arms, and ſtaid the blood; but, whether with her own concurrence, is uncertain. For, as the populace in their cenſure, are rather prone to malignancy, there were ſome who believ'd, "that while ſhe fear'd the "wrath of NERO as implacable, ſhe aim'd at the applauſe "of dying with her huſband: but, as ſoon as gentler "hopes occur'd ſhe became utterly vanquiſh'd with the "ſweetneſs and allurements of life:" to which it is certain,

tain, ſhe added but a ſmall portion of years, ever retaining for the memory of her husband a reverence worthy of all praiſe: her face too, and all her limbs, were ſtill cover'd with ſuch deadly paleneſs, that it was notorious the principles of life had been in a great meaſure exhauſted. SENECA the while, afflicted with the tedious protraction of life, and the ſlow advances of death, beſought STATIUS ANNEUS, one long prov'd by him for faith in friendſhip and skill in medicine, to bring him a draught of the poiſon, which a great while ago he had laid up in ſtore; the ſame ſort which is us'd at Athens, to diſpatch ſuch as are by the publick judgment condemn'd: this he ſwallow'd, but in vain; for already all his limbs were chill'd, all his juices ſtagnated and impenetrable to the rapidity of poiſon. He therefore had recourſe to a hot bath, from whence he beſprinkled ſuch of his ſlaves as ſtood neareſt, adding, that "of this liquor he made a "libation to Jupiter the deliverer." From thence, he was convey'd into a ſtove and ſuffocated with the ſteam. His corps was burnt without any funeral ſolemnity: for, thus in his will he had enjoin'd; even then when, in the plenitude of his opulence and authority, he had provided for his deceaſe and obſequies.

A rumour there was, that SUBRIUS FLAVIUS, in a ſecret conſultation with the Centurions, and even with the privacy of SENECA, had determin'd, that, as ſoon as by the aid of PISO, NERO was ſlain, PISO too ſhould be diſpatch'd, and the Empire transferr'd to SENECA, as one exempt from all reproach, and only "for the fame and "reſplendency of his virtues, preferr'd to the ſupreme dig- "nity." Nay, even the words ſaid to have been by FLAVIUS then utter'd, became current, "that it would "nothing avail towards aboliſhing the publick contume- "ly, to depoſe a Minſtrel; if to the vacant purple a Tra- "gedian ſucceeded." For, as NERO was wont to ſing to the harp, ſo was PISO to chant in the accent and dreſs of tragedy.

NOW neither could the ſhare of the ſoldiers in the conſpiracy be kept longer a myſtery: ſuch was the temptation and eagerneſs of the diſcoverers to betray FENIUS RUFUS, whom they could not bear to be, as he was, at once an accomplice and inquiſitor. Hence it was, that in the examination of SCEVINUS, while RUFUS urged him to a full confeſſion, with much vehemence and many menaces; the other ſmil'd and told him, "that in all the "particulars of the plot no man was more knowing than "himſelf;" he even exhorted him, "to make ſuitable "returns of gratitude to ſo good a Prince." To refute the charge, FENIUS had not a ſyllable to utter, nor yet would acquieſce in ſilence; but faultring and perplex'd in his ſpeech, expos'd notoriouſly his inward diſmay: at the ſame time the reſt, chiefly CERVARIUS PROCULUS, a Roman Knight, combining with all their might to convict him; one CASSIUS a ſoldier, who, for his ſignal ſtrength of body, was appointed to attend the trials, laid hold upon him, by the Emperor's order, and caſt him into bonds.

IN the detection made by the ſame men, SUBRIUS FLAVIUS the Tribune was next fatally involv'd. At firſt he aim'd at a defence, and pleaded "the diverſity of his "profeſſion and manners from thoſe of the conſpirators: "for that, never for the execution of an attempt ſo great "and daring, would he, who was a man of arms, have "leagu'd with ſuch as were reſign'd to effeminacy, and "never bore any." But, at laſt, finding himſelf puſh'd with queſtions and circumſtances, he aſpir'd to the glory of confeſſion: and, in anſwer to NERO, who ask'd him from what provocations had he ſlighted the obligation of his oath; "I abhorred thee, ſaid he: tho', amongſt all "thy ſoldiery, none was more faithful and affectionate "than I, as long as thou didſt merit affection: with thy "own deteſtable crimes my abhorrence of thee began, "after thou hadſt become the murderer of thy mother, "the murderer of thy wife, a Charioteer, a Comedian, "and the Incendiary that ſet fire to Rome." I have repeated his very words: for they were not divulg'd abroad, like thoſe of SENECA: nor leſs worthy to be known were theſe conceptions of a man of the ſword, which however artleſs and unpolite, are vigorous and brave. Apparent it was, that this whole conſpiracy had afforded nothing, which prov'd more bitter and pungent than this to the ears of NERO; who was abandon'd to every black iniquity,

quity, but unwont and too imperious to be thus upbraided afterwards with his flagitious doings. The execution of FLAVIUS was committed to the Tribune VEIANUS NIGER; and in the next field, by his direction, was digg'd a funeral trench; which FLAVIUS derided, "as too ſtreight "and ſhallow;" and, applying to the guard of ſoldiers, "this, ſays he, is not ſo much as according to the laws "of diſcipline." Being admoniſh'd by the Tribune, to extend his neck valiantly; "I wiſh, replied he, thou mayſt "ſtrike with equal valour." In truth, NIGER was totally overcome by a violent trembling, and hardly at two blows beheaded him: hence, to magnify his own cruelty to NERO, he boaſted, that in putting him to death, he deſignedly employ'd more ſtrokes than one.

THE next example of conſtancy and fortitude was adminiſter'd by SULPICIUS ASPER, the Centurion; who, in anſwer to the queſtion urg'd by NERO, why he had conſpir'd to kill him, ſaid in few words, "other relief "there was none againſt thy numberleſs and raging enor-"mities;" and immediately underwent his preſcrib'd doom. Nor did the other Centurions deviate in bravery and ſpirit, but gallantly faced death, and ſuffer'd its pains. In FENIUS RUFUS equal magnanimity was not found: nay ſuch and ſo permanent were his unmanly lamentations and anguiſh, that even in his laſt will, he bewail'd himſelf. Great was the expectation which NERO was foſtering, that VESTINUS the Conſul, would prove likewiſe involv'd in the treaſon; as he eſteemed him a man of a violent ſpirit, and prompted by virulent hate and diſaffection. But, to VESTINUS the conſpirators had imparted none of their counſels; ſome influenc'd by ſtale perſonal diſtaſtes; many becauſe they believ'd him a man altogether precipitate and untractable. But, that which begot in NERO his enmity to VESTINUS, was an intimate fellowſhip between them. From thence the latter throughly knew and ſcorn'd the vile cowardly heart of the Prince; and the Prince dreaded the haughty and vehement temper of his friend; by whom he had been frequently inſulted with poignant and diſdainful ſarcaſms; which, whenever they are ſeaſoned with much truth, never fail to leave behind them a bitter and vengeful remembrance. A recent provocation had likewiſe occurr'd: VESTINUS had taken to wiſe STATILIA MESSALINA, tho' he was aware that amongſt her other gallants, CESAR too was one.

WHEN therefore there appear'd no accuſer to charge him, no crime to be charg'd; NERO, ſince he could not ſatiate his rancour, under the title and guiſe of a Judge, flew to the violence of a Tyrant. Againſt him he diſpatch'd GERELANUS the Tribune, at the head of five hundred men, with orders, "to obviate the attempts and machinations of the Conſul; to take poſſeſſion of his houſe ſo much reſembling a citadel; and to ſubdue his domeſtick band of choſen youths:" for, the dwelling of VESTINUS overlook'd the great Forum, and he always kept a number of beautiful ſlaves, all of an age. He had that day diſcharg'd all the functions of Conſul; he was afterwards celebrating a banquet at home, void of all fear, or, perhaps, by the gayety of feaſting, ſeeking to hide his fears, when the ſoldiers enter'd. They told him, the Tribune had ſent them to bring him: nor delay'd he a jot, but roſe from table, and in one and the ſame moment the haſty tragedy was begun and finiſh'd: he was ſhut up in a chamber; the phyſician attended; his veins were cut; and, while yet full of life, and his ſtrength unabated, he was convey'd into a bagnio and ſmother'd with hot water; nor, under all this deadly denunciation and proceſs, did a ſyllable eſcape him, importing the leaſt regret or ſelf commiſeration. In the mean time, the whole company who ſupp'd with him, were enclos'd with a Guard; nor releas'd till the night was far ſpent. NERO, after he had repreſented to himſelf the conſternation of men, who from the joy of a feaſt, were waiting for their mortal doom, and had even made himſelf ſport with their fears, declar'd at laſt; "that they had undergone penalty ſufficient for their Conſular ſupper."

THE next bloody ſentence he pronounc'd, was againſt LUCAN the Poet. He, while his blood iſſued in ſtreams, perceiving his feet and hands to grow cold and ſtiffen, and life to retire by little and little from the extremities; while his heart was ſtill beating with vital warmth, and his faculties no wiſe impair'd; recollected ſome lines of his own, which deſcrib'd a wounded ſoldier expiring in a manner that reſembled this. The lines themſelves he rehears'd, and they were the laſt words he ever utter'd. Thereafter SENECIO, and QUINCTIANUS, and SCEVINUS, ſuffer'd the violence of their fate; but with a ſpirit far different from the former effeminacy and voluptuouſneſs of their lives. Anon were executed the reſidue of the conſpirators, without ought memorable by them done or expreſs'd.

NOW, when all Rome was fill'd with deaths and corps, and funerals; ſo was the Capitol with victims. One man had loſt a ſon, one a brother; this a friend, that a kinſman; all fallen by the fury of the ſword: but, whatever was the particular affliction and loſs, every man paid his publick thankſgiving to the Gods, adorn'd his houſe with laurel, fell proſtrate at the Emperor's feet, embraced his knees, and worried his right hand with kiſſes. He, who believ'd all this to be a ſincere manifeſtation of joy, rewarded ANTONIUS NATALIS and CERVARIUS PROCULUS with pardon, for their early confeſſion and diſcovery. Upon MILICHUS was accumulated abundant wealth and recompenſe, and he aſſum'd a Greek name, ſignifying *Protector*. GRANIUS SILVANUS, one of the conſpiring Tribunes, tho' he was acquitted, fell by his own hand: STATIUS PROXIMUS, another, fruſtrated the Prince's pardon, by vainly engaging afterwards in another offence, and dying for it. Of their commands next were bereft the following Tribunes; POMPEIUS, CORNELIUS MARTIALIS, FLAVIUS NEPOS, and STATIUS DOMITIUS: for no charge as if towards the Emperor they bore any malevolence, but only that they were dreaded by him. TO NONIUS PRISCUS, to CLITIUS GALLUS, and ANNIUS POLLIO, all obnoxious from their friendſhip to SENECA, and rather calumniated than convicted, baniſhment was adjudg'd. ANTONIA FLACILLA accompanied PRISCUS her exil'd husband, and GALLUS too was attended by his wife EGNATIA MAXIMILLA: at firſt they were poſſeſs'd of wealth mighty and unimpair'd; afterwards diſpoſſeſs'd of all: and, having ſuſtain'd theſe different fortunes, their glory was thence augmented. Into baniſhment too was driven RUFUS CRISPINUS; a puniſhment for which the conſpiracy furniſh'd a pretence: but the real cauſe was the antipathy of NERO; and his crime, to have been once the huſband of POPPEA. Upon VIRGINIUS and MUSONIUS RUFUS, their own ſignal renown drew the ſeverity of expulſion. They had both engag'd the affections of the Roman youth; VIRGINIUS by lectures of Eloquence; MUSONIUS by reaſonings upon the precepts of Philoſophy. CLUVIDIENUS QUIETUS, JULIUS AGRIPPA, BLITIUS CATULINUS, PETRONIUS PRISCUS, and JULIUS ALTINUS, as if a hoſt had been form'd of criminals convict, and their doom and numbers diſplay'd, were all at once condemn'd to be tranſported into the Iſlands of the Egean ſea: CESONIUS MAXIMUS, and CADICIA the wife of SCEVINUS, were exterminated Italy; and, only by ſuffering the puniſhment of crimes, learnt that ever they had been charg'd as criminals. The information againſt ATILLA the mother of LUCAN was diſſembled; and, without being clear'd, ſhe eſcaped unpuniſh'd.

NERO having accompliſh'd all theſe matters, aſſembled the ſoldiery, entertain'd them with a ſpeech, diſtributed amongſt them a largeſs of fifty crowns a man; and whereas hitherto they had been ſupplied with grain at the eſtabliſh'd rate, he allow'd it them thenceforth without payment. Then, as if he had been about to recount to the Senate the feats and events of a war, he order'd the fathers to aſſemble. Upon PETRONIUS TURPILIANUS, the Conſular, upon COCCEIUS NERVA, Pretor elect, and upon TIGELLINUS, Captain of the Pretorian Guards, he conferr'd the ornaments and diſtinction of triumph. Nay, to ſuch notable eminence did he raiſe TIGELLINUS and NERVA, that, beſides their triumphal Statues erected in the Forum, he would needs have their images placed likewiſe in the palace. To NYMPHIDIUS he granted the Conſular decorations; a man this concerning whom, ſince his name now firſt occurs, I ſhall here recite a few particulars. For, he too will have his ſhare in the bloody calamities and approaching viciſſitudes of Rome. He was born a manumis'd ſlave, who having a comely perſon, had long proſtituted the ſame to the domeſticks of the Emperors, bond and free without diſtinction: hence he boaſted himſelf the ſon of CALIGULA; ſeeing, like him, he happen'd to be tall of ſtature, and of a countenance ſtern and terrible. Or, perhaps, it is likely that CALIGULA, addicted as he was to the embraces of harlots, had alſo deſcended to gallantries with the mother of NYMPHIDIUS.

NERO having thus aſſembled the fathers, and deliver'd a diſcourſe concerning the late tranſactions, addreſs'd an edict to the people upon the ſame ſubject, and publiſh'd from records the ſeveral evidences againſt the condemn'd conſpirators, as alſo their own confeſſions. He was ſorely reproach'd by a rumour current amongſt the populace, "that merely to ſatiate his malice, or out of baſe fear, "he had ſacrific'd guiltleſs and illuſtrious men." Yet, that there was a real conſpiracy, concerted and form'd, then grown to a head and maturity, and at laſt detected and cruſh'd; was no matter of doubt to ſuch as were then curious to be truly inform'd, and even acknowledg'd by thoſe of the conſpirators, who, after the fall of NERO, return'd from baniſhment to Rome. In the Senate, the while, where abject ſycophancy prevail'd, and every particular, the more ſenſibly he was pierc'd with inward affliction and anguiſh, the more fawnings and congratulations he expreſs'd; SALIENUS CLEMENS fell fiercely upon JUNIUS GALLIO, already terrified with the death of SENECA his brother, and then a ſupplicant for his own life: he proceeded charging him with the character of "a "parricide and a publick enemy," till the fathers unanimouſly aw'd and reſtrain'd him. They adviſ'd him, "that "he would not ſeem to take an unworthy advantage of "the publick calamities, to gratify his own perſonal ani-"moſity; and ſince, through the clemency of the Prince, "all matters were compos'd, or all faults cancell'd, he "would not revive ſtaid proceedings, nor open a new "ſource of cruelty."

AND now it was decreed that "publick thankſgivings "and oblations ſhould be paid to all the Deities, and "peculiar honours to the Sun; the God, who poſſeſſing "an ancient Chapel in the Circus, the place intended for "the perpetration of the parricide, had expos'd to light "the dark contrivances of the conſpirators: that the Cir-"cenſian Games, exhibited to Ceres, ſhould be ſolemniz'd

"with

"with an extraordinary acceſſion of horſes and chariots: "that the month of April, ſhould thenceforth bear the "name of NERO; and to the Goddeſs *Salus* a Temple be "erected in the place whence SCEVINUS had brought "the dagger." The dagger it ſelf was by NERO dedicated in the Capitol, and inſcrib'd, *to Jove the avenger* (*Jupiter Vindex*) words which at that time were not minded. But, upon the revolt of JULIUS VINDEX, which afterwards happen'd; from them was then drawn an augury and preſage of approaching vengeance. In the Journals of the Senate, I find that CERIALIS ANICIUS, Conſul elect, when it came to his vote mov'd, "that a Temple "ſhould, with all ſpeed, be rais'd, at the charge of the "ſtate, and conſecrated to the deified NERO:" a motion which he really meant in complement, as to one who ſoar'd above the higheſt lot of mortality, and was entitled to celeſtial worſhip from men: from hence too was inferr'd an omen of his haſtning fate; ſince to Princes, divine honours are never paid till they have finally forſaken human life, and all commerce with men.

SIXTEENTH ANNAL.

FORTUNE thereafter expos'd NERO to publick deriſion, through the intoxication of his own vanity, and the wild promiſes made him by CESELLIUS BASSUS a Carthaginian; one of a reſtleſs and chimerical ſpirit, who from the impulſe of a nocturnal dream gather'd ſome great and certain hopes, and fraught with them ſail'd to Rome: where, having by money procur'd acceſs to the Prince, he ſet forth, "that in his lands was diſcover'd "a cave of enormous profundity, where lay immenſe "ſtore of gold, never reduced into form or coin, but "in rude and ponderous lumps, ſuch as were us'd by the "ancients: and indeed the antiquity of the place was "apparent in the ſtructure and ruins; as here appear'd "heaps of huge maſſy bricks, there pillars ſtill erect; "and all this wealth had for ſo many ages lain buried "and reſerved to multiply the riches and felicities of the "preſent reign. For the reſt, what could be learnt from "conjecture was, that DIDO the Phenician, ſhe who "fled from Tyre, having founded Carthage, had buried "this treaſure, leſt her new people might be debauch'd "by exceſſive opulence, and become vitious and ungovernable; or leſt the Princes of Numidia, who upon "other accounts bore her malevolence, might from the "ardent thirſt of gold be inſtigated to make war upon "her."

THIS ſtruck NERO, who little weighing the credibility of the account, or the faith and veracity of him that brought it, nor ſo much as diſpatching inſpectors to examine whether the particulars repreſented were true, heighten'd yet more the rumour of the diſcovery; and, as if it had been ſo much certain ſpoil already acquir'd, he ſent over ſome to tranſport it to Rome; nay, to accelerate its arrival, he furniſh'd them with light galleys mann'd by ſetts of choſen and expert rowers: nor did any other ſubject than this employ the converſation of the publick at that time, while with the credulous multitude it paſs'd for true, but from men of diſcernment met a different cenſure. And, as the Quinquennial Games happen'd then for the ſecond time to be in a courſe of celebration, the Poets and Orators, in their panegyricks upon the Prince, borrow'd from thence their chief themes; "for that the "earth was no longer ſatisfied with yielding only her "wonted bounties of fruits and grain, or gold incorporated with other ore, but teem'd, in his reign, with "productions altogether new; and to him the Gods preſented treaſures already ſtor'd;" with many other fictions abounding in pompous eloquence, nor leſs remarkable for ſervile debaſement and flattery; ſecure as they were of his prompt faith to believe whatever they could feign.

IN the mean time, he rioted in prodigality without all meaſure, from the ſtimulation of his fantaſtical hopes; and utterly conſum'd his ancient treaſures, as if others in their ſtead now ſpontaneouſly accrued, ſufficient to ſupply him in a courſe of profuſion for many years: nay out of this imaginary fund he was already diſtributing largeſſes; and the vain expectation of great riches became one of the cauſes of publick poverty. When BASSUS had perforated and hollow'd all his grounds, with many adjacent fields, for a great compaſs round, hunting from place to place after the promis'd cave, which now he averr'd to be here, then to be there; attended not only with a number of ſoldiers, but by a multitude of boors employ'd as labourers in that work; he at laſt renounced his phrenzy, and wondring that his dreams had never prov'd falſe before, and that this was the firſt time he felt their deluſion, diſcharg'd himſelf by a voluntary death from the agonies of ſhame and dread. Some authors ſay, that he was thrown into priſon, and anon releas'd, but his fortune ſeiz'd in the room of this treaſure Royal.

DURING the proſecution of this affair, as the time was at hand for diſputing the prizes in the Quinquennial Games, the Senate, in order to avert in ſome degree, the diſgrace and contumely which NERO muſt incur by appearing a competitor there, offer'd to aſſert to him by decree "the "victory in Song;" nay, even to adjudge him "the crown "of Eloquence:" meaning by ſuch diſtinction from the fathers, to throw a veil over his Theatrical debaſement. But NERO declar'd, "that he needed not the interpoſition and "partiality of the Senate, nor any authority of theirs; ſince "he himſelf was a match for all his competitors, and would "only by the equitable determination of the Judges, "purchaſe the juſt praiſe and recompence of his skill." He then preſented himſelf publickly, but firſt upon the Stage peculiar to the feſtival, and there rehears'd a Poem of his own compoſing; but anon, upon the clamour and importunity of the vulgar herd, "that he would diſplay "to the publick the whole fruits of his ſtudies" (for this was the phraſe which they us'd) he enter'd the Great Theatre and practis'd a ſedulous obedience to all the laws of the Harp; ſuch as not to ſit down however fatigued; not to wipe the ſweat from his face, ſave only with the veſtment he wore; nor to ſuffer the leaſt moiſture to appear at his mouth or noſe. In concluſion, bowing the knee and with his hands lifted up, paying veneration to the multitude, he awaited with fictitious awe and trembling the determination of his Judges. In truth the commonalty of Rome, they who were wont to humour and encourage the acting and jeſticulations of common players,

fail'd

ſail'd not now to eccho their applauſes of NERO with meaſur'd notes and ſymphony, and clapp'd in tune according to the rules of conſort: you would have thought that they had really rejoyc'd; and it is probable their rejoicings were ſincere, from an utter inſenſibility of publick honour, or of the crying reproach which debas'd the Roman ſtate.

BUT far different was the temper and behaviour of ſuch as dwelt in the municipal cities of Italy (for the countries of Italy as yet retain'd their primitive ſeverity, and the ſober manners of the ancients) as alſo of ſuch as came from the remote Provinces, where they were unacquainted with the like wantonneſs and revellings, and attended then at Rome upon embaſſies, or their own private affairs: neither of theſe could bear to behold this diſhonourable ſpectacle, or were capable of diſcharging a task ſo unmanly and degenerate; ſo that while, with irregular and aukward efforts in clapping, they marr'd the feats of the diſciplin'd clappers, they were frequently baſtonaded by the ſoldiers, who ſtood in ſeveral cluſters amongſt the crowd, to watch that not a ſingle moment ſhould paſs either in unequal and ill concerted acclamations, or in cold and lifeleſs ſilence. Certain it is that many Roman Knights while they ſtrove to retire, were through the ſtreightneſs of the cramm'd paſſages, and the weight of the multitude, preſs'd to death; and that others, by never ſtirring night and day from their ſeats, were there ſeiz'd with mortal maladies: for they dreaded even more than maladies the deadly conſequence of their abſence from this Imperial revel; ſince, beſides the ſeveral conceal'd and lurking obſervers, employ'd to mark the carriage of the audience, there were a number of open ſpies, who publickly noted names and faces, and all the ſymptoms of pleaſure or melancholy in every particular of the aſſembly: hence it was that, upon the vulgar and ignoble, inſtant pains were inflicted: towards thoſe of illuſtrious quality his hate was for the preſent ſmother'd, but ſoon after diſcharg'd in deadly vengeance. It was reported, "that VESPASIAN "was by PHEBUS, NERO's freedman, bitterly reproach'd "and even charg'd as a criminal, for inattention, as if "he had nodded; and hardly found protection even by

“ the prayers and mediation of worthy and honoura-
“ ble friends; that perdition ſtill hung over him, and
“ he only eſcap’d it by the grandeur of his enſuing de-
“ ſtiny.”

THE diverſions of the Theatre were follow’d by the death of POPPEA; occaſioned by a caſual fit of paſſion in her huſband, who kill’d her with a blow of his foot upon her heavy pregnant womb: for, to poiſon I cannot aſcribe it, as ſome writers have done, rather thro’ antipathy to NERO, than love of truth; ſeeing he vehemently coveted children, and was govern’d by a paſſionate fondneſs for his wife. Her corps was not conſumed to aſhes according to the rites of the Romans; but after the manner of foreign Monarchs, embowelled, and replete with ſpices repoſited in the ſepulchre of the Julian family. Her obſequies however were publickly celebrated, and from the publick Roſtrum her panegyrick was deliver’d by the Emperor, who magnified “ her beauty and “ her happy lot, to have been the mother of an infant “ now enroll’d amongſt the Deities,” with many other blind endowments of fortune, which he enumerated as ſo many virtues. The death of POPPEA begat in Rome every appearance of ſadneſs and mourning; but ſecretly inſtill’d much joy into the hearts of all who remember’d her lewdneſs and cruelty; and, beſides the reproach of this murder, NERO earn’d freſh deteſtation by forbidding CAIUS CASSIUS from aſſiſting at her funeral; the firſt ſignal this of his impending doom; nor was his doom long poſtpon’d. In the ſame fate SILANUS too was involv’d, and each of them conſign’d to deſtruction without guilt or offence in either, only that both were men of high and ſignal diſtinction, CASSIUS for his great hereditary opulence and the exemplary gravity of his manners; SILANUS for the ancient ſplendor of his race, and the popular hopes and eminent modeſty of his youth. NERO therefore ſent to the Senate a ſpeech in writing, and in it argued for “ the neceſſity of removing both from any “ ſhare in the adminiſtration of the ſtate.” To CASSIUS particularly he objected, “ that amongſt the Images of his “ anceſtors, he preſerv’d in high reverence that of CAIUS “ CASSIUS, thus inſcrib’d, *The leader of the party*; for

“ that, he too was meditating the ſcheme of a civil war, “ and a revolt from the family of the CESARS: but ſince “ in his deſign of exciting inſurrections, he would not “ employ only the influence and memory of a name ſo “ obnoxious, he had engag'd LUCIUS SILANUS, a youth “ ſplendid in deſcent, of a tempeſtuous ſpirit, and one “ whom he ſet as a ſtale to produce and animate a publick revolution.”

HE fell thereafter directly upon SILANUS himſelf, with great bitterneſs; urging againſt him the very ſame imputations which he had formerly objected to his uncle TORQUATUS; “ that already he aſſum'd the port of a “ Prince; in his houſe had eſtabliſh'd officers of Imperial “ ſtate, and rais'd his freedmen to ſeveral dignities, ſome “ to be Auditors of the Revenues, ſome to be Maſters of “ Requeſts, others to be principal Secretaries:” ridiculous imputations, and as falſe as ridiculous! For, dread of the prevailing tyranny kept SILANUS under more awe and precaution; and, from the late bloody doom of his uncle, he had learnt a terrible leſſon of circumſpection. NERO next prompted certain perſons to aſſume the name of voluntary informers and forge an accuſation againſt LEPIDA the wife of CASSIUS, and aunt to SILANUS, “ that with this her nephew ſhe had been guilty of in-“ ceſt, and in ſacrifice had practis'd magical rites of black “ and miſchievous tendency.” As accomplices were ſeiz'd and arraign'd VULCATIUS TULLINUS and MARCELLUS CORNELIUS, two Senators, with CALPURNIUS FABATUS a Roman Knight, men who, by appealing to CESAR, did thence divert their inſtant condemnation; and as NERO was thenceforth intent upon more exalted atchievements in cruelty, they whom he conſidered as ſmaller delinquents, entirely eſcap'd his rage.

THE Senate then proceeded to pronounce againſt CASSIUS and SILANUS ſentence of perpetual baniſhment; but, to the judgment of CESAR referr'd the puniſhment of LEPIDA. CASSIUS was tranſported into SARDINIA, and in regard of his great age, the ſhort remains of his life were ſpar'd. SILANUS, under colour of ſending him away to the Iſle of Naxos, was remov'd to Oſtia, and afterwards confin'd in Barium, a city of Apulia: while there, with the ſpirit of a wiſe man, he ſupported a lot moſt unworthy of his virtue and innocence, a Centurion commiſſioned for the aſſaſſination, laid hold on him, and adviſ'd him to cut his veins: he anſwer'd, "that to die was "the firm purpoſe of his ſoul; but upon an executioner "he would not confer the glory of fulfilling that pur-"poſe." Yet the Centurion perceiving him a man of great ſtrength, and tho' deſtitute of arms, reſolute and daring, and more diſpos'd to acts of wrath than thoſe of diſmay, order'd his ſoldiers to ſecure him: nor did SILANUS fail to make vigorous reſiſtance, and to diſtribute blows with as much energy as by naked hands could be exerted, till at laſt he fell by the ſword of the Centurion, but under a multitude of wounds all receiv'd before, like thoſe of a brave man who falls facing the enemy in the day of battle.

NOR with leſs diſpatch and intrepidity did LUCIUS VETUS and his mother-in-law SEXTIA, with POLLUTIA his daughter, undergo their bloody doom. Towards them the Prince had long borne much vindictive rancour and hate, as thoſe whoſe lives were ſo many ſtanding reproaches upon him, for the murder of RUBELLIUS PLAUTUS, ſon-in-law to LUCIUS VESTUS: but the firſt handle for manifeſting this his hatred and cruelty, was adminiſter'd by a freedman of VETUS, his name FORTUNATUS, who having abus'd his truſt and defrauded his Lord, added malice to robbery, and became his accuſer. Into a partnerſhip in this traiterous plot he aſſum'd CLAUDIUS DEMIANUS, one who for his villanies in Aſia was by VETUS, then Proconſul there, ſent in bonds to Rome, but now by NERO, in recompence of this his accuſation, releas'd. The accus'd, when he was appriz'd of this combination, and that againſt the credit of his freedman his life was ſtak'd, retir'd to a ſeat of his own in the neighbourhood of Formiæ, whither a Guard of ſoldiers follow'd, and there ſecretly beſet him: with him was his daughter. She beſides the agonies which ſhe felt from the preſent awakening peril, had a ſoul before inflam'd and embitter'd by a long courſe of ſorrow, ever ſince ſhe had firſt beheld the aſſaſſins ſent to butcher PLAUTUS her huſband; and, as ſhe had paſſionately hugg'd his bleeding neck, ſhe ſtill preſerv'd the garments ſtain'd by his blood, ſtill perſever'd a widow, devoted to unrelenting grief and wailings, and a ſtranger to all nouriſhment, except what juſt ſav'd her from the grave. Upon this occaſion, at the requeſt of her father, ſhe travell'd to Naples; and, ſince ſhe was denied acceſs to NERO, ſhe beſieg'd his gates, and watch'd his coming forth, imploring him "to hear the defence "of an innocent man, nor to a traiterous freedman ſa-"crifice one who had been once his collegue in the Con-"ſulſhip." And this her petition ſhe continued to urge importunately, ſometimes with the lamentable moanings of a woman, ſometimes with a ſpirit ſurpaſſing her ſex, and an accent vehement and imperious; till the implacable Emperor by his behaviour convinced her, that he was no more to be ſoftned by diſtreſs and ſupplications, than mov'd by the apprehenſions of publick odium.

HENCE ſhe reported to her father, "that he muſt baniſh "all hope; and meet a fate which he could not fly." Tydings at the ſame time arriv'd, "that the Senate was "haſtening his trial and proceeding to a ſentence terri-"ble and mercileſs." Nor were there wanting ſome who perſuaded him to bequeath to NERO the bulk of his fortune, as the beſt expedient "to ſecure to his grand-chil-"dren the remainder," a propoſal by him rejected; nor would he ſtain the whole courſe of his life, ſpent almoſt in the fulneſs of liberty, by cloſing it with an act of ſervitude, but amongſt his domeſticks diſtributed whatever ſumms of money were then in his poſſeſſion, with orders, "to appropriate to themſelves and remove away whatever "they found portable; leaving only three couches for the "uſe of their coarſes." Then all three open'd their veins, in one and the ſame chamber, with one and the ſame ſteel; and, each cover'd for decency with a ſingle rayment, were with diſpatch convey'd into warm baths; the father's eyes intent upon his daughter, thoſe of the old Lady upon her grand-daughter, and hers upon both; all praying with emulation for a ſpeedy iſſue of fleeting life, each wiſhing to expire firſt, wiſhing to leave behind ſuch dear relations ſtill alive, tho' haſtning to die: and fortune obſerv'd the order of ſeniority and nature, the oldeſt firſt expir'd and the youngeſt laſt. After they were buried, they were accus'd, and voted to "capital puniſhment according to "the preſident of antiquity:" but againſt this NERO interpos'd, and would needs indulge them to die without preſcription of form: ſuch were the inſtances of deriſion added to ſlaughters already perpetrated! PUBLIUS GALLUS a Roman Knight, who had been intimate with FENIUS RUFUS, and not unacceptable to VETUS, was for ſuch offence prohibited fire and water. To the freedman and accuſer, in recompence of the meritorious pains and ſervice, a place in the Theatre was aſſign'd amongſt the officers belonging to the Tribunes. And as the name *April* was chang'd into that of NERO, ſo was *May* into that of CLAUDIUS, and *June* into that of GERMANICUS: CORNELIUS ORFITUS, from whoſe motion theſe alterations proceeded, declar'd, "that he had therefore propos'd aboliſhing the name of *June*, for that two of the JUNII TORQUATI already executed for treaſon, had thence render'd that name abominable."

THIS year, one ſtain'd with ſo many accumulated acts of tyranny and blood, was by the Gods too branded with devouring tempeſts and mortality: by the violence of whirlwinds, the country of Campania was ravag'd, villages were overturn'd, the plantations torn up, the fruits of the earth ſcatter'd, and the extenſive devaſtation carried as far as the neighbourhood of Rome; where, at the ſame time a fierce peſtilence was, without any diſcernible malignity in the air, ſweeping away all conditions of men: full of coarſes were the houſes, full of funerals the ſtreets; nor ſex nor age was ſpar'd by the impartial malady: to the ſame ſwift deſtruction yielded the bondmen and free, amidſt the tears and wailings of their wives and children; who, whilſt they were yet attending and lamenting their expiring parents and husbands, were themſelves ſnatch'd away, and frequently burnt in the ſame funeral pile with thoſe they lamented: as faſt as the reſt, periſh'd illuſtrious Roman Knights and Senators; but leſs bewail'd, ſince by a deadly contagion common to all, they eſcap'd falling by the cruelty of the Prince. The ſame year recruits were rais'd in Narbon Gaul, and through Africa and Aſia, for ſupplying the Legions in Illyrium, from whence had been diſcharg'd all ſuch as were enfeebled by infirmity or age.

To the inhabitants of Lyons, as a relief for their late calamity by fire, the Emperor preſented a hundred thouſand crowns, to repair the damages of their city; a ſumm once preſented voluntarily by the Lioneſe to Rome, during a time when ſhe was under diſtractions and embarraſment.

In the Conſulſhip of CAIUS SUETONIUS and LUCIUS TELESINUS; ANTISTIUS SOSIANUS, one doom'd, as I have above related, to perpetual exile, for certain virulent verſes by him compos'd againſt NERO; becoming afterwards appriz'd of the honour and diſtinction paid to informers, and of the Emperor's propenſity to acts of rage and blood; being withal a man of a reſtleſs ſpirit, and no wiſe ſlack to embrace occaſions of advantage, courted the friendſhip of PAMMENES, and through the ſimilitude of their lot obtain'd it: for PAMMENES too was an exile of the ſame place, one celebrated for his ſcience in the myſteries of Aſtrology, and thence engag'd in numerous friendſhips. He judg'd, that, without ſome important purpoſe, ſo many meſſengers and ſo many queriſts to conſult him, could not be thus daily arriving; and learnt withal that, from PUBLIUS ANTEIUS a yearly ſtipend was allow'd him: nor was it any ſecret to SOSIANUS that ANTEIUS, for his zeal and attachment to AGRIPPINA, was expos'd to the malice and jealouſy of NERO; that his opulence was ſufficiently ſignal to ſtimulate the rapacious appetite of the Prince, and that from this ſource only multitudes had ſuffer'd their deadly bane. With this view he intercepted letters from ANTEIUS, and even ſtole the papers containing the calculation of his nativity, and the future events of his life; which were ſecretly kept in the cuſtody of PAMMENES: he beſides found the ſcheme by him drawn concerning the birth and fortune of OSTORIUS SCAPULA; and then wrote forthwith to the Emperor, "that might he obtain a ſhort reſpit "from baniſhment, he had mighty diſcoveries to communicate, ſuch as were highly conducing to the perſonal "ſafety of the Prince, for that ANTEIUS and OSTORIUS were meditating ſome ſudden attempt upon the "ſtate, and diving ſollicitouſly into their own deſtiny and "that of CESAR." Immediately light pinnaces were diſpatch'd patch'd away, and SOSIANUS tranſported with expedition to Rome; where, upon the firſt divulging of his diſcovery ANTEIUS and OSTORIUS were by all men conſider'd rather already under the ſentence of death, than ſuch as were to be tried for their lives: inſomuch that none durſt appear to witneſs the execution of ANTEIUS his will, till TIGELLINUS authoriz'd it; having firſt given him warning, "to loſe no time, but forthwith execute "his laſt teſtament." He then ſwallow'd a draught of poiſon; but growing tir'd and impatient of its ſlow operation, accelerated his death by opening his veins.

OSTORIUS was then abiding at an eſtate of his in a remote quarter of Italy, upon the borders of Liguria, and thither a Centurion was ſent with orders to ſlay him with all diſpatch. The motive for ſuch precipitation ſprung from this ſource; OSTORIUS was a man of high military renown, diſtinguiſh'd in Britain with a Civic Crown, of prodigious bodily ſtrength, and, from his experience in war, eminently qualified for feats of arms: hence NERO, who ever liv'd under continual dread, and, ſince the diſcovery of the late conſpiracy, in the utmoſt diſmay and affright; was ſcar'd leſt that brave officer ſhould take up arms and fall upon him. The Centurion, when he had with Guards beſet every iſſue from the villa, to prevent all eſcape, acquainted OSTORIUS with his orders from the Emperor: OSTORIUS, without delay, upon his own perſon turn'd the edge of that bravery which he had ſo often exerted with applauſe againſt the foe; and, ſeeing that from his veins, though largely open'd, there flow'd but litttle blood; he diſpatch'd himſelf by a poynard, uſing ſo far the help of one of his ſlaves, as to make him hold up the weapon ſteadily; then graſping and ſtrengthning the ſlave's hand with his own, he run his throat upon the fatal ſteel.

WERE I even recounting the rage of foreign wars, and a ſeries of deaths undergone for the Commonweal, in a detail of events and diſaſters, all like the above, reſembling one another; I ſhould doubtleſs ſuccumb my ſelf under the weary task, and propoſe no other than to ſurfeit my readers, juſtly loathing a recital of the fall of citizens, however honourable yet tragical and without end:

yet more irkſome is the preſent work, in which ſuch a deluge of blood tyrannically ſpilt at home, and the general and ſlaviſh paſſiveneſs under the Tyrant, are conſiderations that gnaw the ſoul and impriſon it under bitter anguiſh and ſorrow: by ſuch as ſhall peruſe this Hiſtory, I deſire it may be remember'd (and 'tis the only apology I claim) that from no hatred of mine, but the duty of an Hiſtorian, I mention thoſe who thus tamely ſubmitted to periſh: they periſh'd in truth to ſatiate the vengeance of the Gods againſt the Roman State; which falling upon particulars, in a continued courſe of ſlaughters, its operations cannot juſtly be diſplay'd in one general deſcription, like the ſlaughter of armies, or the ſtorming and ſubduing of cities. To the poſterity of illuſtrious Men let this occaſional complement be paid, that as they are not buried, like the common herd, but their obſequies diſtinguiſh'd from the promiſcuous ſepulture of the vulgar; ſo, by recounting the circumſtances of their dying, they may receive and ever retain peculiar and pious marks of remembrance.

FOR, within the compaſs of a few days, ANNEUS MELLA, CERIALIS ANICIUS, RUFUS CRISPINUS, and CAIUS PETRONIUS, ſuffer'd, as it were all in a band, the violence of their fate. MELLA and CRISPINUS were Roman Knights, in figure and eſtimation conſiderable as Senators: the latter particularly had been once Captain of the Pretorian Guards, and diſtinguiſh'd with the ornaments of the Conſulſhip, but lately baniſh'd, as an accomplice in the conſpiracy, into Sardinia; where, upon notice receiv'd that he was doom'd to die, he ſlew himſelf. MELLA, who was brother to GALLEO and SENECA, forbore ſuing for the great Offices of State, from a wayward ambition, that a Roman Knight might be ſeen to vie in authority with Senators of Conſular dignity: he likewiſe judg'd that acting as Comptroller to the Prince, in the miniſtration of his private revenues, was a quicker road to wealth. Add, that he was the father of LUCAN; a circumſtance from whence accrued a vaſt acceſſion to his fame and ſplendour: but after the untimely fate of his ſon, while with ſpecial ſharpneſs and ardour he was recovering his effects; againſt himſelf he excited an accuſer; FABIUS ROMANUS, one of LUCAN's intimate friends. He feign'd, "that in the conſpiracy, the father "and ſon were equally confederate;" and having counterfeited Letters to this purpoſe, in the hand of LUCAN, preſented them to NERO, who after peruſal, order'd them to be carried to the accus'd, after whoſe riches he ravenouſly hunted. MELLA anticipated his ſentence by a paſſage to death, in thoſe days, as the quickeſt, moſt frequently choſen, and broach'd his veins, when by Will he had bequeath'd to TIGELLINUS and his ſon-in-law COSSUTIANUS CAPITO, an immenſe legacy in money, in order to ſecure the remainder. It is added that, in his will he inſerted complaints concerning the rigour and iniquity of his doom, "that he died guiltleſs of every crime "deſerving death; and yet RUFUS CRISPINUS and ANI"CIUS CERIALIS, men virulently diſaffected to the Prince, "were ſuffer'd to live." But all this was believ'd to have been a fiction, purpoſely fram'd to juſtify the execution of theſe two; for CRISPINUS was already ſlain, and over CERIALIS the ſame bloody fate was impending: nor indeed was it long e'er he became his own executioner, but fell with leſs commiſeration than the reſt; for that by him, it was remember'd, had been diſclos'd to CALIGULA a plot concerted to deſtroy that Tyrant.

Concerning CAIUS PETRONIUS ſome few particulars are to be recapitulated. He was one who in ſleep waſted the day, and to the civil offices and gay delights of life devoted the night: as others by a courſe of pains and vigilance had acquired a name and character; PETRONIUS was by ſignal idleneſs and indolence rais'd to notice and renown. Nor yet was he eſteem'd either a prodigal of his fortune or a ſlave to his groſſer appetites, like many who thus brutally laviſh and devour their eſtates. PETRONIUS was curious and refin'd in his luxury; and ſince his actions and ſayings were frank and unreſtrain'd, all accompanied with an air of negligence; the more ſo they were, the more pleaſing they were, as bearing thence the impreſſion of pure ſimplicity and artleſs nature. However while he exercis'd the Proconſular Government of Bithynia, and preſently after the Conſulſhip it ſelf, he manifeſted himſelf a man of ſpirit and vigour, and equal to the management of great affairs. Then lapſing once more into a habit of ſenſuality and vice, or affecting to appear vitious and ſenſual, he was by NERO aſſociated with the ſelect few, who compos'd his fraternity of intimates, and eſtabliſh'd maſter of elegance: inſomuch that to the Emperor, in the midſt of all his affluent enjoyments, nothing appear'd delicious and raviſhing, if it came not recommended by the taſte and approbation of PETRONIUS. Hence the hate and envy of TIGELLINUS towards one, in credit, his rival; in the ſcience of pleaſures, his ſuperiour. He had therefore recourſe to the cruelty of the Prince, a paſſion to which all his other deprav'd appetites ever gave place. Againſt PETRONIUS he objected an intimacy with the conſpirator SCEVINUS; corrupted one of his ſlaves to accuſe his maſter, precluded him from all defence, and to ſudden bonds committed moſt of his domeſticks.

NERO happen'd at that time to be upon the road to Campania, and PETRONIUS having accompanied him as far as Cuma, was there by order put under durance: nor would he longer bear to protract his fate, by humouring the impulſe of hopes or fears; nor yet did he haſtily throw away life; but ordering his veins to be cut, directed them again to be clos'd and bound, then to be open'd by intervals, juſt as his fancy mov'd him; diſcourſing the while to his friends, but upon no ſubject ſerious or profound, nor in ſtrains and ſentences whence he could aim at the renown of magnanimity in braving of death. To them too he attended while they recited, no ſolemn ſayings concerning the Immortality of the Soul, nor the Syſtems of Philoſophers, but gay Sonnets, and Verſes muſical and flowing. With bounties he rewarded ſome of his ſlaves; with chaſtiſements others: he even diverted himſelf with walking out, even refreſh'd himſelf with ſleep; on deſign, that his death, tho' in reality doom'd, might appear like one altogether caſual. Neither followed he in his laſt Will the example and ſtile of moſt, who periſh'd like himſelf under the tyranny. PETRONIUS flatter'd neither NERO, nor TIGELLINUS, nor any of the Partizans of power; but under the names of lewd women and pathicks, deſcrib'd all the ſecret abominations of the Emperor, with every practice of impurity by him us'd, and admir'd as ſingular and new. To NERO he tranſmitted this picture of himſelf, carefully ſeal'd; then broke his ſignet, that after his death it might not be perfidiouſly us'd, and become a ſnare to the innocent.

While NERO was doubting and recollecting, by what means could be divulg'd all the various devices of lubricity in which he conſum'd the night, his ſuſpicion fix'd upon SILIA, one the better known for having married a Senator; one too by the Prince aſſociated into all the eſſays and diverſity of his defilements, and thoroughly intimate with PETRONIUS. On pretence therefore that ſhe had not conceal'd what ſhe had there ſeen and undergone, ſhe was doom'd to baniſhment: a ſacrifice this to his own perſonal hate. To that of TIGELLINUS he made another, and to his vengeance ſurrender'd NUMICIUS THERMUS, once Pretor; for that a freedman belonging to THERMUS had utter'd certain criminal imputations upon TIGELLINUS; an offence which the ſpeaker expiated under exquiſite torments, and his innocent Lord by a bloody doom altogether violent and undeſerv'd.

AFTER the ſlaughter of ſo many men ſignal in name and quality, NERO, at length, became poſſeſs'd with a paſſion to hew down virtue itſelf, by devoting to butchery the perſons of THRASEA PETUS and BAREAS SORANUS, both, long ſince, the objects of his hate. But againſt THRASEA he was incens'd from ſeparate and freſh cauſes; for he had withdrawn from the Senate, when the affair of AGRIPPINA and the merits of her death came under debate there; as above I have remember'd: in the ſolemnizing too of the preludes intitled *Juvenales*, he had manifeſted a ſpirit and behaviour far from courtly or acceptable; an indignity which pierced the Prince the deeper, for that the ſame THRASEA had at Padua, the place of his nativity, chanted in the habit of a Tragedian, during the celebration of the Ceſtic Games, inſtituted there by the founder, ANTENOR from Troy. Moreover when ANTISTIUS the Pretor, was about to have been by the Senate condemn'd to execution, for a virulent Satyr by him compos'd againſt NERO, THRASEA propos'd a mitigation of the ſentence, and carried it. Add that when celeſtial honours were decreed to POPPEA, he was purpoſely abſent,

ſent, nor afterwards attended her funeral. Offences theſe which by CAPITO COSSUTIANUS were carefully ſaved from falling under oblivion: beſides the native bent of his ſpirit, prone and abandon'd to all feats of villany, he bore ſpecial rancour towards THRASEA, ſince 'twas he who had ſupported the deputies from Cilicia in their charge upon CAPITO for extortion there, and by his credit obtain'd judgment againſt him.

To all theſe crimes of THRASEA's he added many more: " he had avoided the ſolemnity of renewing at the " beginning of the year, the annual oath then taken to " the Emperor: he had forborn to aſſiſt at the ſuſception " of yearly vows for the preſervation and proſperity of " the Prince, tho' he were at the ſame time inveſted " with the Quindecemviral Prieſthood: he had never made " oblations for the ſafety of the Prince, nor for his voice " divine. He, who had been formerly ſo aſſiduous in attending, ſo indefatigable in affairs; he who was wont " to intereſt himſelf in every decree, and to diſtinguiſh " himſelf as a promoter or opponent of the moſt trivial " and common, had not now in three years once enter'd " the Senate. In an inſtance ſo recent as that of SILANUS " and VETUS, when the fathers aſſembled with ſuch " warmth and rapidity, to obviate and puniſh two men " ſo dangerous, he only attended to the perſonal affairs of " his clients. What elſe was all this but an open revolt, a " party declar'd againſt the adminiſtration? and, if in many " particulars the ſame daring inſolence were once found, " what but a publick war could enſue? As of old (purſued CAPITO) this city, one ever addicted to diviſions " and ſtrife, was wont to diſcourſe of CESAR and CATO, " as her two great chiefs and competitors then; ſo now " with the ſame factious ſpirit 'tis diſcours'd of thee, NERO, " and of THRASEA. Nay he has his profeſs'd followers " and partizans, or rather a body of champions at arms; " men who in truth are not yet arriv'd to his boldneſs " and contumacy in counſel, but ſtudy an exact conformity to his mien and manners, to a behaviour rigid and " melancholy, on purpoſe to upbraid thee for a life of " gayety and voluptuouſneſs. To this man only is thy

“ Imperial life of no concernment; with him alone all
“ thy accompliſhments paſs unregarded: the events of thy
“ reign the moſt proſperous, are by him treated with ſcorn;
“ and is it not equally true, that with thy misfortunes
“ and ſorrows he is not touch'd nor ſatiated? ſuch is the
“ contumacy of his ſpirit, that he would not believe POPPEA
“ to be a Deity; and from the ſame ſpirit it proceeds
“ that he would not ſwear to the validity and obſervance
“ of all the publick Acts of JULIUS CESAR and
“ of AUGUSTUS, Princes promoted to deification. 'Tis
“ thus he contemns the Worſhip of the Deities; thus cancels
“ the Laws of the State. Through the Provinces and
“ amongſt the ſeveral Armies, the Journals of the Roman
“ people are perus'd with the greater curioſity and
“ care, that thence may be learnt what tranſactions there
“ are which bear not the name and ſanction of THRASEA.
“ In ſhort, let us either embrace theſe inſtitutions and
“ politicks, if they excel our own; or from a turbulent
“ faction thirſting after innovations, let their Oracle
“ and Leader be ſnatch'd away. Pupils and champions
“ form'd by the ſame ſect were the TUBERONES and FAVONII
“ formerly; names grating and grievous even to
“ the ancient Commonwealth. 'Tis only to ſubvert the
“ Empire, that they uſe the fair ſound and pretence of
“ Liberty; if their evil purpoſes ſucceed, Liberty it ſelf will
“ be the next object of their violence. In vain haſt thou
“ baniſh'd CASSIUS from the State, if afterwards thou
“ doſt ſuffer a party, which emulate BRUTUS, to gather
“ ſtrength and numbers in it. For the reſt, to the Senate
“ and our management leave the judgment and fate of
“ THRASEA; nor to that aſſembly do thou write ought
“ about him.” Naturally furious was the ſoul of COSSUTIANUS, and now further ſtimulated and enflam'd by NERO, who to him join'd as his aſſiſtant in the accuſation MARCELLUS EPRIUS, an Orator of great acrimony and vehemence.

THE task of accuſing BAREAS SORANUS was already beſpoke and undertaken by OSTORIUS SABINUS a Roman Knight, who arraign'd his conduct in the adminiſtration of Aſia, where he had govern'd as Proconſul with ſuch ſignal vigilance and juſtice, as thence to incur a freſh load of jealouſy and rancour from the Emperor. As another offence too, he had beſtow'd much pains about a popular work, that of opening the Port of Epheſus, and had beſides left unpuniſh'd the Citizens of Pergamos for having reſolutely oppos'd ACRATUS, one of NERO's freedmen, when he would have robb'd their City of her pictures and ſtatues. Theſe his real crimes; but thoſe openly imputed were, "his friendſhip with PLAUTUS, and his intrigues "to ingratiate himſelf with the Aſiaticks, in order to engage "them in novel deſigns." A particular juncture was choſen for awarding them their doom, namely, that of the arrival of TIRIDATES to receive the Crown of Armenia; perhaps with deſign that, while the publick attention and rumour were engag'd in concernments from abroad, domeſtick iniquity and bloodſhed might paſs in quietneſs and obſcurity: or perhaps NERO meant on this occaſion to diſplay the might and terrors of Imperial power, and the ſlaughter of illuſtrious men, as a feat of Majeſty Royal.

NOW while the whole City throng'd out to receive the Emperor, and to behold a foreign King, THRASEA had orders to forbear attending the entry, yet was no wiſe caſt down, but compos'd a Memorial to NERO: in it he beſought to know "the allegations againſt him; and "averr'd that he would vindicate himſelf, were he but "appriz'd of the crimes, and had opportunity of clearing his innocence." NERO receiv'd the Memorial greedily: he hop'd that THRASEA under the influence of terror, might have writ ſomewhat tending to magnify the grandeur and glory of the Prince, and to ſtain his own renown; but finding himſelf diſappointed, and dreading withal the countenance, the great ſpirit, and free ſpeech of that great man, innocent and accus'd, he order'd the Senate to be ſummon'd. THRASEA then conſulted with his friends and kindred, whether he ſhould attempt a defence or be ſilent. Their advices varied: they who counſell'd his repairing to the Senate, ſaid "that they were "aſſur'd of his magnanimity there; and nothing would "eſcape him, but what would procure him freſh glory:

" to the timorous only and the ſluggard it belong'd to
" hide the meanneſs of their end in ſhade and obſcurity.
" 'Twas fit the people ſhould behold a man going forth
" boldly to encounter death; 'twas fit the Senate ſhould
" hear his words more than human, pronounced as 'twere
" by the mouth of ſome Deity: a miracle this which
" might poſſibly ſoften even the heart of NERO: but tho'
" he ſhould perſevere in barbarity; yet ſurely in different
" eſteem with poſterity, would be the memory of a demiſe
" ſo worthy and diſtinguiſh'd, from that of ſuch as
" choſe ſtupidly to periſh in paſſive ſilence.

THOSE who gave different counſel, and were for his waiting the iſſue at home, acknowledg'd the ſame things of the behaviour and merit of THRASEA; " but, if he
" went, over him was impending much cruel mockery,
" and many bitter contumelies: it behov'd him to avoid
" having his ears aſſail'd with invectives and the laſhes of
" reproach. 'Twas not COSSUTIANUS only, nor EPRIUS
" that were prompt to outrages: there were others beſides,
" who perhaps would aſſault him with violent hands
" and blows, to humour the ſavage brutality of NERO,
" our Emperor and Auguſtus; and the precedent begun
" by the violent and bad, might through dread be
" followed even by the merciful and upright. He ought
" therefore to with-hold from that venerable body, which
" he had ſo long adorn'd, an occaſion of ſo tranſcendent
" a wickedneſs and reproach, and to leave it to uncertainty
" and conjecture, what would have been the ſpirit
" and decree of the Senate, upon the ſeeing of THRASEA
" defend himſelf before them as a criminal arraign'd. To
" hope that ever NERO would be mov'd to a ſenſe of
" ſhame for his crying enormities, was raſh and vain:
" much more to be dreaded was his flying into freſh
" rage, and his diſcharging the ſame upon the wife, and
" houſhold of THRASEA, and upon every other object of
" his tenderneſs and care. Upon the whole; he ought
" to meaſure the glory of his latter end by that of the
" worthies, by whoſe ſteps and ſtudies he had ſquar'd
" his life, and die in the ſtrength of his integrity; in the
" fulneſs of fame." In the conſultation there aſſiſted

RUSTICUS ARULENUS, a young man of great ſpirit and fervour. From this temper and a paſſion for fame, he offer'd to thwart the Decree of Senate, by interpoſing againſt it; for he was Tribune of the people. THRASEA reſtrain'd his temerity, and caution'd him againſt attempting "methods in themſelves wild, to the perſon "accus'd unavailing, and to the perſon attempting them "certainly fatal: For himſelf; he had finiſh'd his courſe, "and from the rule of life which for ſo many years he "had without varying obſerv'd, he muſt not now depart. Into publick offices ARULENUS had but juſt enter'd; and upon his own choice it reſted, how far to "engage in tranſactions future: but it much imported "him to weigh well beforehand what path he ought to "purſue, when during ſuch times he engag'd in offices "of State." For the reſt; to the reſult of his own meditation he left it, whether it were proper for him to appear in the Senate.

ON the day following two Cohorts of the Pretorian Guards under arms, environ'd the Temple of VENUS the Prolifick; a number of men dreſs'd in the city robe, but arm'd with ſwords no wiſe conceal'd, had beſet the entrance of the Senate; and in the great Squares, and ſeveral Temples, were every where poſted bands of ſoldiers in array. Through the midſt of this ſcene of terror, and under the awe of objects ſo formidable and even menacing, the Senators paſs'd to their aſſembly. There he, who was the Emperor's Queſtor, recited a ſpeech by him ſent, in which without deſcending to name particulars, he upbraided the fathers; "that they deſerted the functions of "the State, and from their example the Roman Knights "too were laps'd into ſloth and inaction. Hence what "marvel, that Senators from the remote Provinces fail'd "to attend; when many who had arriv'd at the Conſulſhip, and been diſtinguiſh'd with Sacerdotal dignities, "choſe to withdraw from the publick, and rather to devote themſelves to ſolitude and pleaſant amuſements in "their Gardens?"

THIS ſpeech was as 'twere a weapon preſented to the accuſers, and greedily they ſnatch'd it. COSSUTIANUS having begun the charge, it was by MARCELLUS purſued with greater acrimony and vehemence: "The Commonwealth, the Commonwealth, he fiercely cried, was here "concern'd in her tendereſt and moſt eſſential part: Such "were the frowardneſs and contumacy of inferiours, that "thence the gentleneſs and clemency of him, who bore rule, "were check'd and diminiſh'd: Over-mild and acquieſcing "had, to that day, been the temper of the Fathers, who could "thus ſuffer ſo many capital criminals to evade chaſtiſement, could ſuffer THRASEA ſo long revolted from publick obedience, ſuffer his ſon-in-law HELVIDIUS PRISCUS immers'd in the ſame rebellious meaſures; PACONIUS "AGRIPPINUS too, one who poſſeſs'd from his father "an hereditary rancour towards the Emperors; with CURTIUS MONTANUS, employ'd in compoſing abominable "Poems replete with treaſon. For himſelf; he wanted "to behold THRASEA, him who had been Conſul, now "filling his place in the Senate; him who was a Pontiff, "aſſiſting at the ſolemnity where publick vows were made; "him who was a fellow citizen, renewing with the reſt "the oath of fidelity: unleſs he had already renounced every "inſtitution of our anceſtors, civil and ſacred, openly acted the traitor, and now declar'd himſelf a publick enemy. "In a word; as he was wont to perform the part of an "active Senator, wont to defend and protect ſuch as had "lampoon'd and defam'd the Prince; let him reſume his "place, let him offer his ſentiments, what he wiſhed to "have corrected, and what to have chang'd: Much more eaſily would they bear him carping at every particular tranſaction, than condemning by his ſullen ſilence the whole "adminiſtration at once. What was it that griev'd him? "was it the profound peace eſtabliſh'd over the whole "earth, or the publick victories gain'd by our armies "without the loſs of men? Far be it from the Senate to ſuffer ſuch a man to gratify an ambition ſo malignant and "deprav'd; a man who ſorrow'd for the felicities of the "State; one to whom the publick Places, the Theatres "and the Temples, appear'd ſo many deſerts, to him wild "and ſtrange; and one who was continually threatning "to relinquiſh his country and roam an exile. With him our Decrees here paſs'd for none, our Magiſtrates for none; with him this Metropolis was no longer Rome. He ought therefore to ceaſe to live in that City, ſince he had long ſince diveſted himſelf of all tenderneſs for her, and now could not bear her ſight."

As in theſe and the like flights of fury, MARCELLUS, even in his perſon horrid and grim, was raging againſt THRASEA, with eyes, voice and viſage all on fire; the Senate no longer manifeſted that uſual air of ſadneſs, which from the frequency of returning dread and peril, was become cuſtomary there: A terror altogether new, more deep and alarming poſſeſs'd them, while to their ſight were preſented ſuch a number of ſoldiers, their arms, and ſeparate bands. Their imaginations were alſo fill'd with the tragical lot of the perſon accus'd, the venerable perſon of THRASEA: And there were who commiſerated that of HELVIDIUS, "who muſt be doom'd to puniſhment, merely for an alliance with a man void of blame. Againſt AGRIPPINUS too what elſe was charg'd but the tragical fate of his father; a man who in truth had fallen himſelf an innocent victim to the cruelty of TIBERIUS. Nay, baniſhment muſt be the doom of MONTANUS, a young man and a virtuous, for no Libel by him written, but purely becauſe by his Writings he had ſignaliz'd his genius and parts."

In the mean while enter'd OSTORIUS SABINUS, the accuſer of SORANUS, and againſt him urg'd "the friendſhip between him and RUBELLIUS PLAUTUS; and that in his Proconſular adminiſtration of Aſia, he had rather conſulted his own popularity and luſtre than the publick good and utility, by nouriſhing animoſity and tumults in the provincial Cities." Stale imputations theſe, and long ſince prepar'd by the accuſer: but now he offer'd a recent charge, and in the crimes and peril of the father involv'd the daughter, "that ſhe had with large ſums fee'd the Magicians." A tranſaction this reſulting purely from the paſſionate tenderneſs of SERVILIA (for this was the young Lady's name) towards her father, as well as from the unwarineſs of her youth: yet the whole of her conſultation was "only about the conſervation of

" her houſe, whether the wrath of NERO might not come " to be appeas'd, and whether no tragical judgment would " follow the cognizance of the Senate." Further than this ſhe inquir'd not. But for this ſhe was brought into the Senate; and before the Tribunal of the two Conſuls, but at oppoſite ſides, ſtood the father and daughter, he full of years, ſhe under twenty, and, ſince the late baniſhment of ANNIUS POLLIO her husband, in a ſtate of widowhood, ſolitary and ſad. Her father's face upon this occaſion ſhe could not bear to behold, ſince ſhe, as it ſeem'd, had wofully heighten'd his danger and ſufferings.

THE accuſer now queſtion'd her, " whether ſhe had " not turn'd into money her bridal Ornaments, and even " ſtript from her neck her collar of Jewels, in order to " defray the expence of magick Rites and Sacrifices?" At firſt ſhe caſt her ſelf down, and lay along upon the floor; then after a flood of tears, after long ſobbing and ſilence, ſhe roſe and embracing the Altars, particularly that of VENUS; " no miſchievous Divinities, ſaid ſhe, have I invok'd; no incantations have I tried, nor was ought elſe " the burden of my raſh and diſaſtrous ſupplications, than " that thou CESAR, and you Fathers of the Senate, would " to this my dear and indulgent parent, beſet with terrors and affliction, graciouſly afford protection and ſafety. " With this view I preſented my jewels, my precious rayment, and other decorations peculiar to my quality; as I " would have preſented my blood and life, had my blood " and life been requir'd. To theſe Foretellers, men till now " utterly unknown to me, it belongs to declare whoſe miniſters they are, and what myſteries they uſe: By my " ſelf the Prince's name was not once pronounced otherwiſe than with thoſe of the Deities. Yet to all this proceeding of mine, whatever it were, my unfortunate father was an utter ſtranger; and if 'tis a crime, I alone " am the delinquent." Theſe words allarm'd SORANUS, and while ſhe was yet uttering them, he interrupted her; he cried out with earneſtneſs, " that his daughter went not " with him to the Province; ſuch too was her tender age " that ſhe could have no poſſible acquaintance with PLAU-

“ TUS. In the crimes of her husband ſhe was no wiſe “ engag'd; her only blame was that of filial piety over-“ ſtrain'd: let her cauſe be therefore disjoin'd from his; and “ his own fate, whatever it ſhould prove, he was ready to “ undergo.” This ſaid, he was haſtning to embrace his daughter who flew to meet him; but the Conſular Lictors ſtepp'd between and prevented them.

To the witneſſes next an immediate hearing was given; and however high the barbarous ſpirit of the accuſer had already rais'd common ſympathy and compaſſion for the accus'd; equally high was the indignation excited by the appearing of PUBLIUS EGNATIUS as an evidence: a client this and follower of SORANUS, now bought with a price to overwhelm his patron and his friend. As he profeſs'd the rigid Sect of the Stoicks, his teſtimony was from this circumſtance to derive weight and conſideration; for he had into ſuch ſolemnity fram'd his countenance and whole exteriour, as to diſplay the ſemblance of a man worthily diſpos'd and virtuouſly employ'd; but poſſeſs'd a ſoul traiterous and enſnaring, one replete with avarice and every deprav'd appetite, all artfully conceal'd. But now the force of money, more prevalent than art, having laid open ſo much hypocriſy and impoſture, furniſh'd an inſtructive example, that as we guard againſt ſuch as are branded for notorious frauds and contaminated with open villanies; ſo with no leſs care ought we to guard againſt men, who, under the fair guiſe of righteous life and acquirements, hide hollow hearts, alike prompt to profeſs and to betray friendſhips. On that ſame day, however, was exhibited a different and honourable example by CASSIUS ASCLEPIODOTUS, a man, for his ſignal opulence, of the foremoſt rank in Bithynia; yet without regarding what risk he incurr'd, the ſame devotion and reverence, with which he had courted SORANUS during the ſunſhine of his fortune, he ceas'd not to pay him tho' now ſinking under a tempeſt and malignant fate. Hence he was deſpoil'd of his whole fortune, and doom'd to exile: Such was the lukewarmneſs and indifference of the Deities, alike unmov'd by patterns of righteouſneſs and thoſe of iniquity! To THRASEA, to SORANUS and SERVILIA was granted the choice of their own deaths: HELVIDIUS and PACONIUS were to be baniſh'd from Italy: MONTANUS, for the ſake of his father, had his pardon; with an exception annex'd, "that he ſhould never "be admitted to any Office in the State." To EPRIUS, one of the accuſers, was decreed a reward of more than thirty thouſand pounds; to COSSUTIANUS another, the like ſum; and to OSTORIUS the third, as many thouſand crowns, beſides another recompenſe, that of the ornaments of the Queſtorſhip.

THE Queſtor attending the Conſul was, now in the cloſe of the day, diſpatch'd to THRASEA, then in his Gardens. He was at that inſtant frequented by a numerous aſſembly of men and women illuſtrious for their quality; but was chiefly attentive to DEMETRIUS, a profeſſor of the Cynick School. With this Philoſopher, as far as could be conjectur'd by the intenſeneſs of his looks, and by certain words, which when they happen'd to raiſe their voices were over-heard, he was reaſoning and inquiring about the nature of the Soul, and concerning its departure from the body; till he was interrupted by the arrival of DOMITIUS CECILIANUS. This was one of his moſt intimate friends, and to him related what the Senate had decreed. As upon theſe ſad tydings the whole company melted into paſſionate plaints and tears, THRASEA preſs'd them, "forthwith to retire, nor to tempt danger by involv-"ing themſelves in the fate of a perſon condemn'd:" And as ARRIA his wife was earneſt to emulate the example of her mother, and to ſhare with her husband in his laſt lot; he beſought her, "to preſerve her life, nor deprive their "common daughter of her only remaining refuge."

HE then went forth into a gallery, and there the Queſtor from the Senate found him; but found him fill'd rather with chearfulneſs than with any oppoſite paſſion, ſince he had learnt that againſt HELVIDIUS his ſon-in-law, nothing worſe was decreed than his baniſhment from Italy. Having now had deliver'd to him in form the ſentence of the Senate, he took HELVIDIUS and DEMETRIUS into his chamber, and extending both his arms, the veins of both were cut: as the blood ſprung, he call'd the Queſtor nigher; and with it beſprinkling the floor; "Let us, ſaid

“ he to him, make this libation to Jove the Deliverer. “ Look here, young man, and conſider; may Heaven too “ grant there be no Omen in my words: But into ſuch “ times thy birth and age have thrown thee, as may juſtly “ require thee to fortify thy ſpirit by examples of magnanimity.” After this, as from the ſlow approaches of death, grievous torments were enſuing, he turn’d towards DEMETRIUS ****.

The reſt of this Annal is loſt.

FINIS.

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